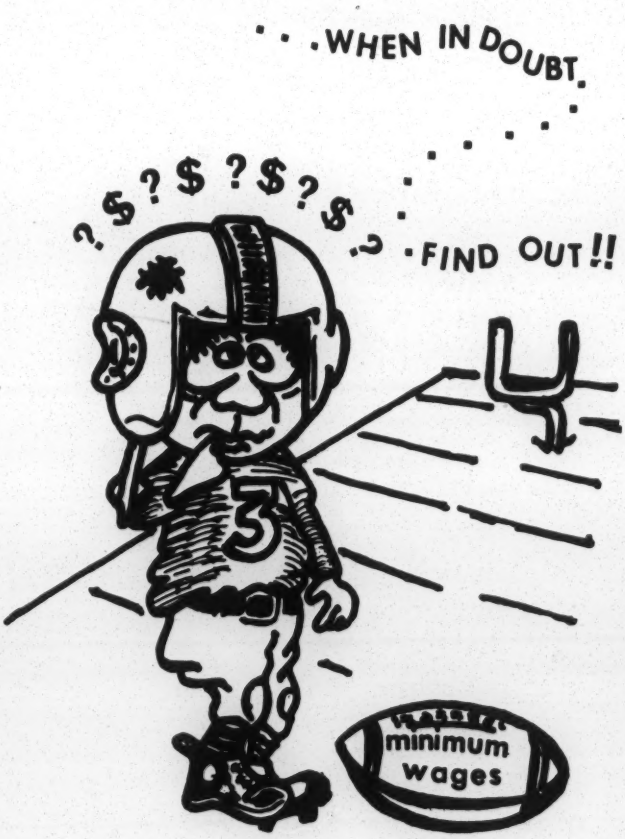
Prot. Labor Legs — State min wage

Arkansas' NEW MINIMUM WAGE LAW

ARKANSAS DEPARTMENT OF LABOR



FACTS That Affect YOU NOW

THE MINIMUM WAGE ACT OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

(Act 25 of 1968)

The Minimum Wage Rate:

$1.00 per hour effective January 1, 1969.

$1.10 per hour effective January 1, 1970.

$1.20 per hour effective January 1, 1971.

Q. Who is covered?

A. **Employers** — Generally speaking, all employers of five or more employees are covered except those employers subject to the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

Employees — All employees of the above employers are covered except:

* Executive, administrative, or professional employees.
* Outside commission paid salesmen.
* Students who work for the schools they are attending.
* Most farm laborers.
* Independent contractors.
* Employees of any government agency.

Q. What about employers who are covered by the federal minimum wage law (Fair Labor Standards Act)?

A. Employers clearly subject to the Fair Labor Standards Act are not covered by the Arkansas Minimum Wage Law. However, they are still subject to the overtime provisions pertaining to women and to the other state labor laws. For further information on the federal law contact:

Wage and Hour Division
U. S. Department of Labor
700 West Capitol Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
FR 2-4361 Ext. 5292

Q. What about people who usually receive tips as part of their pay?

A. An employer may count tips actually received by an employee, up to a maximum of 30¢ per hour, as part of the minimum wage. That means that if an employee actually receives an average of 30¢ per hour in tips, the employer must pay at least an additional 70¢ per hour during 1969.

Q. What about people who usually receive board, lodging, apparel or other items or services as part of their pay?

A. An employer may deduct from the minimum wage the reasonable value of those items or services actually received by the employee, up to a maximum of 30¢ per hour. Instead of computing an allowance for board and for lodging on the basis of reasonable value, an employer may claim the following amounts as part of the minimum wage:

(a) A maximum of fifty cents for each meal furnished.

(b) A maximum of $3.50 per week for lodging furnished.

An employer may not credit as an allowance against the minimum wage the cost of furnishing or maintaining uniforms, aprons, or other items which are required by the employer.

Q. What about handicapped workers?

A. Special provisions have been made to protect the employment opportunities of handicapped workers. For details contact the Arkansas Department of Labor.

Q. What about students?

A. Students may be employed at rates below the applicable minimum wage if they are receiving regular instruction in an accredited school and if they are employed on a part time basis in a bona fide training program. However, authorization to pay sub-minimum rates must be obtained from the Commissioner of Labor.

Q. What about people who are receiving Social Security benefits?

A. If an employer is covered by the law he must pay at least the applicable minimum wage rate to Social Security beneficiaries as well as to his other employees.

Q. Do employers have to keep payroll records?

A. Yes. All employers subject to this law must keep, on a weekly basis, accurate records showing the name, address, occupation, rate of pay, hours worked, and the amount paid each pay period for each employee. These records must be made available for inspection by Department of Labor representatives upon request.

Q. How does the law affect collective bargaining?

A. The Minimum Wage Law does not interfere in any way with the right of employees to bargain collectively for higher wages or better working conditions.

Q. What are the penalties for violating the Minimum Wage Law?

A. Any employer who wilfully violates any part of the law will, upon conviction, be fined up to $100.00 for each offense. Also, an employer will be fined up to $100.00 if it is established that he fired an employee or discriminated against him because the employee made a complaint about not receiving the minimum wage.

Q. What should an employee do if he thinks he is being paid less than the Minimum Wage Law requires?

A. He should contact the Arkansas Department of Labor. The Department will investigate the situation and collect any additional wages due. There is no charge for this service, and the employee's name will not be used.
Contact:

Wage and Hour Division
Arkansas Department of Labor
Capitol Hill Building
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
Telephone 371-1401

PURPOSES OF THE LOCAL UNION MEETING

1. To make the decisions that carry out the business of the local.

2. To inform the members about what has happened since the last meeting, what is happening at the time of the meeting, and what may be happening in the future - plus an explanation as to why these things are happening.

3. To educate the members in the principles, ideals and methods of the union and the labor movement.

4. To give the members an opportunity to speak their minds.

5. To develop a feeling of solidarity among the membership.

PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN SECURING GOOD ATTENDANCE

1. Members who feel that they must have a specific gripe before it is worth their while to attend the meeting.

2. Competition from outside interests and activities.

3. Absence of any firm pressures on members to secure their regular attendance - the feeling which some have that they do not need to attend in order to maintain their own self respect or the respect of their fellows.

4. Lack of understanding on the part of some as to the purposes of the union meeting - and of the purposes, principles, ideals and methods of the labor movement in general.

5. Inadequate publicity as to the date, time, purpose and business of the meeting - and not just the amount of publicity or the size of the notice, but the way in which the publicity is prepared.

6. The way in which some meetings are run, including:

   a. no opportunity for personal growth and development

   b. meetings which are too long, too dull or poorly organized

   c. domination of the meeting by one or two vocal members

   d. discussion of subjects which involve only a very few of those who are present

   e. discussion which is not on the subject

   f. prolonged discussion on minor points which could be referred to a committee for investigation, report, action, etc.

   g. use of parliamentary procedure in a fasion which is beyond the understanding or experience of a majority of the members, and/or the mis-use of the procedure by some members.

Union Administration

IMPROVING THE WORK OF COMMITTEES

WHY HAVE COMMITTEES AT ALL?

A committee enables several persons to pool their resources, experience and interests in solving a problem or doing a job where one person couldn't do it as well.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the committee should be clearly defined. Its assignment should be clear and its specific job spelled out. Is it to

- diagnose a problem?
- suggest solutions?
- reach a decision?
- find facts?
- make recommendations?
- develop a program?
- deliver a report?
- take action?

SIZE

The size of a committee should include enough members to be able to carry out the job. It should probably be no more than 12.

SELECTION

Selection should be made in person. If faced with the situation, "Nobody will volunteer" perhaps the committee is not meeting a real need. Most people will volunteer if the circumstances are right and their interests are affected.

PROBLEMS OF THE CHAIRMAN

What are the functions of a good committee chairman?

- believes in arriving at group solutions
- does all he can to bring out ideas and suggestions
- moves group forward from discussion to action
- helps group see its place in the overall union effort
- clarifies goals for the group
- makes group aware of success as it moves towards its goal

What about his relations with other members of the committee

- has confidence in other members
- wants to give members the chance to contribute
- willing to give up chairman's "prerogatives"
- feels the job is more important than his own importance

DEMOCRATIC APPROACH

Committees work best if they operate democratically with members fully participating in making and carrying out the decisions of the group.

THE AGENDA

Committee meetings should have regular agendas. The agenda should be jointly arrived at with the committee members having a full part in determining what the committee will work on and how.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

A member on a committee has as much responsibility as the chairman for the success of the committee. Anyone who helps the group define its goals and helps move the group toward those goals is performing a leadership function.

THREE TYPES OF COMMITTEE MEMBERS

1. Self-Centered Members

   a. Blocker b. Hair splitter c. Agressor d. Playboy

   e. Recognition seeker f. Self-confessor g. Dominator

   h. Special interest pleader

2. Group-Centered Members - Concentrates on Process

   a. Clarifies issues b. Harmonizes c. Compromises

   d. Expedites e. Sets standards f. Observes

   g. Follows other suggestions

3. Task-Centered Member - Concentrates on Content

   a. Makes suggestions b. Gives opinions c. Gives facts

   d. Asks for information e. Elaborates f. Initiates ideas

   g. Orients h. Evaluates i. Summarizes

NEW LEADERS

Committees can serve as a place to develop leaders. New leaders can gain experience, develop understanding of the local, its members and problems. To have co-chairmen sometimes is a useful way to encourage the growth of a leader.

Union Administration

WHAT MAKES COMMITTEES WORK?

A. They must have a well-defined function.

B. They must have attainable goals.

C. They should have deadlines.

D. They should be required to report regularly.

E. They should consult with responsible union officers on progress.

F. They should be given recognition

By reporting at meetings

By mention in the local paper

By awards, prizes, by badges, jackets or armbands

G. They should be recruited among people who are interested in the activity.

H. Recruiting should be personal.

I. Once recruited they should be elected, or if appointed, they should be given an official credential.

J. They should have authority to do what they are supposed to do.

K. They should be allowed a budget to spend for their purposes.

L. Meetings could be held in connection with social events.

M. Rewards in connection with their activities should go to the committee members - for example, education committee members should go to Education Conference; fair practice to Fair Practice Conference.

N. At least once annually some meeting should focus on their activities.

Read this page for changes in the minimum wages since the booklet "More Money For You" was printed.

NEW WAGE INCREASES

I. If your job was covered by the Minimum Wage Law for the first time in 1967 (See pages 8, 11 for examples) then you probably should now (after February 1, 1969) be earning $1.30 an hour.

Below are changes in the Minimum Wage for 1969, 1970, 1971.

You Should Earn	Starting On	Overtime Wage (1½ x Reg. Wage)	For Each Hr. You Work Over
$1.30 an hr.	February 1, 1969	$1.95 an hr.	40 hrs.
$1.45 an hr.	February 1, 1970	$2.17 an hr.	40 hrs.
$1.60 an hr.	February 1, 1971	$2.40 an hr.	40 hrs.

II. If your job was covered by the Minimum Wage Law before 1967 (most factory jobs and see page 14 for other examples). You should now (after February 1, 1968) be earning $1.60 an hour for straight time and $2.40 an hour for overtime.

UNION ADMINISTRATION QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire asks a great many questions about your local union. It asks a few questions about you. The purpose of the questionnaire is to help in teaching the course on union administration. It should give an idea as to what are the troublesome problems and strong points in your local's operation. Also, it may suggest activities or approaches to problems that will interest you -- in any case, these can be discussed in class.

Most of the questions can be answered in the blanks with a simple "yes" or "no" or by checking the appropriate box. A few questions require your best estimate as to a number or a percentage. Some questions require a brief comment.

In some cases you may not know the answer: if this happens, just write "don't know" or simply put "D.K.".

If there is anything that is not clear, feel free to ask for an explanation.

Labor Education Center
University of Kentucky

Section I

GENERAL

Name_____

1. What is the number and/or name of the local union to which you belong?

_____

2. What is the name of the international union to which your local belongs (if any)?

_____

3. What office do you hold in the local union?

_____

4. How long have you held this office? _____

5. Have you ever held any other office in this local union?_____

What office?_____How long? _____

6. Does the local elect any full time, paid officers? _____

What office is full time? _____

7. At this time, is your local affiliated with a central labor body?

_____

7a. Which central body? _____

8. If applicable -

At this time is your local affiliated with a building trades council?

_____

8a. Which council? _____

9. For what company do you work? _____

10. How long has the union been organized there? _____

11. How many workers are there in the shop in which you work?_____

12. What percentage of the local's members are actually active in union affairs? _____

Section II

THE LOCAL UNION MEETING

1. What percentage of the union's membership comes to the local meeting?_____
2. How many people will the meeting hall seat? _____
3. Where is the meeting hall? the union's own building_____; belongs to another union or the central body_____; other_____
4. How often do you have local meetings? _____
5. When is the meeting held? Time_____ Day _____
6. Is anything special done to encourage people to attend the meeting? _____ What? _____
7. Do the officers attend regularly? _____
8. Do the stewards attend regularly? _____ What percentage_____
9. Are special programs (speakers, movies, etc.) arranged for the meeting?_____
10. How long does the meeting last? _____ Is this long enough? _____ Too long? _____
11. Do the officers know how to run the meeting smoothly? _____
12. Do the members know how to participate in the meeting? _____
13. Does everyone feel free to express himself on the business before the meeting? _____
14. Is the meeting hall too hot? _____ Cold? _____ Smokey? _____ Dreary? _____
15. Is there an agenda for each meeting -- a listing of the items to be brought up and their order? _____
16. Who plans the meeting? _____ Is there a planning session before the meeting? _____

17. Are accurate minutes taken? _____ Where are they kept? _____ How long are minutes kept? _____

18. Who actually runs the Union meeting?

- [ ] Local Union President
- [ ] Business Manager
- [ ] International Union Representative
- [ ] Other (Who?) _____

19. What do you think is wrong with the local union meetings?

20. What is good about your local union meetings?

Section III

STEWARDS SYSTEM

1. How many stewards do you have in the union? _____

2. On an average, each steward represents how many workers? _____

3. Have your present stewards had any special training? _____

4. What kind of training? _____

_____

5. When a member feels that he has a grievance, who does he go to first?

   - [ ] His steward
   - [ ] Chief Steward
   - [ ] Union Officers
   - [ ] Local Grievance Committee members
   - [ ] Other (Who) _____

6. In <u>your</u> opinion, are grievances in your local handled well?

   Yes [ ] No [ ]

   If yes: Would you say - (Check one)

   - [ ] All of the time
   - [ ] Most of the time
   - [ ] Half of the time
   - [ ] Just some times

7. Would you say that the members of your local are generally satisfied with the way grievances are handled?

   Yes [ ]

   No [ ]

8. What kind of people are unhappy about the way grievances are handled?:

   Trouble maker? _____ A minority faction? _____

   Those who don't know the contract? _____ Those who don't belong to the union? _____ Others? _____

9. In which of the grievance steps are most of the grievances settled

- [ ] First step (If checked, what %) _____
- [ ] Second step
- [ ] Third step
- [ ] Arbitration

10. At what point (or step) are grievances written out? _____

11. Does the union keep a file on grievances? _____

12. Is a written report kept on grievances that were not submitted to the company in writing? _____

13. On the average, how many written grievances are there each year in the shop in which you work? _____

14. How are stewards selected? Elected? _____ Appointed? _____

By whom? _____

15. Getting members to serve as stewards is: Tough? _____

Not so bad? _____ Easy? _____

16. Do stewards get any special privileges or pay? _____

What? _____

17. Do the members use the grievance procedure freely? _____

18. How often are stewards' meetings held? _____

_____

19. What tasks do stewards perform other than handling grievances? _____

_____

Section IV

ARBITRATION

1. Under your contract may unsettled grievances be sent to arbitration?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

   If No:

   1a. How are they finally settled? _____

   _____

   If Yes:

   1b. Has your local ever taken any grievances to arbitration?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

   If Yes:

   1c. On the average, how many arbitration cases has the local sent to arbitration each year? _____

2. When was the last arbitration case? _____

3. What percentage of arbitration cases does the union win? _____

4. Who prepared the arbitration case (his position, not his name)?

   _____

5. Who presents the arbitration case for the union (what officers, representatives or "outsiders" -- position, not name)?

   _____

6. Who presents the company's case in arbitration (His position)?

   _____

Section V

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

1. How many people (union members) are on your bargaining committee?_____

2. How is the bargaining committee selected? _____

_____

_____

3. What does the committee do to prepare for negotiations?

   a. Does it research the company financial position?

      Yes ☐ No ☐

   b. Does it see what clauses, wages, benefits are in other area contracts? Yes ☐ No ☐

   c. Does it see what clauses, wages, benefits are in other contracts in the same industry? Yes ☐ No ☐

   d. Does it consult or work with the union's international representative Yes ☐ No ☐

   e. Does it ask the membership to make suggestions?

      Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Who <u>really</u> decides what the local will ask for in collective bargaining? _____

5. How long does bargaining usually take? _____

6. Is your contract as good as most others in your locality

   Yes ☐ No ☐

   Is it better?

   Yes ☐ No ☐

7. Is your contract as good as others in the same industry? Yes ☐ No ☐

   Is it better? Yes ☐ No ☐

8. Which three (3) of the following issues do the members feel are most important?

Check (✓) three (3):

- [ ] a. Pension plan
- [ ] b. Hospital, Life Insurance
- [ ] c. Union shop clause
- [ ] d. Vacations
- [ ] e. Seniority provisions on layoff, promotion
- [ ] f. Wages
- [ ] g. Grievance procedure
- [ ] h. Holidays
- i. Other? _____

9. Which three (3) bargaining issues are most important to your union officers?

Check (✓) three (3) :

- [ ] a. Pension Plan
- [ ] b. Hospital and Life Insurance
- [ ] c. Union shop clause
- [ ] d. Vacations
- [ ] e. Seniority on layoffs, promotions
- [ ] f. Wages
- [ ] g. Grievance procedure
- [ ] h. Holidays
- i. Other? _____

10. What contract improvements do <u>you</u> feel would be most important for your next negotiations? _____

_____

_____

11. At the conclusion of negotiations, does the membership ratify or reject the proposed contract terms? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, who makes this decision? _____

_____

12. During negotiations, does the bargaining committee issue frequent reports (membership meetings or leaflets) to the members about what is going on in negotiations?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Section VI

COMMITTEE STRUCTURE

1. Does the local have an Executive Board? _____ How many members? _____

2. How are they selected? _____

3. Is there also an executive committee? _____ How many members? _____

   How selected? _____

4. What standing committees does the local now have?

   ☐ Bargaining, ☐ Recreation, ☐ Safety,

   ☐ Community Services, ☐ C.O.P.E., ☐ Education,

   ☐ By-Laws, ☐ Workmen's Compensation, ☐ Legislative,

   ☐ Health and Welfare, ☐ Public Relations

   Others _____

5. What special committees are now functioning in the local? _____

   _____

6. Which committees meet regularly? _____

   _____

7. Which committees have more members than just a chairman? _____

   _____

8. Do the committees feel as if they have some real things to do that will help the local union and its members? _____

   Do they do them? _____

9. Are committees encouraged to be active by the officers and executive board? _____

10. Do the members know what the committees are supposed to do? _____

11. Do members pass ideas on to committees or go to them to get help when needed? _____

12. Of the committees you now have, which are not needed? _____

_____

13. Can you think of committees which the local really needs that it does not have? _____

14. Is it difficult to get committee members to serve? _____

To get chairmen? _____

Section VII

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

1. Do union members serve on any public committees or boards? _____

2. Which one? Library_____School_____Community Chest_____

   Other_____

3. How often does news about your union appear in the newspaper?_____

4. Is it just a routine notice of meetings?_____ Report of union elections?_____ Report of negotiations? _____ Community activity? _____

5. Are the news items usually favorable to the union? _____

   Unfavorable? _____ Neutral? _____

6. Does the union get news on the radio and/or TV? _____

   About what? _____

   Is it favorable? _____

7. Does the union participate in any community activities? _____

   What?_____

   In what way? _____

8. What is the general attitude of the community towards your union?

   _____

   Towards labor in general? _____

9. In your community, who does the most to make these opinions about the Union? _____

10. Does the union have any special contact with the families of its members? _____ What? _____

11. Do members' wives support the union? _____

    Do they think its a good thing? _____ Don't know much about it? _____

12. Does the public library have any labor books? _____ Do they have a special display in connection with Labor Day? _____

13. Does the high school library have labor books?_____ Do high school teachers have up-to-date information on the labor movement? _____

Section VIII

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1. Does your local endorse candidates for political office? _____

   Local? _____ State? _____ National? _____

2. Does the local take part in a register-to-vote campaign? _____

3. What percentage of your local members are registered? _____

4. Does the local keep up-to-date records on its members as to whether they are registered? _____

5. Does the local urge members to vote? _____ Is there a campaign? _____

6. Do candidates for office speak at local union meetings? _____

7. Does the local get reports on legislative issues? _____ Does it report which way the representatives in your area voted on particular bills?_____

8. Are letters written to legislators by the local?_____ By members at the urging of the local?_____Are legislators visited so that the local's political interests may be made known? _____

9. Does the local collect money for political or political education purposes? _____

10. Are the members "against" the local being in politics?_____

11. Do members' wives oppose the local being in politics? _____

12. Does the community in general oppose the union's being in politics? _____

13. Do any of your members hold political office?_____What?_____

14. What political issues have been presented to the local union in the last year? _____

    _____

15. What percentage of your members make a contribution to C.O.P.E., a political candidate, or to some other political activity?_____

Social Security IN THE UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

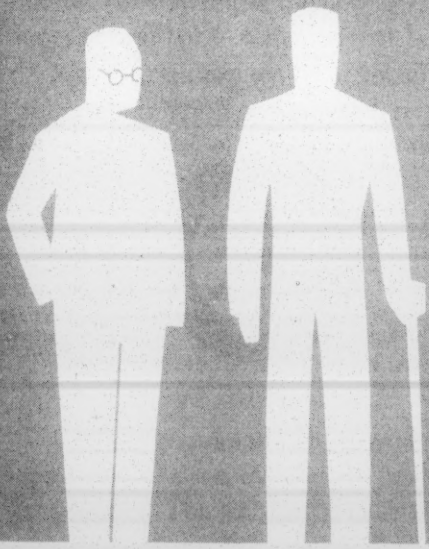
Social Security Administration 1957

VA Pamphlet 21-2

The New Pension Law

EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1960

FOR VETERANS



Fact Sheet on Social Security Legislation

July 6, 1960.

1. Limited Action by the House

The House Ways and Means Committee by a vote of sixteen to nine turned down any Forand-type program for health care of the aged. The bill reported to the House (HR 12580) was acted on under a closed rule which did not permit any floor amendments. It was passed overwhelmingly by the House on June 23 with many liberal members expressing their hope that health care provisions would be added in the Senate.

The House-approved bill contains some improvements in social security, such as removing the age-50 requirement for disability benefits, but it does nothing on health care for the aged except on a means-test basis through Federal matching grants to states, as under public assistance.

2. Senate Situation

The Senate Finance Committee held social security hearings June 30 and July 1. On June 30 Senator Clinton P. Anderson joined by Senators Humphrey and McCarthy, introduced an amendment which has a better chance of enactment than any of the other Forand-type proposals.

3. Provisions of the Anderson Amendment

The Anderson amendment makes payments for health care available as a matter of right to be paid from a special account in the Social Security fund. This account would be made up from an increase of ¼% in both the employers' and employees' social security tax. The benefits are in some respects broader than in the Forand bill, and with this wider scope, other limitations were added in order to hold down the cost.

Persons Eligible: All OASDI beneficiaries at age 68 (nearly 9 million).

Benefits: Hospital care up to 365 days, with initial deductible of $75, repeated after 24 days.

Special services in hospital: laboratory, X-ray, private duty nurses, physical restoration.

Skilled nursing home care during recovery: 180 days.

Visiting nurse services: 365 days.

4. Prospects for Senate Action

The Senate will convene on August 8, and the Senate Finance Committee is expected to report out a social security bill shortly thereafter.

Our aim is to have the Anderson amendment adopted if possible by the Committee, and, failing that, by floor amendment. The Anderson proposal can be broadened to bring railroad workers into the program.

The majority of the aged would have the new form of protection, and some improved assistance would be made available to others through the medical care provisions of the House bill.

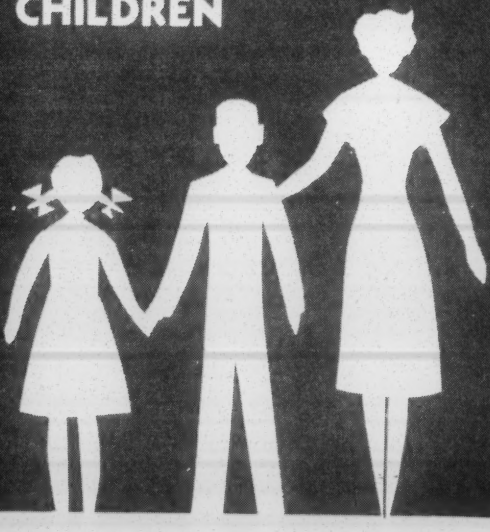
Social Security Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

VA Pamphlet 21-3

The New Pension Law

EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1960

FOR WIDOWS AND CHILDREN



LEAFLET 855

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS

HOW YOU EARN THEM . . .

HOW MUCH CREDIT YOU NEED . . .

To get social security payments for yourself and your family you must first have credit for a certain amount of work under social security.

Social security credits are called "quarters of coverage." This leaflet tells you what quarters of coverage are, how you earn them, and how many you will need to qualify for benefits for yourself and your dependents when you retire.

SOCIAL SECURITY

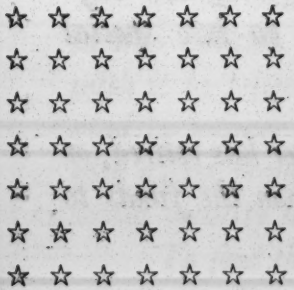
Information

FOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED

OASI—22 NOVEMBER 1961

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Social Security Administration

your Social Security



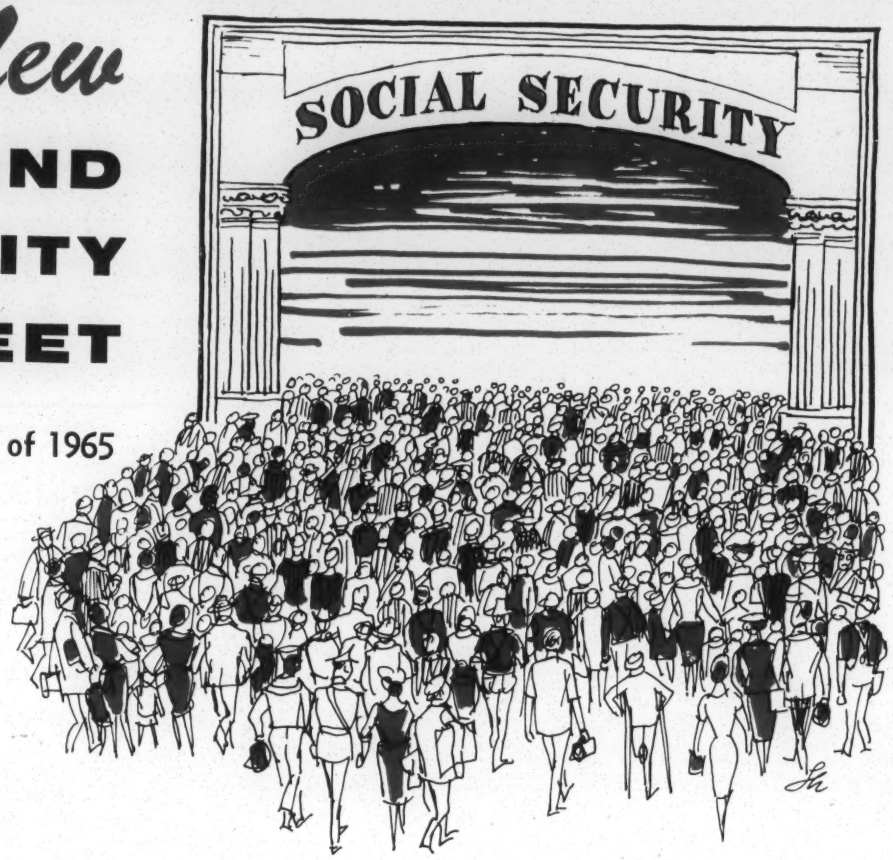
REVISED
TO
INCLUDE CHANGES
EFFECTIVE
AUGUST 1961

OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, and DISABILITY INSURANCE

Benefits Under the SOCIAL SECURITY LAW

YOUR *New* MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY FACT SHEET

Incorporates the Social Security Amendments of 1965



MEDICARE — Benefits and Gaps

SOCIAL SECURITY — Your Rights

BY SIDNEY MARGOLIUS

10-18-69

the day's proceedings critically: Said K. B. Chandler, president of Koehring Co.'s Koehring Div. in Milwaukee: "We're as concerned as anyone else in ending the war, but we feel nothing can be accomplished by this thing. We would take a dim view of any employee leaving to take part in the demonstrations." Dillard Munford, chairman of Atlanta's Jackson-Atlantic Co., was more emphatic: "We hope like hell we don't have any of those kind working for us. If we do, and they demonstrate, they won't work here on Thursday."

Neutrality. Most companies, though—IBM, General Motors, McGraw-Hill, and scores of others—neither condoned nor condemned the moratorium, leaving participation to individual conscience. Employees were allowed to take time off without pay or to charge their absence against vacation time or accrued personal time. And no attempt was made to ban the wearing of black armbands or buttons. As an official of Cleveland's TRW, Inc., put it: "Employees are free to wear armbands if it doesn't interfere with the operation of a machine or anything."

Not every company observed a policy of strict neutrality. A number decided that the seriousness of the issue raised by the moratorium demanded a certain generosity on the part of management. Itek Corp. of Lexington, Mass., for example, allowed those who wished to do so to leave work an hour early to attend local rallies. At Midas-International, employees were encouraged to take the afternoon off to protest. And at American Heritage Publishing Co., where many staffers had signed an anti-war letter to President Nixon, employees were informed they could leave to take part in demonstrations without loss of pay. "Our offices will be open," said a memorandum from the executive committee. "Let your conscience be your guide."

Other companies, while taking no stand on the moratorium, did permit the use of their premises for related programs. A panel discussion on the war held at Chicago's First National Bank during the noon hour featured speakers both for and against Administration policy. Similarly, Time, Inc., in New York granted employees the use of an auditorium in the Time & Life Building to hold extended discussions on Vietnam.

Busy day. In the flurry of activity over the moratorium, perhaps the busiest businessman of them all was long-time peace advocate Jerome Grossman, president of Massachusetts Envelope Co., who is credited with coming up with the idea for a national anti-war demonstration last April. Grossman had little time for business or meditation on the day he had helped plan. He delivered speeches at two local high schools and a college, distributed leaflets at several Boston shopping centers, and made a TV appearance on the Dave Garroway show.

Capitol Hill

Social Security's galloping surplus

The Nixon Administration went to the House Ways & Means Committee this week to trigger what will certainly be a unique political battle. At stake was the future of a Social Security program that literally has too much money pouring in: Its spending must be stepped up, or revenues trimmed back, or both.

"The Social Security trust fund is actuarially so sound that it runneth over," one observer wryly remarked. "By tens of billions of dollars yet." He was referring to facts that surfaced quickly when Robert Finch, the Health, Education & Welfare Secretary, began presenting his proposals for boosting expenditures by about $4.2-billion a year—a program that the Democrats, with some Republican help, are sure to enlarge.

Bulging. Finch's presentation showed that, as the law now stands, a tidal wave of payroll tax money will add another $30-billion to $40-billion in surplus, or reserves, to the trust funds.

Just a year ago, the official estimate was that by the end of fiscal 1973, the old age, survivors, and disability trust fund would have reserves of $64.2-billion, if there were no change in the law. About $30-billion of that total would be added in just three years. But now, latest estimates by Robert J. Myers, Social Security's chief actuary, show a surplus of $75.3-billion in the OASDI fund by the end of fiscal 1973, or $11-billion higher than the forecast made a year ago. They also show the reserve growing by $43.4-billion during the four fiscal years from 1970 through 1973.

Changing. As the hearings began this week, earlier than expected, this embarrassment of trust-fund riches was certain to produce a bigger increase in benefits than the 10% across-the-board raise suggested by Secretary Finch. And the increase will certainly become effective earlier than March, 1970—the date that the Administration proposed.

The Administration has offered to tackle the problem of the surplus from all sides. It would boost benefits, expand the program, and switch more revenue to coverage of the rising hospital costs that threaten bankruptcy for medicare's hospital insurance trust fund.

In addition to the 10% across-the-board increase in checks for all beneficiaries, some 2.7-million widows would share an additional $580-million a year through a liberalization of their benefits. About 5-million men retired or retiring at age 62 would get $380-million more because of a more favorable determination of the base years for calculating their pension. And about 1.1-million retirees would gain $330-million because of a proposed change allowing them to earn more without losing part or all of their Social Security payment.

At the same time, though, the Administration would adopt a schedule of payroll tax-rate increases beginning in January, 1971, that would run substantially below now-scheduled increases through calendar 1976. In 1977, the combined rate for the pension trust fund and hospital insurance trust fund would be 11.4%, with the employee and the employer each contributing 5.7%, the level called for under existing law.

Packages. The liberal Democrats, including a block led by Ways & Means

The impact of Social Security changes

	Fiscal years 1970	1971	1972	1973
	Billions of dollars			
Cash benefit payments				
Present program	$27.3	$28.4	$29.6	$30.7
Nixon proposal	28.0	31.6	34.0	35.2
Democratic proposal	30.0	33.7	36.2	37.4
	Percent			
Payroll tax rate				
Present program and Democratic proposal	4.8%	5.2%	5.2%	5.65%
Nixon proposal	4.8	5.1	5.1	5.1
	Billions of dollars			
Trust fund reserves				
Present program	$40.9	$49.3	$60.1	$73.3
Nixon proposal	40.2	44.8	49.9	57.8
Democratic proposal	38.2	44.0	53.5	66.6

Data: Social Security Administration, BW est.

member Charles A. Vanik (D-Ohio) are hard after a 15% across-the-board increase, which they have been told can be financed out of existing funds and rate schedules—if that were all they wanted. Vanik and others are pushing for other increases, including an $80 minimum monthly pension, compared with the present $55, which Nixon proposes to raise to $61. But they are leaving open the other details, having already pushed Ways & Means Chairman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) a bit farther along than he would like.

A farther-out Democratic group, led by Ways & Means member Jacob H. Gilbert (D-N. Y.) and backed by the National Council of Senior Citizens, launched their own broader program, designed to boost benefits by 50% in three steps over four years.

This package calls for 15% increases effective at the start of 1970, 1972, and 1974, and many other liberalizations. It would be financed by raising the wage base to an eventual $15,000, by a payroll tax of 6% on employee and employer effective in 1973, and by a gradual infusion of revenue from the Treasury's general fund.

Wall Street

Market displays change of heart

With a roar, the character of the stock market changed this week—the first significant sign that Wall Street may be ready to focus on better times beyond the uncertainties that have gripped the U. S. all year.

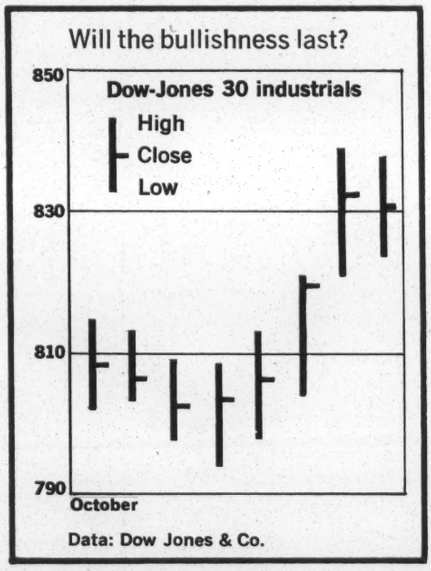
After months of lackadaisical trading and discouraging declines, the volume suddenly came booming back, and prices took off on a tear. To some investors, with one eye on the ticker and another on the World Series, it seemed as though an "Amazing Mets" psychology had spread to the market. But in fact, the underlying reasons were more serious: some barely palpable hints that deescalation and easier credit may be forthcoming plus solid technical evidence that selling pressure had dried up.

Unexpected. The magnitude of the rally was reminiscent of the way the historic buying spree began in April, 1968. On Monday, when brokers expected little activity because of Columbus Day, the Dow-Jones industrial index leaped 12.34 points, and volume on the New York Stock Exchange soared to 13.6-million shares. The next day the fever spread: Volume hit nearly 20-million shares—the highest in 12 months and the sixth busiest in history—while the Dow leaped another 13.13. "Brokers all over the Street have been poor-mouthing that there's no business," chuckled an investment adviser. "Now they can start worrying about back-office paperwork jams and fails again."

At midweek, profit taking stalled the advance a bit—the Dow faded 2.37 to close at 830.06—but the volume stayed high: 15.7-million shares. All in all, brokers were encouraged that although the averages were down, advances outpaced declines by nearly 3 to 2.

What started the rally was the Dow's failure last week (for the fourth time since July) to close below 800. Activity was so light that the ticker stopped dead at times. For technical analysts and many portfolio managers, that was an almost certain sign that selling was exhausted.

Leavening agents. Investors' peace hopes rested mostly on talk in the Senate that there may be troop withdrawals toward yearend and that Nixon may be moving toward a ceasefire. The huge moratorium day turnout (page 40) suggested



that continuing public pressure might hurry such developments.

Perhaps more important for the market at this juncture, investors added up the sudden jump in unemployment (page 37), stagnant corporate sales for the third quarter, and declining interest rates, and decided that the long-awaited change in monetary policy might lie ahead. On Monday, economist Arthur M. Okun said that a "gradual relaxation" will soon be justified, and the Street heartily agreed. "Tight money has taken effect," says J. Walter Sherman, who runs the Sherman, Dean Fund. "It will get easier some time in the next quarter—six months maximum." Says Schweickart & Co.'s Stanley A. Nabi: "The decline in interest rates is evidence to me that there could be a reduction of the prime rate in November."

Caution. One pessimistic note, of course, is the possibility that the Federal Reserve might read the market's burly surge as evidence that inflationary psychology is still rampant, and thus decide to keep applying its screws on credit. "After all," says a broker, "these people in the market are the same performance guys ready to play the same speculative games as last year and the year before." But whether the market is indicative of the entire economy is debatable. "It's a fascinating situation," explains a top analyst. "The market is the only major area of the economy not hit by tight money. It has a huge pool of liquid capital."

Mutual funds alone have some $1-billion in excess cash, judges Wolfe & Co.'s John W. Schulz, who figures that the funds normally keep 7½% of assets in cash, and lately they have had about 9½% in cash. When bank trust departments, pension funds, short sellers (who represent potential buyers) and idle credit in margin accounts are added in, the figure leaps close to $5-billion.

That money could come running if the Dow can rise above the 800-840 trough it has been in since midsummer. Nabi, for one, believes that it will then climb to "880-900 by the end of the year." Just what stocks to buy, though, is another matter. Says Ronald E. Dinsmore, whose two Moody's funds are 12% and 18% in cash: "So far we don't see any new fashions—no maxi-coats yet."

Mergers

Leasco must still mop up at Pergamon

"What an absolute genius the City has for presenting its affairs in the worst possible light."

The City is London's financial district, home of some of the world's grandest banking houses and of some of its most acrimonious takeover battles. The acid comment is culled from a British business columnist who was talking about London's most tumultuous takeover fight in a good many years: the bid by Leasco Data Processing Equipment Corp., the U. S. computer-leasing and insurance concern, for British publishing house Pergamon Press, Ltd.

The off-again, on-again affair boiled to a climax late last week at a special meeting of Pergamon shareholders, a four-hour donnybrook in the ornate, lavender-and-white Connaught Rooms that nearly turned into a fist-swinging melee. By the time the meeting ended, Leasco, with 38% of Pergamon's stock, and a band of insurance companies and pension funds with 15% more, had combined to oust Pergamon Chairman Robert Maxwell and seven associates as directors.

Dubious battle. Yet if Maxwell, a Labor Party member of Parliament as well as a publisher, was the big loser, it was not at all clear this week who came out as the big winner. Pergamon's affairs have become so tangled that it will take months to straighten them out.

Prof - Legis

W-S-J 11/30/71

When More Is Less

Fatter Social Security benefits are naturally high on the agenda of the current White House Conference on Aging. In this connection, we trust the conferees have duly noted Tom Herman's article in the Journal a few days ago.

When it comes to government benefits, it seems that more can indeed be less, and we do not refer only to the erosion of Social Security payments through inflation. As Mr. Herman's article explains, thousands of old people in many states are finding that raises bring smaller total benefits. This crazy condition happens if a Social-Security increase is just enough to make a person ineligible for other benefits he had been receiving, such as Medicaid and free Medicare insurance. In one case cited, an 83-year-old woman is getting at least $20 a month less than before the last 10% Social-Security boost.

To the credit of the administration and Congress, legislation is pending that would largely clear up the anomaly, although it is tied to the welfare-reform bill and its prospects are thus uncertain. Anyway, the real question is how such a mess could have come about in the first place.

Without advocating the abolition of Social Security, we think it should be possible to note that the program has been oversold and overbureaucratized from the start. The addition of the vast new federal-state undertakings in health care probably made it inevitable that cross-purposes would develop. In fact, government appears to have a congenital proclivity toward cross-purposes in the social-economic domain, as is so painfully evident in aspects of the farm program, urban renewal and the like.

But whatever the basic explanation of this particular mix-up, it is bound to be cold comfort to all those old people on the receiving end of government help that hurts.

Plan to Cut HEW Red Tape, Restrictions On Social Services Is Submitted by Nixon

5/19/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—President Nixon sent Congress a proposal to improve the coordination of federal social services programs.

Promised in his State of the Union message last January, the measure would seek to eliminate red tape and restrictions from many of the Health, Education and Welfare Department's grant programs. It would encourage states and local units of government to establish comprehensive plans for delivering health, rehabilitation, education and other services.

If these plans met with HEW's approval, then state and local governments would be allowed to transfer up to 25% of the funds from one HEW program to another. In addition, HEW would eliminate some of the specific regulatory restrictions such as eligibility and accountability requirements that restrict the states' freedom in handling federal funds.

"Federal rules and regulations, in short, now keep each social service program locked up in a little world of its own," the President declared. "This isn't only wasteful and inefficient—it also prevents state and local efforts to close the gaps in social service delivery systems."

The new measure, known as the "Allied Services Act of 1972," would cover $10 billion a year in HEW programs. The states wouldn't have to participate, but would be offered the incentive of greater freedom from federal restrictions in use of HEW funds.

In addition, the act would make available an estimated $20 million in federal grants to help states begin to develop comprehensive social service plans. The government expects new agencies embracing a wide range of health, education and welfare areas would be established by states and localities to administer the consolidated programs.

Some states and cities, like California and New York City, have already moved in this direction by setting up human resources departments. HEW officials expect about one-third of the states would participate in the first year of the program. Officials concede the complexity of the measure may make it difficult to drum up political interest in Washington, but they argue there's strong support for the reform among governors, mayors and other state and local officials.

Social Security Tax Boost Will Be Studied By Senate Unit to Pay for Rise in Benefits

6/12/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Senate Finance Committee is to consider today how much of a Social Security tax increase is necessary to pay for the higher benefits it has approved.

The committee voted Friday to increase Social Security retirement benefits 10%, retroactive to June 1. A proposal for a 20% boost was defeated in committee, but Chairman Russell Long (D., La.) said he expects the Senate to vote for a 20% increase.

The across-the-board increase, plus other benefits contained in the committee bill, make it almost certain that the committee will raise the Social Security wage base on which taxes are paid, the tax rate itself, or both.

A bill passed by the House a year ago would increase Social Security benefits 5%, effective this month. Since then, House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.) has proposed a 20% increase and 59 Senators have sponsored legislation calling for a 20% boost.

The current Social Security tax rate is 5.2%, paid by both the employe and the employer, on an annual wage base of $9,000, for a maximum payment of $468 a year.

Sen. Long said the committee has asked the Nixon administration to present financing recommendations today, and Social Security experts are prepared to propose a range of alternatives to the Senate panel.

Wage Base May Rise to $12,000

One possibility is raising the wage base to $12,000 a year from the current $9,000, effective next January. This would be sufficient to finance the 10% across-the-board boost and other new benefits without increasing the current 5.2% combined Social Security-Medicare tax rate. The effect would be to increase an individual's maximum tax payments to $624 a year from $468.

A smaller increase in the wage base to either $10,800 or $11,400 a year would call for an increase in the combined tax rate to 5.6% or 5.8% next year.

If Congress decides to increase Social Security benefits 20%, boosts in both the tax rate and the wage base would be unavoidable, government experts say. They estimate that with a jump in the base to $12,000 a year, the tax rate also would have to increase to about 5.7% next year to cover a 20% benefit boost.

Health, Education and Welfare Department experts say whichever of these approaches is pursued, there wouldn't be any need for further tax-rate boosts in subsequent years to finance the new level of Social Security cash benefits provided by the Senate committee's bill. However, taxes to finance Medicare would have to continue to increase to put the program on a sound financial footing and handle the costs of expansions covering outpatient drugs and disabled patients proposed by the Finance Committee. The current 5.2% Social Security tax rate is a combination of a 4.6% rate for cash benefits and 0.6% for Medicare.

Further Boosts in Rate

Administration experts estimate that with a $12,000 wage base, the Medicare rate of 0.6% will have to increase to 0.9% in 1973, 1.2% in 1974 and 1.4% in 1977.

Under the House-passed Social Security bill, the Social Security-Medicare tax would increase to 5.4% from the current 5.2%. But now, regardless of the amount or effective date of whatever benefit boost Congress decides on, it's considered impractical to impose any increase in Social Security taxes until the beginning of next year.

The cost calculations that administration experts will present to the Finance Committee today are based on a new approach to Social Security financing that greatly reduces the need for future tax increases to finance retirement benefits—except when the benefits themselves are increased further. Instead of accumulating large trust fund reserves, the administration is advocating a pay-as-you-go policy, under which enough funds are accumulated to cover only about one year's benefits. In addition, less conservative actuarial calculations assume that wages will steadily rise and bring in more money to the trust fund, rather than remain stable. The effect of these changes is to eliminate the need for retirement fund tax-rate increases that are scheduled in current law and the House-passed bill for 1975 and later years.

First National City Lifts Floating Prime Fee to 5⅛%

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—First National City Bank raised to 5⅛% from 5% its prime, or minimum, interest charge on corporate loans.

Citibank has a floating prime rate that is adjusted weekly to reflect changes in the money market. Specifically, it pegs the base fee at ⅝ percentage point above the interest rate offered investors on high-grade commercial paper issued by industrial companies.

Such paper is unsecured promissory notes issued by the companies and sold to investors through dealers. Many dealers in the latest week boosted the offering rate on 90-day paper to 4½%, although a number remained at the 4⅜% level of the previous week.

Delta's Passenger Traffic Up 9% in May From May '71

ATLANTA—Delta Air Lines' revenue passenger miles in May rose about 9% to 879 million from 804 million reported for May 1971, T. M. Miller, senior vice president for marketing, said.

"This represented one of the best showings for a May—normally a slack month for traffic—in Delta's history," Mr. Miller said. Available seat miles increased 5.1% to 1.91 billion in May of this year from 1.82 billion in May 1971, he added.

A revenue passenger mile is one paying passenger flown one mile. Available seat miles are seats available multiplied by miles flown.

Mr. Miller said that traffic thus far in June is running 10% above June 1971 and continues to reflect improvement in the economy. Future bookings are also showing strength with advance reservations for the next 300 days at 23.5% above this same date last pear, he added.

Textiles

Another Anti-Labor Charge Upheld Against J. P. Stevens Textile Firm

AFL-CIO NEWS 6/24/72

The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond has upheld a National Labor Relations Board decision finding the J. P. Stevens & Co., guilty of still another unfair labor practice—this one involving a union election at its Shelby, N.C. plant.

The board had ruled that Stevens was guilty of violating the National Labor Relations Act when it announced to employes the establishment of an additional paid holiday—two days before a scheduled union representation election in May 1969. This was one of a long list of unfair labor practice charges the courts upheld against Stevens.

The court also affirmed a part of the NLRB decision ordering reinstatement of a hosiery mender, whom it ruled quit her job because the company "deliberately" made her "working conditions intolerable."

The worker, Geneva M. Beck, had been employed for three years at the plant and was making $1.91 an hour.

When she decided to support the union, management's attitude toward her turned hostile, she testified to the NLRB. The company cut her wages by putting her on a piece rate basis and forced her to do her work on a manually operated machine, instead of an electric portable sewing machine.

In addition to reinstating her, the company was ordered to mail a notice of the NLRB decision to all employes, to grant the union reasonable access to bulletin boards for one year, to make available to the union the names and addresses of all employes and to read, or allow an agent of the NLRB to read, the contents of the notice to employes.

Stevens had claimed that the board had exceeded its authority in directing these measures. But the appellate court disagreed and also noted that the "company has a long history of improper anti-union activity."

Cost, Quality Controls Missing:

AFL-CIO NEWS

Profit Motive Bars Insurers From Full Health Care Goal

4/24/72

PROFIT-MOTIVATED insurance companies have demonstrated they cannot fulfill the goal of "health care as a matter of right" for all Americans—the common goal of the various national health insurance proposals now before Congress.

That charge was made on Labor News Conference by spokesmen for national citizen organizations and organized labor, which are spearheading the drive for universal coverage of comprehensive medical and hospital insurance, financed through and administered by the social security system.

"After 30 years of effort, the insurance companies have failed to control the costs of health care—they have failed to control the quality—they have failed to provide universal coverage," declared Max W. Fine, executive director of the Committee for National Health Insurance and the Health Security Action Council.

He stressed that today, "some 30 million people have no coverage whatsoever . . . many millions of others have coverage only if they're in the hospital . . . and even those who have coverage are protected for only about 40 percent of their health costs."

Fine charged that the insurance industry is "part of the problem, not part of the solution," as the Nixon Administration and companies claim.

Appearing with Fine on the public affairs interview was AFL-CIO Public Relations Rep. Allen Y. Zack, who said that recent Senate Antitrust & Monopoly subcommittee hearings "detailed the role of . . . the private insurance companies in denying health care to the American people." Pointing out that "insurance is a risk business," Zack said the industry's "motive is to maximize the premium dollar . . . for the company's benefit," by denying claims or cutting back services.

"Insurance companies consider every claim a loss," he declared, not "a benefit paid or help for the American people." He said insurance companies have "secret data banks to compile information on the health records of the American people without their knowledge," to try to weed out "people who are going to get sick," and use the protection they pay for.

AFL-CIO NEWS 6-24-72

Health Insurers Reap $96 Million Windfall

Six big insurance companies reaped a $96 million windfall from group health insurance in late 1971 as a result of the Administration's economic policies and high unemployment, the Committee for National Health Insurance charged.

An even sharper increase in profitability for 1972 was forecast by CNHI.

In releasing its actuarial study, the committee called on the Price Commission to change its guidelines and force the companies to reduce premiums.

The six companies—Aetna, Travelers, Metropolitan, Prudential, Connecticut General and Equitable of New York—write 50 percent of the commercial health insurance business.

The companies had geared their group health premiums for 1971 and for many contracts in force for 1972 to continued skyrocketing of hospital and doctor costs. When premium rates were set, hospital costs had been rising between 12 and 15 percent annually, while physician fees had been increasing about half that rate.

But Price Commission guidelines only permit a 6 percent increase in hospital charges and 2½ percent for physicians' fees.

CNHI noted that due to high unemployment and a tight job market, there has been a reluctance among the marginally employed to leave work for elective surgery, fearing they wouldn't have a job when they returned.

"The result," the study concluded, is "lower than expected benefits paid by the companies and fewer than expected hospital-surgical claims; and a windfall for the six insurance companies of $96 million from their group health operations. Other commercial insurers shared an additional windfall from their group health business."

In 1971, the six companies achieved profits in group health operations amounting to $32 million, compared with losses of $64.3 million in 1970.

Historically, the CNHI study stated, insurance companies used group health insurance as a "loss leader" for the sale of more profitable packages: group life insurance, pension plans and accidental death and dismemberment coverage.

"Any losses incurred by the insurance companies in one year," the report said, "are generally made up in a following year" through increased premiums.

Max W. Fine, CNHI executive director, asked the Price Commission "to require repayment by group health insurers of the 1971 and 1972 windfall profits resulting from the lower inflation" rate.

At present, the Price Commission allows insurers to anticipate a higher rate of inflation than the commission's guidelines permit.

"The rules of the game have been changed to favor the insurance companies over consumers even more than they used to," Fine added.

6-24-72

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ATLANTA GA 30303

Social Security Bill to Be Signed by Nixon; 2 Minor Measures to Aid Aged Are Vetoed

10/31/72

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON — President Nixon said he will sign the bill expanding Social Security and Medicare benefits and raising payroll taxes to pay for them. He vetoed two relatively minor other measures of aid to the elderly.

Ending a week of wholesale disposal of a huge adjournment-rush out-pouring from the 92nd Congress, Mr. Nixon announced his intentions to sign 59 other bills along with the Social Security measure. His two vetoes brought to 11 the number of last-minute bills he refused to approve, primarily on economy grounds.

The Social Security bill, which the White House said Mr. Nixon will sign in the next few days, will raise federal costs by over $5 billion a year when fully effective after 1974. It is financed by payroll tax boosts effective next Jan. 1.

Under the bill, next year's maximum Social Security tax, paid by both employe and employer, will rise to $631.80 from this year's maximum of $468. Further increases will occur in future years.

The Social Security tax rate next year will rise to 5.85% on the first $10,800 of a worker's income. Current law calls for next year's rate to be 5.5% on the first $10,800, for a maximum of $594. This year the tax rate is 5.2% on the first $9,000, for a maximum of $468. The wage base is already scheduled to rise to $12,000 in 1974, and the bill boosts the tax rate to 6.05% in 1978, for a maximum tax of $726 in that year.

"Very Great Pleasure"

Although there had been some speculation the President might veto the costly bill in line with his effort to hold down federal spending and taxes, Mr. Nixon said he took "very great pleasure" in announcing plans to sign it. He said the expanded benefits it includes were recommended by the administration, and the costs and taxes were taken into account in his budget planning for the current fiscal year.

Mr. Nixon said that "due to its late enactment," the bill will favorably affect the budget in the year ending June 30. The White House said additional outlays in fiscal 1973 resulting from the bill will total about $800 million, which will be more than offset by added payroll tax revenue of about $1.6 billion.

But the impact will be adverse in the fiscal year, starting next July 1, as the full-year cost of the benefits is absorbed. Added outlays in fiscal 1974 will total about $4.5 billion, and payroll tax revenue only about $4 billion, the White House said.

The bill provides increased benefits for 3.8 million widows and widowers; permits Social Security recipients to earn up to $2,100 a year, instead of just $1,680 as at present, without having benefits reduced; establishes new minimum monthly benefits for Social Security beneficiaries who worked long years in low-paying jobs, and improves benefits for men retiring at age 62 and for those who work beyond age 65. These changes are effective next January.

The measure extends Medicare coverage to 1.5 million disabled Social Security beneficiaries under 65; establishes limits on the future increase in the monthly premium paid by the elderly under Part B of Medicare and makes other changes under the Medicare and Medicaid programs, most of which are effective next July 1.

U.S. Take-Over in Welfare

Effective in January 1974, the bill authorizes a federal take-over of the welfare system for the needy aged, blind and disabled. It establishes a national system of uniform benefits for such welfare cases, providing a monthly minimum benefit of $130 for an individual and $195 for a couple. "These people now are subject to great inequities and considerable red tape inherent in the present system of varying state programs with different benefits, eligibility standards and rules," Mr. Nixon said.

Congress stripped the bill of the landmark welfare-revision provisions Mr. Nixon had requested. He said he will renew his efforts next year to win a "work-oriented welfare program" from the new Congress.

The President's two vetoes killed one measure that would have set up an aging-research institute and provided grants for mental health facilities for the aged, and another measure intended to improve service programs for the aged that included two manpower programs for the elderly.

"Both authorize unbudgeted and excessive expenditures and would also require duplications or fragmentations of effort," Mr. Nixon complained. The bills would have had only minimal effect on the current year's budget, however, as they were authorizations, not appropriations.

Among the 59 other bills winning presidential approval are legislation to strengthen minority-enterprise, small-business-investment companies that help provide capital to black and other minority businessmen, and a bill authorizing up to $48 million in government loans to restore or replace railroad facilities damaged as a result of Tropical Storm Agnes and other natural disasters last June.

Welfare Reform

Changing Patterns in Social Security

by Lawrence T. Smedley

Paradoxically, at a time when the social security system enjoys unprecedented popularity, it is also the topic of widespread misunderstanding. The critics' dissatisfaction seems to center on two major complaints—that the financing of the system by a payroll tax is an unfair burden on lower-income groups and the program is not an effective instrument for resolving the poverty problem.

Part of the problem is a misunderstanding of the principles that have been the basis of the social security program since its inception almost 40 years ago. In short these are:

- The system should be as universal as possible. Benefits should be provided to both the rich and poor as a matter of right and not charity and should be related to wages earned and contributions paid to the system—individual equity—but only on a certain portion of income (wage base).
- At the same time the program accepts the principle that low-income persons require larger benefits proportional to earnings than high-income people—social adequacy.

The difficulties faced by the social security program in fighting poverty are readily apparent in an examination of those principles of individual equity and social adequacy. These principles represent two different concepts about how benefits should be allocated among the various beneficiaries. Individual equity holds that contributors should receive benefits related to their wage levels and amounts of contributions. Social adequacy holds that benefit levels should provide all beneficiaries with a minimum level of living. These two contradictory principles are balanced in an uneasy coexistence within the system.

If totally dominant, the individual equity principle would create a system with the characteristics of a private insurance company—more benefits to those who can afford to buy more coverage—and such a mechanism would be incapable of social purposes. Conversely, total dominance of social adequacy would create a welfare type program resulting in many of the same problems that plague our welfare programs today. As long as neither principle becomes overly dominant, both the well-off and the poor will feel they have a stake in the system. And proposals that tip the scales too much in either direction are unwise.

The early history of the social security program (OADSHI), is remarkable in that the early planners of the social security program never envisioned the vast system that developed in a very short span of years. Even more surprising is that the program was conceived in a very short period of time, a matter of months. The main preoccupation of the Committee on Economic Security, the committee that drafted the original Social Security Act, was unemployment insurance and not old age insurance—an understandable preoccupation in deliberations taking place during the great depression of the 1930s. Interest in an old age insurance system was belated and, partially of necessity, was based more on philosophy and ideas than on vast statistical studies or extensive research. There may be a lesson here that should be noted by those presently debating the elimination of poverty and the future of the American social insurance system.

Passed in 1935, the social security program collected the first contribution in 1937 and began paying benefits in 1940. From a modest program limited to old age benefits for workers, the social security program has grown until it now also provides protection for family survivors (1939), for disability (1956) and for health costs (1965).

It presently disburses $3.5 billion a month in cash benefits to 28.2 million beneficiaries, collects contributions from 96 million workers and covers 190 million Americans including family members. The program paid benefits to 93 percent of those persons reaching age 65 in 1972. It could pay benefits to 80 precent of men and women aged 21-64 in the event the family breadwinner incurred a severe, long-term dis-

LAWRENCE T. SMEDLEY is the associate director of the AFL-CIO Department of Social Security.

Your Social Security Account

If you want a statement of your Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Account, fill out the other side of this card.

Be sure to give your name and account number exactly as they are shown on your account number card, in order to make sure your account is properly identified. If you have more than one account number, give all of them.

It is not necessary for you to pay anyone to aid you in securing this information. There is no charge for this service.

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GPO 16—8289-10

Form OAR-7004 (6-55)
Department of
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

WAGE STATEMENT REQUEST

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION,
Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance,
Baltimore 2, Md.

ACCOUNT NUMBER | | |

DATE OF BIRTH | | |
(Month) (Day) (Year)

Please send me a statement of amounts recorded in my Old-Age and Survivors Insurance Account.

Name { Miss / Mrs. / Mr. _____

Street and number _____

City, P. O. zone, and State _____

Print or Type Name and Address
Use Ink

Sign your name as usually written _____
(Do not print)

WARNING! Sign your own name only. Whoever falsely represents that he is the person whose name and account number appear above is subject to $1,000 fine or 1 year imprisonment or both.

If your name has been changed from that shown on your account number card, please copy your name below exactly as it appears on that card.

16—8289-10

YOUR

Social Security

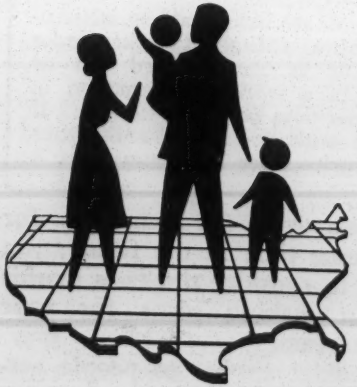
Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Benefits Under the Social Security Law

If you are DISABLED

How Earnings Affect Social Security

Benefit Payments

IF YOU WORK WHILE YOU GET



SOCIAL SECURITY PAYMENTS

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Social Security Administration
Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance

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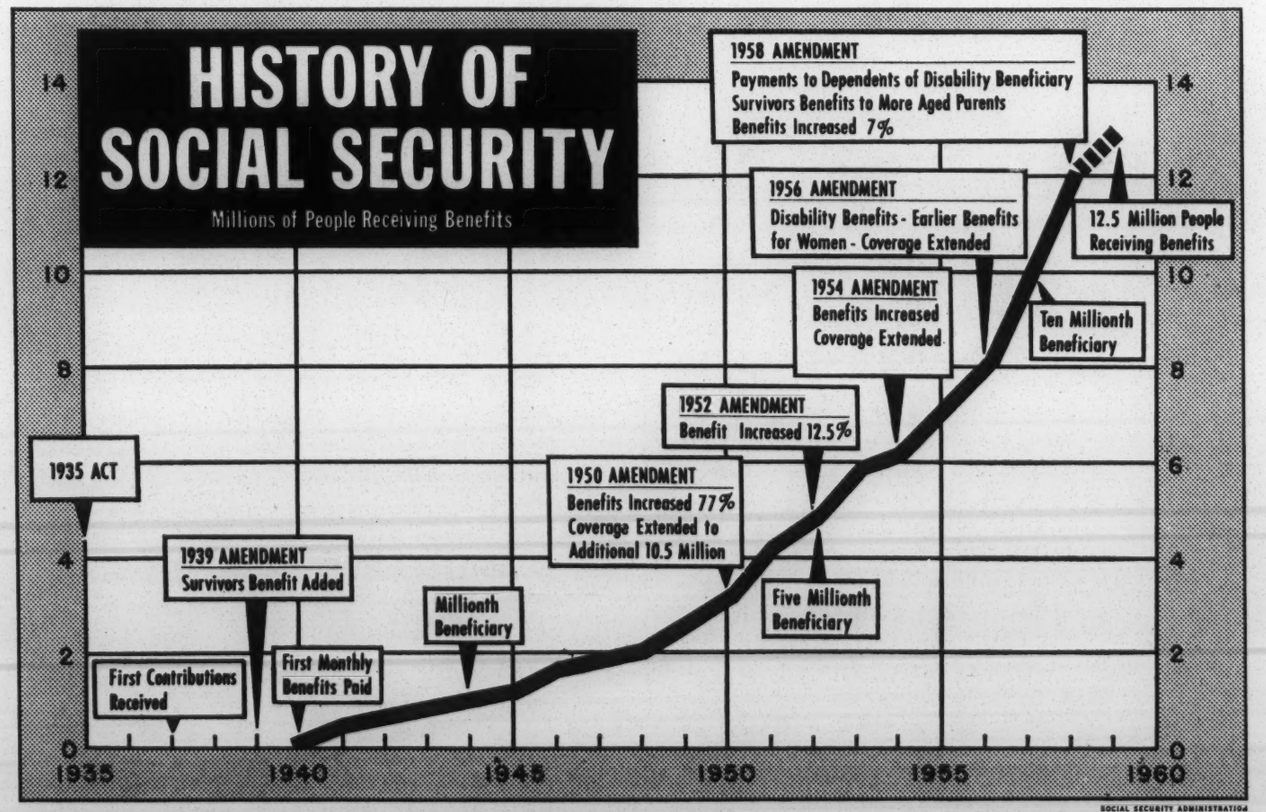
What's Happened to Social Insurance Laws?

A great deal of social legislation benefiting working people was passed in the New Deal days. Since that time, labor and liberal groups have had to fight constantly to keep and improve it.

- SOCIAL SECURITY ACT -- The chart below shows the changes in the Social Security Act since it was passed in 1935. Benefits have been raised, more people included in the system and new types of benefits added. In 1960, labor is urging Congress to add medical benefits for the aged and for survivors to the Social Security Act, through the Forand Bill. Labor also wants improvements in the provisions for disabled persons.

- WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS -- Various states first began passing these laws in 1910. In the last twenty years, while benefits have risen in dollars, they have declined as a percentage of average wages. However, two major improvements have been made in the last 20 years: 1) Occupational diseases are now covered in all but 2 states, and 2) More than half of the states now cover the entire cost of medical care.

- UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAWS -- These state laws were first passed during the depression. Since then labor has succeeded in raising maximum benefits in dollars, but maximums relative to wages have declined. In recent years, most states have shortened waiting periods and lengthened the duration of benefits, but unfortunately they have added more restrictive clauses on disqualifications and eligibility.



SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Where $9,200,000,000 Worth of Tax Loopholes Can Be Closed!

One of the questions frequently raised in connection with improved government welfare benefits is, "Where is the money coming from?"

A total of $9,200,000,000 each year could be recaptured by eliminating these eleven loopholes and tax escape clauses in the federal income tax:

1. DIVIDENDS. Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954.	$ 400,000,000
2. WITHHOLDING. Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest.	300,000,000
3. DEPLETION. Repeal excessive depletion allowances and remove from such tax privileges many of the metals and minerals now covered	1,300,000,000
4. CAPITAL GAINS. Tighten the capital gains tax structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing considerably the 25% tax rate. Remove from capital gains treatment the many types of income not originally included.	1,000,000,000
5. DEPRECIATION. Repeal the new depreciation provision of the 1954 Revenue Act.	1,300,000,000
6. INCOME-SPLITTING. Eliminate the advantage given upper income married couples and heads of households by the income-splitting provision that gives a savings of $5,932 to a family with $100,000 income and no savings to a family with less than $5,000.	3,500,000,000
7. PARTNERSHIPS. Eliminate the family partnership provisions which are designed to reduce individual income taxes.	100,000,000
8. STOCK OPTION. Eliminate stock option privileges designed to circumvent payment of taxes.	100,000,000
9. BONDS. Repeal the tax-exempt status of state and local bonds.	100,000,000
10. CARRY-BACK, CARRY-FORWARD. Eliminate the carry-back, carry-forward provision of the corporate income tax which grants special tax windfalls to purchasers of corporations with heavy losses.	100,000,000
11. ESTATES. Make the estate and gift taxes a more effective source of revenue by eliminating life estate provisions and by combining estate and gift tax exemptions as well as reducing the total level of exemptions	1,000,000,000
TOTAL ANNUAL VALUE OF LOOPHOLES CLOSED	$9,200,000,000

Who Gets Dividends

There are 52 million families (spending units) in the U. S. A.:

48,500,000 families, 92%, own no corporation stock.

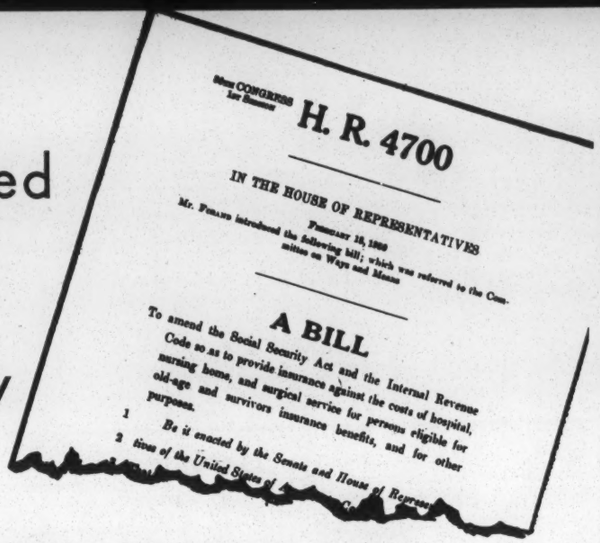
3,165,000 families, 7%, own only 20% of the stocks.

335,000 families, less than 1% of all American families, own 80% of all corporation stocks.

Source: University of Michigan Survey Research Center

Source: AFL-CIO Economic Review, February, 1958.

Medical Care for the Aged by Improving Social Security


86th CONGRESS
1st Session

H. R. 4700

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 16, 1959

Mr. FORAND introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means

A BILL

To amend the Social Security Act and the Internal Revenue Code so as to provide insurance against the costs of hospital, nursing home, and surgical service for persons eligible for old-age and survivors insurance benefits, and for other purposes.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2 tives of the United States of A

One of the hottest issues in Congress this session has been the Forand Bill. This bill would provide hospital and surgical care for people receiving social security benefits.

President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration have opposed this bill. There has been so much support for it from the people, however, that they finally came up with a substitute plan. Labor opposes this plan, for the reasons shown on the following page.

The insurance companies, the American Medical Association, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have vigorously opposed the Forand Bill. They do not want a bill that provides benefits through the social security system. They would prefer a program that would profit private insurance companies.

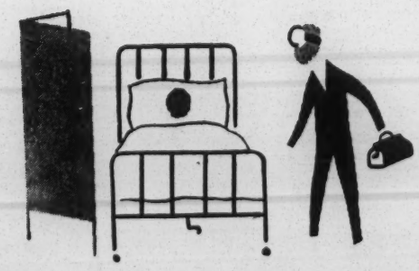
WHY DO THE AGED NEED HEALTH BENEFITS ?

People over 65 need more medical care than younger people, but they have less money to pay for it. As the chart below shows, 80% of the people over 65 have less than $2000 a year to live on.

Income of People Over 65 (1958 Census Report)	
Less than $1000 per year	57%
Between $1000 and $2000	23%
$2000 or more	20%

WHAT DOES THE FORAND BILL PROVIDE ?

1. Payment for 60 days of hospital care for people eligible for old age benefits or survivors benefits (widows and children).



2. Payment for 60 days of skilled nursing home care.

3. Payment for surgical operations.

4. Financing through social security. The tax on the worker and the employer would go up 1/4% each.

   In this way, workers would put money into social security while they are working, in order to pay for medical care in their old age.

WHAT WOULD THE ADMINISTRATION PLAN PROVIDE ?

1. Under the Eisenhower Administration plan, a person over 65 would get benefits if his income was $2500 or less per year.

   Labor objects to this because it is a means test and could be administered just like relief.

   A person would get 80% of his medical bills paid, once he had spent $250 in the year. He (or she) would pay $24 a year to enroll in the plan.

   Labor objects, because most aged people cannot afford even $250 for medical care. Look at the chart on the front of this page — note that 57% of our aged have incomes of less than $1000 per year.

   For example, take a man over 65 with a medical bill of $700. Under the Eisenhower plan, the government would pay $360 and he would pay $340.

   A person with an income under $2000 can't afford this.

2. The Administration Plan provides 80% payments for numerous types of medical benefits, once a person has spent $250.

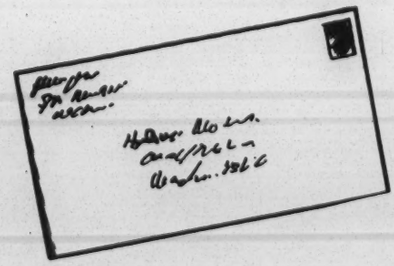
   Hospital care (180 days)
   Nursing home care (365 days)
   Surgical and physicians services
   Dental services
   Drugs (up to $350)
   Private duty nurses

   Labor favors these many benefits, but relatively few people would get them, due to the limitations explained above. The cost estimates put out by the Administration are low, which proves this.

3. The Administration plan would require the state to pay 50% of the costs, and would have the states administer the plan.

   Many states would not be willing or able to finance such a plan. A number of state governors, such as Governor Rockefeller, have already said so. Financing through social security taxes is a surer way.

   Labor also objects because our experience with state laws like workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation is bad. Under the Administration plan there would be 50 different state administrations and laws, and continual fights with state legislatures to keep benefits up.



Let your Congressman and Senators know what you think. If you have written before, write again. This is the only way to get a good law with decent benefits for the aged.

Labor favors the Forand Bill and wants a workable program financed through social security.

THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

LABOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH SERVICE

College of Commerce and Administration

Printed at O.S.U.

THE U. S. SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

I. Background

A. Emergence of market capitalism and wage labor

1. Industrial specialization and the end of self-subsistence

2. Annonymous individuals and participation in the fruits of industry

3. The income using society

B. Economic insecurity through the loss of income and unusual expenses

1. Live too long

2. Die too soon

3. Injury and disability

4. Lay off

C. The public responsibility

1. Social injury

2. Market imperfections

3. Spreading blight

4. Humanitarianism

5. Group wisdom and individual folly

D. America's late entry into Social Security programs

1. Wealth and dynamic change--turnover in economic status
2. The lingering rural image
3. Horatio Alger and individualism
4. Immigrants and unorganized labor
5. States' rights and competition for industry
6. The great depression and the new philosophy

II. <u>The Unemployment Problem</u>

A. Types of unemployment

1. Recession
2. Disguised
3. Geographical or industrial stagnation
4. Casual or seasonal
5. Reconversion
6. Personal

B. The magnitude of unemployment

1. 1900 to 1930; 1930-1940; 1945-1958
2. The unemployed and "full employment"
3. Average duration

C. Curing unemployment instead of paying for it

1. Non-recession unemployment

a. regional economic aid

b. FEPC

c. business policies

d. rehabilitation

e. special privileges and seniority

2. Recession unemployment

a. monetary policies

b. fiscal policies

D. Unemployment insurance--the last resort

1. Who shall get paid

2. Under what conditions

3. How much

4. For how long

E. Three tests of unemployment insurance

1. Does it compensate workers for the injury our society does to them?

2. Does it tide over most workers for the kinds of unemployment most commonly encountered?

3. Is it adequate to maintain purchasing power in recessions?

F. Does S. U. B. attack the shortcomings of U. C.?

1. Coverage
2. Disqualification
3. Benefits
4. Duration

G. Where do we go from here?

III. Old Age and Death

A. Nature and extent of the old age problem

1. Average life expectancy
2. The problem of non-working years
3. Women--young wives and long life
4. The changing economics of the family group

B. Related problems of death and disability

1. 14,000 industrial deaths per year
2. 77,000 permanent disability industrial injuries per year
3. Non-occupational deaths and disabilities far more numerous

C. O. A. S. I. philosophy

1. A "rights" program, not relief
2. Floor protection through compulsory insurance
3. Joint contributions
4. Built-in subsidies; who should pay them

D. Description of OASI

1. Coverage
2. Benefits--retirement, death, disability
3. Financing
4. Earnings limitation
   a. for tax purposes
   b. for benefit purposes

E. What OASI leaves undone

1. Size of benefit
2. Young mothers with children
3. Young widows
4. Disability

F. The private supplements

1. Group insurance

2. Pensions

G. Private Pensions

1. As supplements not substitutes

2. The philosophy of a public foundation and a private superstructure

3. Pension issues

a. coverage

b. vesting

c. inflation

d. forced retirement

e. survivors benefits

f. disability

H. Where do we go from here?

IV. <u>Occupational Disability</u>

A. Background

1. The extent of death and injury

2. The nature of the loss to the worker

3. The common law history

4. Appropriateness of private insurance, but yet it failed

B. Employer liability laws

1. Lawsuits
2. Delays
3. Industrial relations

C. Liability without fault doctrine

1. Practical advantages
2. Lloyd George's "blood of the worker" doctrine
3. The exclusive state fund
4. Self insurance

D. Ohio's Workmen's Compensation Law

1. Coverage
2. Injury "arising out of employment"
3. Benefits--medical and cash
4. Financing and rate making
5. Handicapped workers'
6. Second injury fund

E. Where do we go from here?

V. The uncovered risks

A. Non-occupational disability

1. High incidence

2. Some existing programs

a. veterans

b. blind

c. OASI

d. four state programs

B. National Health insurance

1. Compulsion and prepayment

2. Overhead costs

3. Income redistribution

4. Problems of administration

5. Private medical insurance

C. The problem of dividing limited funds

1. Do we want to cover more risks or cover existing risks more fully?

2. Who should pay?

3. The group wisdom approach vs the subsidy approach

EV

The New York Times
May 7, 1959
Page 17

NYT
5/7/59
p.17

EX-RED SAYS PARTY DECEIVED THE NEGRO

CHICAGO, May 6 (UPI)—A Negro union leader and ex-Communist said today it was an "outright lie" that the Communists fight for Negro rights.

"They used the grievances of the Negro people for the purpose of building the party," John R. Hackney said. "In many cases they destroyed Negro leaders who didn't serve the party."

Mr. Hackney, international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers Union, testified befor a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee was in its second day of hearings on possible Communist infiltration into Midwestern labor unions.

Asked whether the Communist party had become a strong force in meat packing unions, Mr. Hackney said "it is now and always has been."

He singled out Jesse Proston, described as head of the grievance department of the United Packinghouse Workers Union, as "the brains behind the scene."

"He is the comrade with connections throughout the country," Mr. Hackney said.

Mr. Hackney told the committee he joined the Communist party in 1942 because he had believed it was spearheading the fight for Negro rights.

Paul Harvey News

Shoe Pinches

This acute race-consciousness sure got turned upside down, didn't it?

North of the Mason-Dixon line we've had a decade of demand for race reforms in the South.

"A hundred years is patience enough," the Yankee press cried. "No more procrastination. No more waiting. The time for equality is now!"

But recent weeks, the big race demonstrations have been in the North involving northern institutions, northern schools, northerners.

Now the shoe is on the other foot -- ouch!

And listen to who's flip-flopped!

Stevenson, Kuchel, Cellar, Humphrey, Javits -- the same voices which last year urged accelerated evolution -- are now saying, "Let's not overdo this thing."

When Southern Governors urged that we "go slow" in assimilating the Negro into traditionally white environment, these northern liberals cried, "No! No! Demonstrate, agitate, integrate now!"

Recent weeks these same voices have admonished the Negro to "go slow."

When Negroes threatened to disrupt the World's Fair with a massive traffic tie-up, that was "different."

Now the head-on collision of the races is in the "liberals'" own backyard. That's the "difference."

"Civil wrongs don't make civil rights," Adlai Stevenson admonished.

Demonstrating against the University of Mississippi was all right. Disrupting the University of Alabama was all right. Sit-ins, stand-ins, lie-downs and mass marches were somehow justified in Georgia.

Time, Life, Look and the rest focused their cameras on every cop with a billy and every Negro with a broken head.

But when suddenly the agitators turned their attention to Cleveland and Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and Detroit and New York City. . .this is different! Shame on them!

No longer are the nation's TV eyes watching a school door in Alabama where Negro students are being turned away.

Now tens of thousands of Negroes in Gary, Ind. are turning themselves out of school -- demanding more race mixing.

When the South tried with state laws to quell public rioting, the Supreme Court over-ruled them: "unconstitutional."

But when the New York World's Fair was threatened, new laws were written and enforced within 24 hours against purposely blocking a public thoroughfare, and not a murmer of dissent from the Warren Court.

The South has struggled for so many years to keep in check the very kind of grotesque, irresponsible misconduct which is now splattering the North with blood.

And the "methods" the North decried, the North has now adopted.

I am not gloating over the fact that the North is reaping what it sowed.

—

Farmers Friend & Rural Reporter

Friday

May 1, 1964

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Fox Valley

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Monday
May 4, 1964
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South
Politics

Republicanism & The South

* * * * * *

GOP Faces Trouble in Dixie if Goldwater Isn't Nominated

By James Harwood

VICTORIA, Texas — By Southern standards, something novel — blasphemous even to some eyes — took place here recently: Local GOP leaders refused to climb aboard Barry's bandwagon.

The occasion was a meeting of local precinct chiefs who compose the GOP county executive committee. Urged by state Republican leaders to pass a resolution supporting Sen. Goldwater's bid for the party's Presidential nomination, Victorians simply said "no."

"I like Goldwater myself, but I resented this big push to lock the South up solid," one committee member recalls in explaining his vote against the resolution. "I'm not sure other party officials should. The party down here may be getting too identified with him for its own good."

In effect, this south Texas town has translated into political action a growing concern in Dixie nowadays. What happens to Southern Republicanism — in many states revived and fed on Goldwater enthusiasm — if the Senator isn't nominated? So long as the Senator remains at the head of the pack of nomination condidates, of course, the question is likely to bother only a minority of political thinkers in these parts. But even the Senator's most optimistic supporters say the question will take on considerable significance should any other Republican be dubbed to run against President Johnson, who has close ties to the South.

A Devastating Effect

Opinions vary on the effects of a Goldwater failure, but they all lean toward a measurable setback for the rapid growth shown recently by the Republican Party in the states of the Old Confederacy. A GOP leader in one Deep South state says Mr. Goldwater must get nominated or "it will rape the Republican Party in the South."

The reason for this dread is evident. For both ideological and pragmatic reasons, the Goldwater-for-President movement and the official Republican Party organization are virtually indistinguishable throughout the South. In nearby Houston, for example, a visitor to county Republican headquarters finds it emblazoned with Goldwater banners and its inhabitants peddling Goldwater bumper stickers to raise money for his campaign. But a county official offers assurances that the party doesn't slight other nomination hopefuls. To prove it, he reaches under a desk and produces a battered photograph of New York's Gov. Rockefeller.

The national Goldwater-for-President movement, in fact, may be regarded as an outgrowth of Southerners' liking for the Arizonan. Texas' GOP state chairman, Peter O'Donnell, instigated a "National Draft Goldwater Committee" months before the Senator was sure he'd make the race. (The door to Mr. O'Donnell's otherwise sedately appointed law office in Dallas is covered with a life-size photo of Gen. Goldwater in an aviator's suit.) Much of the Goldwater sales pitch with Republicans nationally has been hitched to the contention that he can carry the South. Few other Republican hopefuls bother to campaign in Dixie.

Majority Commitment

Already, a majority of delegates to the national GOP convention from Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Tennessee have committed themselves to Mr. Goldwater. Other Southern states doubtlessly will follow suit; over the weekend Texas Republicans registered their overwhelming support for Barry in a special Presidential preference primary.

This Goldwater tide is carrying some state leaders pretty far up on the beach, where they could be left high and dry if the tide runs out. In pushing Mr. Goldwater so hard, they're leaving a distinct impression in many areas that he is all the party has to offer. It isn't hard to imagine, for example, that Mississippi's state GOP leader, Wirt Yerger, Jr., could find Republican sentiment sharply on the wane if Mr. Goldwater doesn't get the nomination. For Mr. Yerger has been trooping the state preaching that failure to nominate the Senator will dishonor the "fundamental integrity of the Republican Party."

Other state leaders have committed their own political futures to the Goldwater drive. One young Texas leader, who has clutched the Goldwater coattails enough times to be well on the way to a promising career in state circles, believes "I may be washed up if the Senator isn't nominated. Some others may be, too. I wouldn't be surprised if Pete O'Donnell were thrown out."

(2)

Wall Street Journal
Monday
May 4, 1964
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EV

Race - Social
Politics

With such personal fortunes at stake, it's not surprising that Southern GOP leaders are exerting considerable pressure at all levels for a unanimous Goldwater front. Their aim is Goldwater support unsullied by sympathy for any other Republican candidate. A letter circulating among Texas Republicans from state representative Dick Morgan, who heads the Goldwater drive here, makes the point:

"I cannot over-emphasize the importance of insuring overwhelming support for Senator Goldwater at your precinct and county Republican conventions," Mr. Morgan writes. "We cannot be satisfied with just a majority; we want heavy pluralities at the precinct level and unanimous support at the county conventions."

"Floor fights must be avoided."

This pressure from on high leaves some local leaders writhing. "Maybe I'm naive," says one of Victoria's recalcitrant Republicans, "but I believe grassroots movements ought to start at the grassroots—not at the top."

Because of the state's top-level commitment to the Senator, Victorians fear trouble for their local group. Rumors fly through the community that state GOP leaders are planning retaliation for the committee's rejection of the Senator. (State leaders deny this.) The chairman of the county panel that nixed the Goldwater resolution is a strong Goldwater man. "He's been embarrassed by the fact that we didn't go along," says another local leader. "He's my good friend. So I've got to worry that he's embarrassed. It's a mess and that's why I don't think leaders should get so deeply committed."

Who'll Do the Work?

Like many Southern GOP leaders, Victorians are hopeful that their rank-and-file workers will slave away this fall regardless of the party's nominee. But they aren't too confident. Similar fears trouble leaders throughout the South. One national GOP chief, who's generally considered overly optimistic on any subject, predicts a 30% decline in Southern enthusiasm without the Senator. Says a Dixie leader: "We can get everyone to work for Goldwater; some people to work for Nixon; a few people for almost anyone else. But we won't be able to get anyone to work for Rockefeller."

Despite the concerns expressed, there is little effort afoot to halt the Goldwater rush. For one thing, like Republicans nationally, anti-Goldwater elements don't cluster around any single alternative. Another inhibiting factor in many areas, expressed best by one of Ambassador Lodge's fans in Mississippi, is that "it's considered absolute heresy around here to speak out against Goldwater."

Perhaps the most important factor is that many who worry that the party is "too far out" with Goldwater still believe he'll get the nomination. Says one, "It's really just an academic exercise in political science. If he doesn't get it, we'll have made a major mistake. But he's probably going to get it, so why worry?"

Most Southern Republicans, of course, believe the right course has been sailed—regardless of Mr. Goldwater's fate. They say the Senator's brand of "conservatism" provided Southern Republicans with a much-needed rallying point and also a handy sales tool for soliciting defections from conservative Southern Democrats. Mr. O'Donnell, for one, believes that without Mr. Goldwater Republican strength in the South would still be meager. "So there's no point in debating whether we've gone too far with him," Mr. O'Donnell asserts. "As they say, if you've got a second choice, you don't have a first choice."

True enough, perhaps. But come fall, some party members worry, the question for Southern Republicans could be: If you don't have a second choice, do you have a party?

Race & Dixie Voting

Negroes Play Growing Role in South's Politics As Their Power Rises

Southern Negro Registration Hits 1.8 Million; Many Seek Office; Chances Are Slim

Some White Counter-Drives

By James C. Tanner
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

MEMPHIS—B. L. Hooks, a lawyer and Baptist minister, fared poorly in his first fling at politics five years ago. Campaigning for juvenile court judge, he collected 33,000 votes, or 15,000 less than the winner.

Last November Rev. Hooks did better. Running for city court judge, he polled more than 42,000 votes and came within 812 of being elected. Though still a loser, he was elated at the showing for his vote was the largest ever given a Negro in this Southern city. He's now eagerly looking forward to coming elections when he figures "we will break the barrier in Memphis and a Negro will be elected to public office."

Rev. Hook's changing political fortunes underscore the rising role of Negroes in Dixie elections. Although clouded by all the smoke of lunch counter sit-ins, street marches and other civil rights demonstrations, Southern Negroes are making some of their biggest gains at the ballot box. They're not only registering in larger numbers this year but a sizable group of them is seeking office in this spring's Dixie primaries which began last Saturday in Texas. Moreover, a growing number of white candidates are courting the Negro vote, recognizing it as the balance of power in some communities.

Power Spreading in North

Negroes, of course, have long been politically powerful in many areas outside the South. Five Northern and Western Congressional districts consistently send Negro representatives to Washington. And there's evidence this Negro voting strength is growing. Republicans in northern New Jersey, for example, have just nominated a Negro for a House seat.

Negro power at the polls in the North has reached such heights that both parties are aiming big efforts at the Negroes in this year's elections. "Six major cities, where there are tremendous concentrations of Negroes, licked us in 1960," says Albert B. Hermann, campaign director of the Republican National Committee in Washington. "The Presidential election this year could turn on the same cities so we are sending experts into these areas this year."

The rising importance of Negroes in Southern politics, while not as noticeable, is no less dramatic. "You can't get elected dog catcher anymore in Atlanta without the Negro vote," grumbles one Georgia political observer.

Some 1.8 million of the 5 million adult Negroes in the 11 Southern states are now qualified to vote, estimates the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project, an institute financed by Northern foundations to aid in Dixie Negro registration drives and voter research. This compares with around 1.5 million a year ago and less than 600,000 in 1947. By November, 2 million Negroes in the South will be registered, insists Wiley Branton, VEP director.

Big Gain in Birmingham

In some areas, recent registration gains have been especially sizable. In Alabama's Jefferson County (Birmingham), one registration official estimates 23,994 Negroes, or 15% of all persons registered, are now qualified to vote, up from 11,191, or 8% of the total, only two years ago. In Tennessee, nearly 65% of the state's 314,000 adult Negroes are registered, and in Florida 45% of the state's 470,000 adult Negroes can vote.

The growth in qualified Negro voters is largely due to registration drives of civil rights groups. The VEP has spent more than $500,000 in the past two years on such efforts. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., last month had 17 of its staff members concentrating on registering Negroes in Atlanta. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says it will step up its Dixie registration drives over the next few months.

Indeed, the next big round of Southern racial conflicts is likely to come from massive compaigns now being mounted for this summer by civil rights groups to speed up sluggish registration in Mississippi, where only 28,000 of 422,000 adult Negroes can vote, and in Alabama where, despite Birmingham gains, less than 19% of the state's adult Negroes are enfranchised. "A Negro almost has to be a college professor to register now in Alabama," complains the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian movement, a civil rights group.

Getting Federal Help

Civil rights organizations are getting considerable Federal help in their Negro voting drives. Negroes say they were able to become the voter majority in Macon County, Ala., only because of Federal court action. Since 1957, when civil rights legislation authorized the Justice Department to assess alleged discrimination in registration and voting, the department has filed 61 suits in the South. Some have brought no breakthroughs, Negroes complain, because the Federal judges hearing the cases were Southerners. But generally the "actions of the Justice Department have had a positive influence on the course of Negro voting in the South," says Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., assistant to the executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

Recent approval of a Constitutional amendment outlawing the requirement of a state poll tax for voting in Federal elections also has provided impetus to Negro vote drives. But the real impact of the amendment won't be felt for another year or two, says Mr. Branton of the Voter Education Project. "It doesn't make much difference right now in Mississippi and Alabama, where the real problem is just getting past the registrar," he says.

More important to the outlook for Negro voting is the current civil rights bill. It would restrict the use of different standards for Ne-

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groes and whites seeking to register. A Negro with a sixth-grade education, for example, would be presumed to be literate where registration literacy tests are required. The civil rights bill also would prohibit the denial of the right to vote because of immaterial errors or omissions in registering. And it would speed up litigation in Negro voting tests by providing for immediate appeal from special three-judge courts to the U.S. Supreme Court. "We would still have to go to court in many cases," notes one Southern Negro leader, "but we ought to get much quicker relief."

Whites Start Own Drives

Negro organizations generally have been able to make considerable registration headway despite apathy on the part of many Negroes, purges of voter rolls, stiff resistance from whites and, often intimidation from recalcitrant segregationists.

Whites, however, also have been registering in greater numbers. Part of this is the result of increases in white population, but some is designed to counter Negro registration efforts. In Savannah, Ga., white activity at the registrar's office picked up noticeably the day after 50 Negro college students showed up to register. A Savannah Negro who was stopping Negroes as they came out of the automobile registration office to suggest they also sign up to vote noticed a white man imploring passing whites to do the same.

Except for isolated communities, white voters still far outnumber Negro voters in the South. But even where white voters are increasing numerically faster than Negroes, they are not diluting Negro gains as much as it would appear because whites often split at the ballot box, while Negroes usually vote as a bloc. "We're preaching to our branches to use their balance of power," observes John Brooks, an NAACP voter registration official based in Richmond, Va.

Heartened by their growing strength at the polls, Negroes are moving swiftly into Dixie politics. Scores of Negroes are vying for local, state and national offices from Texas to the Carolinas, though generally their chances of winning are slim. Four Negroes are running for Congress from Mississippi; another Negro Mississippian is bidding for the U.S. Senate. Negro attorneys in Albany, Ga., and Richmond, Va., are campaigning for Congress. A Selma, Ala., Negro woman also is running for Congress, and a North Carolina Negro is seeking a Congressional seat on a write-in ticket.

In Jefferson County, Ala., a Birmingham Negro is a candidate for the board of education, and two are running for constable. In Macon County (Tuskegee), Ala., where whites hold a slim voter majority, a Negro is in the race for the county board of revenue, another is seeking a seat on the board of education, two are campaigning for justice of the peace and one has announced for probate judge. Negroes also are running for legislative seats in several Southern states. In Halifax County, N.C., for example, Negroes have fielded a slate of 11 candidates who are seeking posts ranging from county coroner to state senator.

Last week, Mrs. Florence Katheryn Clay, a 40-year-old widow and funeral director at Forrest City, Ark., announced her candidacy for the First Congressional District. Not only is she the first Negro to run for a major political office from the east Arkansas delta region in recent decades but she also is one of the few opponents ever to run against E. C. Gathings of West Memphis since he took office 25 years ago.

A noteworthy Negro-white voting test is a no-holds-barred race among 29 candidates, including 10 Negroes, for 10 state legislature vacancies in Richland County (Columbia), S. C. One of the white candidates is L. Maurice Bessinger, founder of the National Association for the Preservation of White People. He hands out campaign cards listing names of all candidates, with 10 of them marked "Negro."

Some Grandstand Gestures

The political bids of many Southern Negroes are little more than grandstand gestures. But they will help bring out the Negro vote, and several are favored to win. There would be precedent for it, even in Dixie. In Nansemond County (Suffolk) Va., a Negro in his third try last November defeated the white incumbent of 16 years on the board of supervisors. Five of the county's 15 justices of the peace also are Negroes.

Atlanta attorney LeRoy R. Johnson last year became the first Negro to be elected to the Georgia senate in nearly a century. Two weeks ago, Robert Scales, the first Negro to seek public office in Murfreesboro, Tenn., drew votes from both races to lead a ticket of 14 whites and win a term on the City Council. Building contractor John Winters, a Negro, is in his second term on the Raleigh, N.C., City Council, and Mrs. Charles White, a Negro, is in her second term on the Houston school board.

Equally as important as the spate of Negro candidates is the growing influence of Negro voters in the election of Southern whites. Atlanta Negroes claim their support of Ivan Allen, Jr., insured his 1961 election as mayor in a run-off against a segregationist opponent. William B. Ingram, Jr., trailed in the Memphis mayoralty election last fall as the vote count neared an end. A Memphis TV station even announced his opponent as the victor. But the normally slow Negro precincts began reporting and their votes swung the election to Mr. Ingram.

Influential in Houston Vote

Houston Mayor Louie Welch is said to owe his position partly to Negro voters, who switched to him on his fourth attempt at the office. Within two weeks after he took office, Mr. Welch appointed a Negro to a city hall post. In Birmingham, Negro voters not only provided the "swing vote" needed to change the form of government from commission to council, but they also were instrumental in unseating the hard-core segregationist administration responsible for turning fire hoses and dogs on Negro demonstrators last spring.

In an abrupt about-face from a few years ago, some Southern white politicians now appeal openly for the Negro vote at the risk of losing white supporters. In Richmond, Va., where two white factions are in a bitter struggle over control of city government, both sides are jockeying for Negro support. It's believed the 14,000 Negro votes are enough to swing the election for whichever group can win over the bloc. Most North Carolina politicians eagerly respond to invitations to appear before the Raleigh Citizens Association, a Negro group.

In some instances, reapportionment may cause politicians to re-examine their positions. Such is the case with Charles Weltner, a Georgia Congressman, say some Negro leaders. The Atlanta representative recently voted against the civil rights bill when it passed the House; at the time, his district covered three counties with whites in a vast majority. Now, however, his district consists only of one county where Negroes make up 30% of the population.

"He's in deep trouble and knows it," says a Negro attorney in Atlanta, who adds that Rep. Weltner currently is holding private meetings with Negro leaders in an effort to make amends to his Negro constituents. He notes, too, that the Congressman recently publicly chastised an Atlanta judge for handing out harsh fines to Negro demonstrators.

But a top aide for the Georgia Congressman takes issue with such an assessment. "He knew that the redistricting was coming when he voted against the civil rights bill," the aide declares. He says Rep. Weltner is a moderate on the race question, was supported by Negroes in 1962 and has a Negro on his staff.

Negro Campuses

Colleges in South Seek To Improve Facilities, Lift Academic Levels

Upgrading Stimulated by New Job Offers for Grads and Rivalry of White Schools

'The Teachers Are Tougher'

By NEIL A. MAXWELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — A Miles College graduate of the class of '61 would hardly recognize the Negro school here if he returned to it today.

The familiar 38-year-old administration building and a handful of other structures still stand in the shadow of smoke stacks of a U.S. Steel Corp. mill. But nearby and entirely new since 1961 are a $433,000 student center, a faculty apartment building, a $70,000 home for the president, and a dean's residence. And workers are getting ready to build a $750,000 science center plus the school's first dormitories to house 208 students.

The changes go deeper than bricks and mortar. The library built in 1961 has a new wing this year and four times as many books as it had two years ago. New courses have been added since 1961 in such fields as geology and histology, while traditional studies like English and math have been made far tougher.

The transformation at Miles is no more striking than that which is occurring at most of the 80 or so Negro colleges in the South. Behind such changes is an educational crisis linked to gains being made in civil rights. New job opportunities opening up for Negro college graduates are putting a severe strain on the schools' academic resources.

"Get Better or Close Up"

"The Negro colleges either have to get better or close up," says an official of the United Negro College Fund, a major fund-raising agency for Negro colleges. "From now on, their graduates are going to have to compete with whites for jobs and the schools have to see that they leave college with the right kind of preparation."

Many Negro educators say jobs are opening up faster than they can train applicants. "There was a man from International Business Machines Corp. here looking for a salary analyst with a major in business or math and we just didn't have one," frets Lucius Pitts, president of Miles. But despite new recruiting of Negroes, considerable hiring bias remains. One recent survey of 509 Negro graduates of schools across the nation found that more than 40% of them took Federal, state or other governmental jobs, presumably because discriminatory barriers are lower in government work.

A second factor spurring Negro colleges to improve their curriculums is new competition from neighboring white colleges that are beginning to integrate. Indeed, some Southern white schools are actively courting top Negro high school graduates. "We went after two Negroes with high test scores," says Dean W. Hugh McEniry, Jr., of Stetson University, a mostly white school in De Land, Fla. "Princeton got to one of them before we did and got him by offering free tuition and help with expenses. We're fighting it out with two other schools for the other one."

More Schools Integrate

The Southern Regional Council, a group which keeps tabs on desegregation, says 348 Southern white colleges admit Negroes now, up from 202 in 1961. A few weeks ago the Rockefeller Foundation gave $1 million to four leading white schools in the South—Duke, Tulane, Emory and Vanderbilt universities—to finance scholarships primarily for needy Negro students.

While more white schools in the South are opening their doors to Negroes, the Negro colleges also are enrolling more students. In eight Southern states, 56,098 Negroes attended predominantly Negro colleges last fall, up from 51,896 in 1959, says an official of the U.S. Office of Education. The present total is roughly one-fifth of the 300,000 or so Negroes in all U.S. colleges. A growing proportion of U.S. Negroes is going to college. The 1960 census showed 3.5% of adult Negroes were college graduates, up from only 2.2% a decade earlier. But they still lag far behind the 8% of white adults with college degrees.

Some of the Negro colleges already are first-rate, but many are not. Long separated from the white community by a legal and cultural gulf, they face a formidable task in deemphasizing their traditional role as training grounds for teachers and preachers.

Efforts to upgrade academic standards are painfully apparent to students at some Negro schools. "All the teachers are tougher this year," moans Charles Joseph, a lanky junior majoring in English at Bishop College in Dallas. "A lot of my friends are finding the transition too rough and they're talking about quitting." Bonnie Pryor, a book-laden Bishop coed, agrees. "I've got to do lots more work outside of class to keep up, and it's not just me; the library is chuck full most nights," she says.

Zealous Clark College Students

Increased student zeal is apparent also at Clark College in Atlanta. "You should have heard the moans last year when I handed out a reading list of 8 or 10 books," says Robert F. Fishman, an instructor in political science. "This semester, nobody said a word."

Bishop's faculty just threw out nearly half of the courses in its catalog, a move being followed by many schools which found they offered too many snap courses. At Alabama State College in Montgomery, students last year chose from 745 courses offered. This year there are only 276, and gone are such challenges as Concrete and Masonry 351 and Interest Expression Through Craft Hobbies 352. Instead, subjects are offered for the first time leading to majors in chemistry, biology, mathematics and physics.

To finance the overhauling of their programs, Negro colleges are getting a helping hand from business. Bigger corporate contri-

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butions are largely responsible for the rapid success of a special United Negro College Fund drive to raise $50 million for new construction at 32 campuses, says F. B. Patterson, fund president. The fund is raising $30 million nationally and the balance locally at each school. "Response has been so good we're already past $29 million and expect to reach our goal in a few days," says Mr. Patterson.

In the fund's annual drive to raise operating money for member colleges, a record $2,671,000 was collected last year and the goal for the drive which began April 1 was raised to $3 million.

Many Negro colleges also have undertaken ambitious fund raising programs of their own, ranging from a $300,000 "emergency" drive to give raises to teachers at Tougaloo College outside Jackson, Miss., to a $40 million campaign just starting at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, where a $3 million construction program already is under way.

Bigger budgets are helping boost pay scales but most Negro schools are still far from competitive. A study last year showed salaries of full professors at 20 Southern Negro colleges average $8,900, or more than $2,000 below the U.S. average for all full professors. And some Negro schools are finding they can't attract needed faculty even when they have the funds. "Before this year, we didn't have the money, but now we're ready to hire eight Ph.D.'s in math, physics and business and we can't find them," says a spokesman for Alabama State. "You know, there aren't a whole lot of Negro Ph.D.s around and state law says Negroes are all we can hire."

At Miles College, however, Dr. Pitts says being a financially-pinched Negro school sometimes helps. "We signed contracts the other day with a man and his wife, both with doctorates, who are coming here for Peace Corps-type salaries so they can do their bit for civil rights," he says. "We've already got a retired Princeton Ph.D. who gives us back most of his salary and I've got a letter from a young man who wants to teach here and is apologizing for having to ask for money." Such offers became numerous after the well-publicized role of Miles students in the Birmingham racial protests last summer, he adds.

Schools Band Together

More Negro and white schools in the South are joining together in cooperative education ventures that help stretch their financial resources. One, called Piedmont University Center, involves 16 North Carolina colleges, five of them Negro. As part of the program, Negro students from Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina recently joined white students on the campus of High Point College to hear a lecture by Henry Eyring, a noted University of Utah chemist. "None of our 16 schools could have attracted Dr. Eyring by itself, certainly not a small one like A&T," says A. R. Keppel, director of the center, at his headquarters in a 50-room mansion just outside Winston-Salem.

The new vigor shown by Negro colleges is stirring mixed feelings among Southern legislators. At one extreme, Alabama lawmakers are voting generous budget increases to Alabama State. The school's budget climbed to $649 per student this year from $337 only two years ago. "They've finally realized they can't keep Negroes out of state-supported schools, so now they're trying to keep them happy in Negro schools," asserts a Negro educator in Alabama.

On the other hand, Mississippi lawmakers currently are considering a bill to strip Tougaloo College of its charter. The legislators have been irritated by efforts of students there to keep entertainers and speechmakers from appearing before segregated audiences in Jackson. The students claim some victories; among those canceling speeches in recent months were actors from the Bonanza television series, a folk music group and James E. Webb, head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

In addition to the bill to revoke Tougaloo's charter, Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin has demanded an investigation of the college. According to Tougaloo's white president, A. D. Beittel, Mr. Gartin "implied that we are harboring Communists on the campus." He notes that losing the charter probably would not force the school to close but would make it difficult to borrow money and would likely lodge liabilities of the college directly on the shoulders of its trustees.

Paul Harvey News

The Civil Rights Bill

In whatever form the "Civil Rights Bill" passes Congress, it will satisfy nobody.

I see nothing in the proposed legislation or in its proposed amendments which is not already law in northern cities. Yet race restlessness in northern cities now exceeds that in the South.

If the white-Negro relationship in the North were now entirely campatible -- if we could point to New York and Chicago and Pittsburgh as models of tranquil race relations -- then the South would be compelled to follow that example even without duress.

But there is nothing in this "rights" bill which will correct the admitted defacto segregation of northern and western schools.

The issues against which the Negro is presently demonstrating in Chester, Pennsylvania are not going to be resolved by another law.

The Negro of the North presently has civil law protecting his civil rights, but this obviously is not enough. Some demonstrate for racemixing in public schools even if you have to cart the youngsters all the way across town in order to mix them up. That's silly, of course.

The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 constituted an announcement to the Negro people that they do have the machinery of civil law available to them as a recourse for civil grievances.

Yet the unfortunate demonstrations which sought to disrupt opening day of the New York World's Fair were sponsored by individuals who were shoving their noses at civil law. That is inexcusable.

Negroes who have achieved most -- manufacturer S. B. Fuller, government administrator Robert Weaver, singer Leontyne Price, author James Baldwin, Doctors Julian and Bunche and Ambassador Carl Rowan -- these did not bully their way to the summit of recognition. They earned their way.

There's going to be a terrible letdown on both sides of the color line if we expect the new "rights" bill to be something it is not.

When Congressman Ted Kennedy ignored Senate tradition to take the floor in his freshman term to plead for passage, he said -- with tears in his voice -- "If President John Kennedy's life and death had a meaning, it is that we should not hate but love one another. It is in that spirit that I hope the Senate will pass this bill."

But the Congress cannot legislate love. And if we expect that result from this legislation, eventual disillusionment is inevitable.

In states where "rights" are now assured, Negroes demonstrate for something more than that.

Nationally our population is less than nine per cent Negro. General Motors employs more than nine per cent non-whites. Yet General Motors is presently the target of castigation, intimidation, boycott and demonstrations by several civil rights organizations.

In Boston, "rights" groups charge that 34 of the city's 200 schools are "segregated." By "segregated," they mean these schools are "more than 50% Negro."

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2 AFM Locals In Chicago Told to Merge

New York—The merger of two Musicians' locals in Chicago has been ordered by the executive board of the international parent union, Pres. Herman Kenin announced.

Local 10 is largely made up of white musicians, Kenin pointed out, and Local 208 is preponderantly colored. The international moved to direct the merger, he said, only after nearly a year of negotiations to effect a voluntary agreement, with the parent union providing legal and accounting services and official supervision to speed the process.

Talks Failed

The international acted after voluntary merger negotiations had failed to produce a "final solution of comparatively minor items" by Apr. 1, the date set last year for agreement.

Equal rights for each member of both locals are guaranteed, Kenin said, with "specific safeguards for individual and property rights." Former members of Local 208 are "assured representatives of their exclusive choice for a period of six years after complete merger." A joint executive advisory board was ordered to launch the processes of final merger.

Kenin continued:

"Both locals have a long and honorable history . . . and have shared in advancing the cause of musicians . . . The jurisdictions of the two locals are identical and their objectives are the same. Their continued separation is founded only on the unfortunate circumstance that their constituencies reflect the color of their members."

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ELLENDER TELLS SOUTH TO REJECT RIGHTS DEFIANCE

Louisiana, Foe of Measure, Asserts Resistance Must Follow Legal Processes

ASKS CALM AND REASON

Any Other Course, He Says, Would Be Both 'Foolhardy and Indefensible' Action

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 4—Senator Allen J. Ellender, a Louisiana Democrat who vigorously fought enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, counseled fellow Southerners today against defiance of the new law.

Any resistance, he said, "must be within the framework of the orderly processes established by law."

"Any other course," he added, "is foolhardy and indefensible—much more indefensible and dangerous than it might have been at some other time in our nation's past."

Senator Ellender offered his advice in a talk recorded for broadcast by Louisiana radio stations.

"The coming months will be trying ones for all of us," he remarked, "but the difficulty must be met with calm and reason, and not with violence and emotion."

Decries Civil Disobedience

The Senator said that some civil rights advocates had wrongfully resorted to civil disobedience in demonstrations to promote their cause.

"Now we have before us a law with which many of us disagree, and will find hard to obey," he said. "But it is the law, and the doctrine of civil disobedience has no more credence now than it did before."

In another development, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law called on all state and local bar associations "to assume a major responsibility" in the promotion of peaceful and voluntary compliance with the Civil Rights Act.

The co-chairmen of the 200-member committee, Harrison Tweed of New York and Bernard G. Segal of Philadelphia, issued a Fourth of July statement through the group's headquarters here.

"An especially heavy responsibility rests upon lawyers and their professional organizations," they said, "to interpret the new law to their communities and to their clients, to urge orderly compliance and to support individual lawyers who take a leading part in these efforts despite the risk of criticism or hostility."

The co-chairmen said they were offering the committee's

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Ellender Tells South to Reject Defiance of the Civil Rights Act

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services to lawyers and bar groups "to help them in any way we can" toward achievement of peaceful and lawful settlement of racial problems.

The committee was formed in 1963 at the request of President Kennedy to encourage mediation efforts by lawyers in the field of racial relations.

Pledges to 'Expedite' Work

Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges promised today to "expedite" the work of Community Relations Service, which was set up in his department by the Civil Rights Act, signed Thursday by President Johnson.

"It will be our desire to assist — and I would underscore the word assist — communities and persons in various states and localities in resolving disputes and disagreements relating to racial discrimination," he said in a statement.

"We will encourage and assist in every way possible community relations committees at local and state levels, as well as being as helpful as possible on any specific disputes that may arise," he said.

Mr. Hodges and LeRoy Collins, whom President Johnson has appointed director of the Community Relations Service, will leave next week for a series of conferences with Southern Governors. They are expected to seek the Governors' help in seeking voluntary compliance with the law in cooperation with the new mediation service.

Peace Prevails in South

Much of the South was relatively peaceful yesterday as Negroes held back major attempts to test white reaction to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

There were exceptions, but they appeared to be scattered and unconnected. No one was reported injured in attempting to desegregate restaurants, hotels or pools. Nor was anyone reported arrested.

There was brief violence at a segregationist rally in Atlanta, but it had nothing to do with Negro moves to measure white resistance to the new law.

In Pine Bluff, Ark., a small city of the Arkansas River 40 miles from Little Rock, whites drove off a band of Negroes who were trying to integrate a cafe.

A shirt was ripped off one of the seven or eight Negroes by one of the whites who stormed out of the bar when the Negroes approached. It was the first racial trouble reported in Arkansas since the civil rights bill became law.

It was quiet at Maddox's Restaurant in Atlanta, where the owner, Lester Maddox, drove Negroes away Friday at gunpoint. Mr. Maddox closed his place for the day so that he could join the segregationist rally in Atlanta's Lakewood Park.

Elsewher in the South, most country stores were closed. Motels and hotels were open, but Negroes were apparently putting off any drive to register in them until after the holiday.
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Race — Politics

Michigan Negro Group Forms Political Party To Push Civil Rights

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Freedom Now Party Qualifies For Fall Ballot; Leaders Say Negroes Ignored by Others

By RONALD G. SHAFER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DETROIT—Some Michigan Negroes, who have been playing a growing role in this state's politics, have decided now's the time for a real test of their voting strength. So come November, voters here will get a chance to cast ballots for candidates offered by the Freedom Now Party, an organization whose goal is "independent, black political action."

The appearance of the all-Negro party on this fall's ballots in Michigan was assured when the group recently surprised politicians by presenting petitions with signatures of some 22,000 Michigan residents—far more than the 14,896 needed for certification. The party expects to field a slate of 25 candidates for the U.S. Congress, state legislature and other state offices, including the governorship.

Freedom Now leaders believe they represent the first all-Negro party to obtain a spot on a state ballot but they confidently expect others to follow. They expect to pick up at least 100,000 votes this fall, enough to encourage Negroes in other states to form their own political parties. "We think chances are good of winning some seats in the state legislature and in one or two predominantly Negro Congressional districts in Detroit," says the Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., chairman of the new third party and a Detroit minister.

Democrat Dismisses the Claim

State politicians generally scoff at such optimistic voting claims. "They won't get anywhere near 100,000 votes," says Zolton Ferency, state Democratic Party chairman. But the Democrats, who most observers believe would be hurt most by success of an all-Negro party because Negroes have generally voted Democratic in the past, are not ignoring the new party. "It poses somewhat of a threat politically," concedes Mr. Ferency. He's well aware that Michigan has more than 400,000 Negro voters and that in Detroit they account for almost 30% of the city's population.

Freedom Now leaders are making the move for a third party because they claim real political strength is denied the Negro in the two major parties. Rev. Cleage is convinced that to make progress "Negroes must vote in a bloc to exert their political strength. Anyway," he continues, "it's time the Negro stopped depending on the white liberal to do his thinking."

The Freedom Now Party is by no means a product of a unanimous Negro effort. Many Negro leaders are opposed to the move, including the Rev. James Wadsworth, president of the Detroit chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "It's foolish to go off in a splinter group," he declares. "If Negroes weren't making any progress, they might turn to such a group out of frustration. But, bad as things are sometimes, Negroes are making progress."

The new party has still to draw up a specific platform; that will be done in September. However, Rev. Cleage says the party is sure to base its main appeal on a call for strong enforcement of the new Civil Rights Law. "We want increased use of state and Federal troops on behalf of Negroes in civil rights disputes," he says. But there are other goals: Better Negro schooling, more appointments of Negroes to public office and passage of the medicare and Federal aid to education bills.

Look to the First District

Freedom Now leaders figure their best chance for victory this fall is in Detroit's First Congressional district. The voting makeup there is split evenly between Negroes and whites. Besides this, it's a new district with no incumbent running because of a recent redistricting program. Three Negroes are already in the running for the Democratic nomination and Negro leaders fear a vote split may allow a white to win the primary. This would mean the Freedom Now Party could well be the only party with a Negro candidate—a powerful attraction in the district.

Freedom Now leaders say that in races where they have little chance to win they still may help determine the winner. Rev. Cleage says narrow election majorities are the rule in Michigan. He points out that in the last governor's election Republican George Romney beat out his Democratic rival by only 78,000 votes out of 2,759,000 cast. "So 100,000 votes one way or the other can make quite a difference," he declares.

The new party is technically a branch of a national party bearing the same name. But the Michigan group is the party's only strongly organized arm, according to Conrad Lynn, a New York lawyer and the party's national chairman. Mr. Lynn makes it clear that he's counting heavily on a good showing by the units in other states. "Our future depends on what happens in Michigan this fall," he says.

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The Negro Vote

Widespread Antipathy To Goldwater May Tip Some States to LBJ

Survey Finds President Has Nearly Unanimous Backing; Many GOP Negroes Defect

A Key Factor in the South?

By DAN CORDTZ
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BALTIMORE—The first Southern Presidential candidate since the Civil War, running against the party of Abraham Lincoln, seems well on his way to winning nearly every Negro vote in the country.

Evidence of this pro-Johnson tide can be found here in this old port city where Negroes, more so than in most cities, traditionally have provided important support for the Republican Party. Questioning of scores of Baltimore Negro voters discovers not one who intends to cast a ballot for Goldwater. Only two of the 16 Negroes on the 45-member city Republican Central Committee have taken the usual step of endorsing the party's Presidential nominee.

Such evidence extends nationwide. Wall Street Journal reporters talking to more than 600 Negroes in two dozen communities turned up only five who say they will vote for Sen. Goldwater. Definitely in the Johnson column are 542. The rest are "undecided," but 23 of these are clearly cool to the Arizona Republican.

And similar evidence can be found at party headquarters. National Republican officials, without publicly conceding anything, have largely written off the Negro vote. Jubilant Democrats, who gained an estimated 70% of the Negro vote in 1960 and barely 61% four years earlier, now claim they will land an unprecedented 95% on Nov. 3. And that larger share, they're hopeful, could be of a much larger total unless apathy sets in; the rolls of registered Negro voters have swelled from five million in 1960 to six million today.

Importance of Vote

The consequences are by no means negligible. Northern Negroes are concentrated in such populous, urbanized states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and California, where huge blocs of electoral votes are up for grabs. Even in the South, which is a key element in Sen. Goldwater's plan for victory, the Negro vote has become a consideration. Half a million more Negroes have registered since 1960 in 11 Deep South states. In some, they may be enough to tip the balance.

"Our problem is simple," declares Louis Martin, the confident Negro deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee. "Get 'em to the polls. We don't even have to hammer at them about how lousy the other guy is. They already know it."

If Mr. Martin's attitude sounds euphoric, it appears largely justified. And nowhere are the fact and consequences of wholesale Republican defections more dramatically illustrated than here in Baltimore, with its 35% Negro voting population. Heavy support from the city's Negroes provided the margin of victory for Republican Theodore McKeldin, twice as Maryland governor and, most recently, as Baltimore mayor.

Mr. McKeldin's name is still spoken with reverence by many of his Negro constituents, but they have turned away with fury and—some say—with finality from the national Republican ticket. The mayor himself has repeatedly refused to endorse Sen. Goldwater. Some candid Maryland Republican officials expect no more than 10% of the Negro vote this fall. "We're right down to rock bottom here," one admits. "I think you could even put Beelzebub on the ticket and get 10%."

The Voters Talk

The GOP leader may prove far too optimistic. Stroll through what once were Republican strongholds—the tree-shaded, hilly streets of the upper middle class Negro district near the Morgan State College campus—and you find an astonishing voter turnabout. Listen to just a few of the comments.

"I have voted Republican all my adult life," sadly remarks 86-year-old William D. Johnson, a retired teacher. "Leaving the party is a very hard choice. But I would not be worthy of my race if I were to vote for Goldwater."

George H. Spaulding, a chemistry professor, asserts that "Goldwater is entirely opposed to everything both the Democrats and Republicans are for. I'm generally a Democrat, but many of my friends and neighbors here are Republican. I tell you truthfully, not one will vote for Goldwater."

Another retiree, former druggist William Ellis, who supported both Richard Nixon and President Eisenhower, declares he will back every Republican candidate except those running for President and Vice President. "Goldwater is against the civil rights law," he explains, "and Miller doesn't argue."

In Baltimore's poorer section, of course, Negroes have always given the Democrats a majority. But they have seldom been as stirred as they are now. Lester Smith, who started shining shoes on seedy Lombard Street two months ago when he lost his construction crew job, gives a questioner a bit of blunt advice: "You're looking for trouble if you go 'round here asking are you for that Goldwater. Ain't a man down here voting for him. I know what I'm talking about."

Widespread Feeling

And the Negroes' voice in Baltimore is echoed throughout the land. Typical is Leo Castleberry, Denver truck driver, who asserts, "Goldwater is against everything. A couple of years of him and our country would be all fouled up." Ernest Wilson, 73-year-old retired drug store stock clerk, pauses in his leaf-raking before his Cleveland home to comment, "That man Goldwater—I don't like his attitude, I don't like his speeches. I don't like the way he carries on." And Arthur Hallman, site-seeker for a Los Angeles construction firm, says: "Goldwater is an advocate for hate groups, and we've got to keep them out of government."

These remarks demonstrate two important aspects of Negro voters' feelings as the elec-

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The Negro Vote: Broad Johnson Support Could Swing Some States

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tion nears: First, the vehemence of their opposition to Sen. Goldwater. More than a few interviewees respond to his name with profanity or with deeply personal insults. They also indicate a belief in the urgency of turning out to bar his way to the White House.

A clerk chipping ice outside of a Harlem meat market says, "This will be my first vote since Roosevelt went in. The President needs my vote." A straw-hatted grocer down the street fervently declares, "Those polls better be right." And a Detroit housewife, asked why she opposes Sen. Goldwater, snaps: "It's ridiculous to ask any Negro a question like that."

Second, a large number seem to hold no particular affection for President Johnson, even though they intend to vote for him. In a Hollis, N.Y., shopping center, the Democratic wife of a mechanic declares, "That Johnson's a lousy wheeler-dealer, but anything's a mile wide better than Goldwater." Even a Democratic volunteer worker in a Chicago registration campaign, passing out literature in an urban renewal housing project, admits: "Many of the people I've talked to are questioning President Johnson's integrity. So do I, for that matter. We wonder about his connections with Bobby Baker and all that money he's made by having the only TV station in Austin. If only we had Kennedy running again."

Praise for Johnson

But there are many who praise the President—particularly, of course, confirmed Democrats. Mrs. Phyllis Daily, New York switchboard operator, believes Mr. Johnson "has done a tremendous job stepping into someone else's place like he did, and I think he's for the people—the majority of the people." Agrees Clinton Sadler, 58-year-old Pittsburgh policeman: "Johnson took a good man's place and he's doing a good job on his own."

More important than bouquets from true Democratic believers, though, are the ballots from converts. Of those interviewed who now plan definitely to vote for President Johnson, 30 backed Richard Nixon in 1960 and 97 voted at least once for President Eisenhower. Of the "undecideds" leaning away from Goldwater, 21 call themselves Republicans ordinarily.

Many switchers volunteer their sadness at the need to take such a step. William T. Wilson of Philadelphia, who says he would have voted for New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller at the head of the GOP ticket, rejects the Arizonan as "entirely against my race." In Harlem, Vincent S. Baker, although he backs Sen. Keating for re-election against Bobby Kennedy, says, "Goldwater would turn back the clock on civil rights progress."

Although many anti-Goldwater Negroes explain their opposition in terms other than racial, most are heavily influenced by the Senator's vote against the civil rights act and his effort to woo Southern whites. Not surprisingly, therefore, his handful of backers is made up largely of those who feel personally uninvolved in the civil rights issue. Listening to a Goldwater whistle-stop speech in central Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Floyd H. Stern explain that they are the only Negro farmers in sparsely settled Noble County. Discrimination doesn't affect them directly and Mrs. Stern says she will vote Republican "because I want a change. I'd like to see us farmers more equal."

"They're Both White Men"

In Harlem, where the Black Muslim sect preaches its own brand of racism, a pro-Barry stroller dismisses the civil rights question with a curt: "They're both white men." He admires Mr. Goldwater's "greater integrity" and believes the Senator could "fix Vietnam." And Frank Zerega, Pasadena construction worker, even displays a bit of racial resentment of his own. "If Goldwater is elected," he says, "he'll put a check on people migrating from the South. Southern Negroes are fighting so hard, they're pushing us out of our jobs. I've been in California all my life."

Among Goldwater backers, only one—Thomas E. Dixon, a Houston tire store operator—challenges President Johnson's loyalty to the civil rights cause. "I would prefer that Goldwater had voted for civil rights," Mr. Dixon says, "but no one action should outweigh all the other factors. Johnson's voting record, where civil rights are concerned, in the negative sense runs circles around Goldwater's."

But the civil rights question is easily the biggest factor behind the massive Negro defection from the GOP—a movement that includes many party leaders. In more than one region, party participation has all but collapsed.

Negro leaders here have promised that there will be no Negro votes for anybody who voted against the civil rights bill," says Dr. Lee R. Shelton, Atlanta physician and vice chairman of the local Republican committee. Another local GOP leader, mortician I. S. Leevy of Columbia, S.C., says he will cast his first Democratic ballot this fall. What's more, he has offered to make speeches for President Johnson. Leodis Harris, Cleveland attorney who ran as a Republican for Congress two years ago, has publicly denounced Mr. Goldwater and now hints he will seek a seat on the city council as a Democrat. Archibald J. Carey, long a pillar in the Chicago GOP and himself a proven vote-getter, is another who has bolted with a bitter blast at the nominee.

Some Negro party workers, such as New York attorney Grant Reynolds, are determined to retain their affiliation while opposing Sen. Goldwater. Mr. Reynolds, who was recruited for the GOP National Committee staff by Vice Presidential candidate William Miller two years ago, resigned in protest against the selection of Mr. Goldwater. He has helped form the anti-Goldwater National Negro Republican Assembly which, he says, "forms an umbrella under which Negroes can remain with dignity."

Chary Office-Seekers

Almost without exception Negro Republicans running for office are chary of association with Sen. Goldwater. In Massachusetts, Attorney General Edward Brooke steers clear of the national ticket in his campaign for re-election. Although he does not volunteer denunciations of the Senator in his speeches, he disavowed him immediately after the Republican convention because "our basic views on civil rights, extremism and nuclear armaments are incompatible."

Robert Blackwell, running for Congress in Detroit's solidly Democratic First District, ties himself to the coat-tails of LBJ and anti-Goldwater Gov. George Romney. "I'm concentrating on showing people how to split their votes," he says. "I'm not inclined to vote for Barry Goldwater."

Faced with such problems, national Republican officials apparently have decided not to waste their energies. Though the national committee last May talked of an all-out drive in six major cities to capture Negro votes, Clay Claiborne, Negro staffer in charge of this phase of the campaign, now works pretty much alone. The Democrats, on the other hand, have teamed up with many non-partisan groups in a massive get-out-the-vote drive.

The Urban League, as an example, is conducting such a campaign in 62 cities. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is also actively involved, along with the League of Women Voters and several civil rights groups. In the South, the two-year, $550,000 voter education project of the Southern Regional Council is drawing to a close after boosting Negro voter rolls by almost 44%.

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The Bookshelf

Lubell Does an Uneven Job on Race Problem

* * *

Pollster and political oracle Samuel Lubell only occasionally reaches peak form in his book on the racial problem, "White and Black: Test of a Nation."

He is at his best relating the results of his personal interviewing, especially in the South since the Supreme Court's school integration decision. He reports that acceptance of the order was greater at first than later, that massive resistance had to be organized.

Until the intervention of troops at Little Rock, he says, the idea grew that segregration actually could be maintained. Currently acceptance of integration is gaining in border states, but resistance is becoming still more embittered in the Deep South.

In the North, Mr. Lubell reports, the economically rising white worker is willing to have desegregation, except when it threatens his newly won property. His resistance to residential integration raises an important question about the future of our political party system: Whether the Democrats can hold their powerful coalition of both the Negro and white worker.

A corollary question for the Republicans is whether they can become a "truly national" party by invading the South. The complete loss of the Negro vote in the North, he demonstrates, makes it more and more logical for Republicans to seek compensating gains in the South, where their traditional bases of business and the middle class are growing in importance. Mr. Lubell raises these questions intelligently, and just as intelligently avoids trying to answer them definitively.

Other parts of the book lag. The opening chapters on Negro history are not explicitly connected with present problems, and cover pretty tired ground — Booker T. Washington was an Uncle Tom, Negroes became Democrats during the New Deal. The final chapters on "solving" the Negro problem are mostly a plea to stop discrimination.

In closing, the author does pose an interesting thesis, that it's difficult to view Negroes as individuals because they often act as a group, and because our culture is becoming increasingly group-oriented. He also touches quite lightly on factors such as educational problems and the social structure of the slum family, which others have convincingly made the crux of the race-slum problem.

In short, the book briefly and succinctly covers a lot of useful but fairly familiar ground. It gets this material together in one place, in simple language, and uses extracts from Mr. Lubell's interviews as enlightening illustration. It is easy and convenient reading, but not too stimulating.

One final point. Mr. Lubell likes to have his polling methods judged on results, in which they often compare favorably with other polls claiming to be more scientific. But it seems a matter of mere reportorial honesty to give some indication of how many people he talked to, especially when quoting percentages. Mr. Lubell, in this book and elsewhere, fails to do this. He is not alone in this fault, but as a pollster particularly articulate about the dangers and potentials of polls, he is a logical one to start correcting it.

—ROBERT L. BARTLEY

White and Black: Test of a Nation. By Samuel Lubell. Harper & Row. 210 pages. $4.95.

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Race Relations

Race Relations

For skilled Negroes, jobs aplenty

Industry is competing for scientists, engineers, and other key personnel. But qualified people are scarce and many will not apply for the positions

The scramble to hire Negro scientists, engineers, and other key personnel is intensifying among U.S. corporations. The frustrating aspect of the search for most companies remains the shortage of qualified people to fill the positions they offer.

Top companies are willing—even eager—to hire Negroes. Some are spending thousands of dollars for the opportunity. In some areas, qualified Negro scientists, sophisticated in their disciplines, are commanding premium salaries. Some outfits have even taken to pirating Negro personnel from other companies.

Help wanted. The motives behind this search vary from corporation to corporation. Some of the companies are just doing what they think is right, says Emory Washington, Philadelphia employment agency president who for the past few years has been helping companies find key Negro personnel.

"But let's face it," he adds. "Title VII [the equal employment opportunity section of the civil rights law] takes effect next July 2. It requires reports, and they want to show they're doing the job."

Washington, a Negro, to whose Harvey Personnel, Inc., Negro employment is a sideline project, estimates that there are some 100,000 Negroes in the country with university degrees related to science and engineering. But, he says, only about 60% of them are working at their crafts.

All together. During the past two years, Harvey Personnel has been bringing groups of corporations together for Negro-hiring forays in science and technology. At least one other agency—the Richard Clarke Personnel Agency in New York—provides similar service. Last week, Harvey brought a half-dozen, including Westinghouse, ITT, Atlas Chemical, GE, Hamilton Standard, and Celanese, and their divisions, to Washington, D.C., to interview some 200 Negro applicants.

Corporate representatives at the conference were reluctant to be quoted on their efforts—or their problems. One exception was Clarke T. Hamilton, employment superintendent of Westinghouse's Astronuclear Laboratory, who commented: "We have to be more aggressive to find these people—they don't come to us."

Hamilton's problem is unique: "There aren't any colored nuclear engineers," he says. And, since specialists in fields other than nuclear engineering are unlikely to apply to him for a job, he has to find applicable skills among engineers with other experience.

Problems. Other companies, too, complain that qualified Negroes don't come to them for jobs. Those with Southern plants, for instance, have understandable difficulty convincing Negro professionals they ought to locate in the South.

Emory Washington points out another angle to the reluctance of Negroes to apply: "Many still don't believe that the corporations are serious about hiring them," he says. A Negro mathematics professor at Howard University, who showed up for the interview, said: "I'd been fooled before." But he ended up convinced that job possibilities really are opening up, that "more firms than I'd realized really are serious."

Weighted tests. Hiring Negroes, for whatever a corporation's motives, presents a host of new problems for personnel specialists. Several of those interviewed at the Washington job conference were finding what educators and educational testers discovered in the schools several decades ago: Commonly employed testing procedures often are weighted against even educated members of minority groups because of the environment in which they grew up.

The controversial Motorola case (page 130) in Illinois involved this principle and personnel specialists see it as an example of the problems that can arise.

Specialists in several corporations are reviewing their testing procedures to insure against rejecting promising applicants because of a kind of verbal ineptitude that might be in no way connected with the kind of work for which they are applying.

"Negro applicants," says one interviewer, "might not always show up as well as a white applicant. But when you think of the obstacles a Negro engineer, for instance, had to overcome just to get where he is, he might be well worth a gamble. A little cultivation might turn up a first-rate individual." Corporations, apparently, are more and more willing to take that gamble.

Upgrading. "I don't think we're doing any great social good, hiring professionals," says Clarke Hamilton. "More often than not, we're hiring top people away from each other."

The job that needs doing, he says, and a job Westinghouse and some other companies are trying to do, is to upgrade the Negro non-professional. "A qualified engineer can get himself placed—if not with us, then with somebody else. But if you can upgrade a laundry worker to a clerk's job, and maybe get her brother or her children off the welfare rolls, then maybe you've done her, and society, some good."

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Unions & Race

AFL-CIO Speeds Job Bias Fight

EV Unions & Race

The AFL-CIO and its affiliates are moving against race discrimination on the job and in the community without waiting for formal complaints to be filed or for the fair employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act to take effect.

Dir. Donald Slaiman said the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights considers formal complaints only the visible part of the iceberg of discriminatory practices. Acting on complaints, he said, represents only a small fraction of the federation's anti-discrimination program.

The program is based on the conviction that civil rights must be assured "not only because it is the law, but because it is good union policy," Slaiman said on a network radio interview.

He reported that more than 60 international unions have assigned staff members to work with the Dept. of Civil Rights on community programs and to press non-discrimination programs within the union and at the collective bargaining table.

50-1 Ratio

The department estimates that formal complaints represent only about one in 50 cases of race discrimination, Slaiman said in response to questions by reporters from the New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on Labor News Conference, the AFL-CIO's public affairs radio program.

The AFL-CIO is developing programs aimed at erasing mis-

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Unions Move Ahead In Civil Rights Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

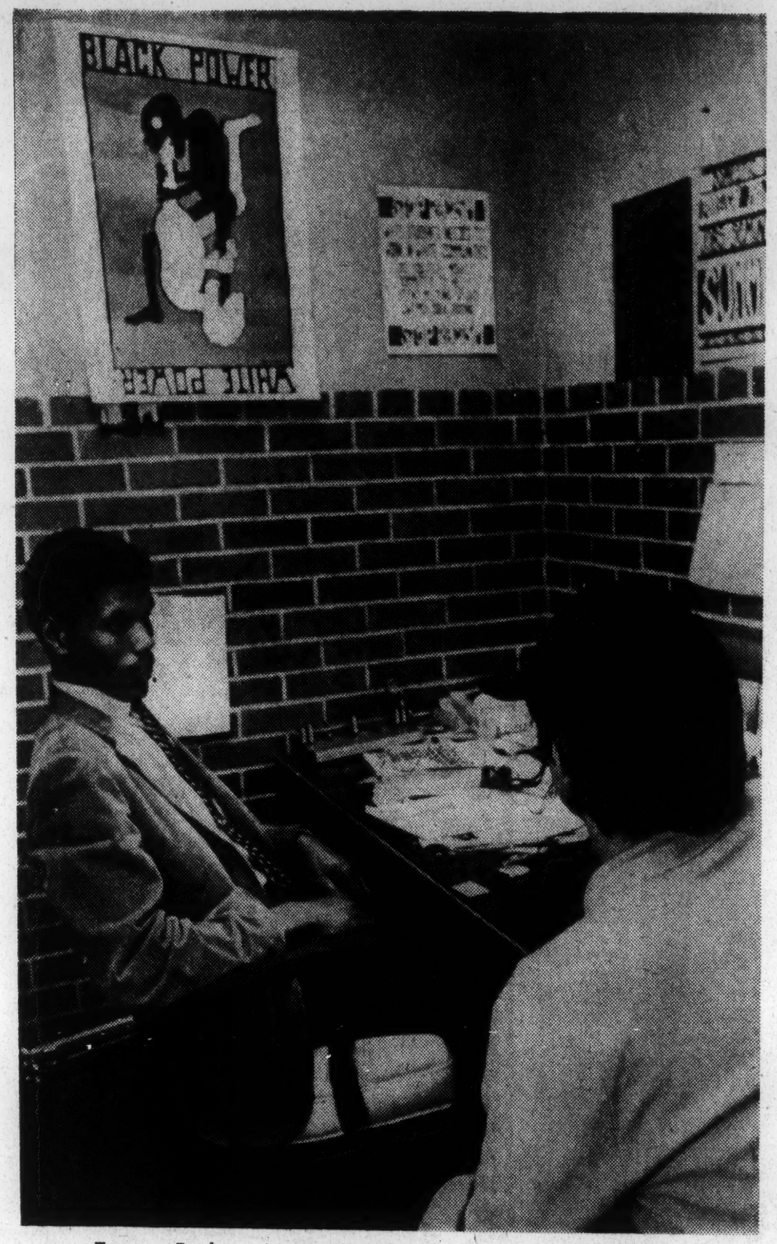
conceptions about the Civil Rights Act and is stimulating cooperation by labor, religious, civil rights and business groups in communities throughout the nation, he said.

Labor leaders will take part later this month in a national conference called by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission on the new fair employment section of the law which will go into effect July 1. One of the big jobs, Slaiman said, is to explain what the new law does not do, as well as what it does.

He said that brochures falsely charging that seniority would be undermined, hiring quotas would be established and that white workers would lose their jobs to Negroes were sent to more than 30,000 local unions before the November election.

Now, he said, "much of this fear is dissipating" as the facts catch up with the misstatements.

Black on a White Campus



Eugene Parks — 'getting involved' — in his YMCA office.
—State Journal Photo

'I Had No Real Identity,' Says UW Negro Seeking Involvement

By JOAN SMITH
(Of The State Journal Staff)

"Schools haven't really met the challenge of getting students involved with the problems that we're facing today — especially the Madison school system which prides itself on being liberal," said 21-year-old Eugene Parks, a native director of a three-month educational program called Project TEACH. The project is being sponsored by the University YMCA, and he and Jim Sykes, YMCA program director, originated the idea.

About 50 white students from all over Wisconsin have volunteered to spend their summer vacations making their hometown communities more aware of the racial situation.

"Many Wisconsin Communities don't

"The basic cause of black poverty is white racism," he said.

Some of the communities that the project will reach are Janesville, Eau Claire, Stevens Point, Green Bay, Platteville, Milwaukee, Beloit, Oshkosh, Marshfield, Columbus, Augusta, Wausau, Waterford, Neenah, and New Berlin.

The budget is $51,000 and Parks said that they need money.

Prior to Project TEACH, Parks was

Is It Here?

By J. ANTHONY LUKAS
(c) 1968, New York Times News Service

NEW YORK — The morning after the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was killed, a white student balancing a tray of eggs and toast sat down across a table from a black student in a Yale College dining room.

"I was terribly sorry to hear about Dr. King," the white boy said. "But I'm interested to know how all this affects a Negro. Would you mind telling me just how you reacted to it?"

The black student fixed the white for a moment with a hard glare. Then he got up, leaving his half-eaten breakfast on the table, and walked out of the dining room.

* * *

This brief incident went unnoticed amid the dramatic demonstrations by other black students following Dr. King's assassination. But it may tell more about what is gnawing at Negroes on predominantly white campuses than all the sit-ins at Columbia, Northwestern, Colgate, and dozens of other universities across the country.

For it reflects a far more subtle and complex discomfort than is suggested by the sharp campus confrontations in recent weeks.

In a New York Times survey, black students on seven campuses in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut area indicated that their unrest stemmed less from outright bigotry than the "feel" of an alien institution whose inhabitants often display quite unconscious insensitivity and ignorance.

The Times survey covered Yale, Wesleyan, Cornell, Vassar, the University of Bridgeport, the City College of New York, and Rutgers.

The survey suggests that the movement that has united black students is an amalgam of at least three elements:

ONE. — The black movement in society at large, which increasingly emphasizes the value of assertive "blackness" rather than the old goal of integration.

TWO. — The student power movement, in which both white and black students confront university administrations and structures that they regard as anachronistic.

THREE. — The identity crisis that nearly all young persons go through at some time, but which may be particularly acute for members of minority groups.

* * *

praised as a "credit to their race," yet desperately unsure of their positions, they usually reacted by becoming "more white than Whitney."

But as the civil rights movement has gradually given way to the drive for black power, the change has been reflected on the campuses.

From being among the most striking "Uncle Toms" in the Negro community, black students have now become among the angriest spokesmen for the militant black movement. Or, in their own terms, they have envolved from "Negroes," begging for acceptance in a white world, to "blacks," proudly proclaiming their her-

"You get the great big grin and you know it's not nice to see you at all."

itage and demanding recognition of their manhood.

Within the last two or three years, Negro student organizations have been formed at all of the institutions surveyed. Few Negroes on campus reject the overall goals

cause the attitude of whites in the dormitories is "hostile." Elsewhere, black students cite more subtle reasons for their discomfort in the dorms.

"I was uncomfortable from the very first day when I walked into the college," says a Yale student. "There were three white guys in my room and as I entered they all turned and one said, 'What room you looking for?'

"I knew right then they were saying to themselves, 'I hope it's not this room.' Or else you get the great big grin and smile — 'Nice to see you' — and you know it's not nice to see you at all."

* * *

The second element in the black student movement is the over-all student power movement. At each of the surveyed schools, black students as well as whites have raised issues that call into question the institution's power structure.

Black students have also cooperated with whites in trying to push their institutions into closer involvement with the community (particularly the Negro slums), but at most of the institutions surveyed white students have taken the lead in this endeavor. For the most part, black students seem more concerned with their own situation on campus.

Black students have also joined whites, of course, in protests and demonstrations against the Vietnam war, the draft, recruitment by the Dow Chemical Co. (manufacturers of napalm), and other issues that cut across race lines.

However, there are sharp differences in the approaches of Negro students and white militants that have resulted in heated disputes between them at some of the schools.

In general, white activists seem more interested in symbols and tactics that will demonstrate their alienation from society while black students seem largely interested in concrete results.

* * *

In the end, however, what separates white and black students most is perhaps an intangible — the "feel" of what it means to be black in a white society.

The process of coming to terms with one's role in such a society is really a process of coming to terms with oneself — what psychologists call the "identity crisis." For a black student today this can be a particularly agonizing procedure.

Most of the black students now attending the seven institutions previously went to high schools with large numbers of whites. But at night they

Changes Sought at UW

About 50 of the some 250 Negro students at the University of Wisconsin belong to Concerned Black People (CBP), formed here in November, 1966.

They were among students who demanded last month that the University of Wisconsin sell its $230,000 worth of stock in Chase Manhattan National Bank on grounds the bank helps finance the Republic of South Africa.

CBP, however, did not participate as an organization in a sit-in at the Administration Building after the Board of Regents rejected the request.

After a weekend in which black students and white radicals met almost constantly — separately and together — and the Negro students took the initiative in holding discussions with University administrators, the administration agreed to several of their demands, including:

ONE. Hiring of a black associate director to help administer a special scholarship program aimed at bringing disadvantaged students to the campus;

TWO. Setting up a committee of "equal numbers of students and faculty" to head the scholarship program. (CBP leaders said they understood this to mean blacks would constitute the majority of students on the committee.)

THREE. Administration support of a plan for an orientation program conducted "by blacks for black freshmen."

CBP also plans a "community house" here.

"There'll be workshops in black history and black culture. A lot of it will be geared toward high school kids but it's for the whole community — a place where they can come and rap (talk) in general," members reported.

UW Negro Seeking Involvement

By JOAN SMITH
(Of The State Journal Staff)

"Schools haven't really met the challenge of getting students involved with the problems that we're facing today — especially the Madison school system which prides itself on being liberal," said 21-year-old Eugene Parks, a native Madisonian who is majoring in economics at the University of Wisconsin.

Is It Here?

During the desegregation disturbances in the South in 1963, Eugene Parks wrote a letter to The Wisconsin State Journal which was so articulate that it was published as the leading article on the editorial page. Here's how Parks felt when he was 16.

"When I see pictures of mobs of whites acting like animals, when I see pictures of youths crying because a youth of a different color has entered their school, when I see pictures of Negroes hanged by their hands and beaten with chains, I wonder just where America is going . . .

"I hope the true Americans today will continue to press for the cause that is truly just.

"I've decided that when I grow up, if I can't live in my homeland as a truly free individual, then I will try to find a place where I can bring my children up in the belief that God has created them equal. Where that place is, I don't know.

"If it isn't here, then everything we've strived and worked for, all of the lives given in defense of this nation have gone to waste."

"It outrages me that we should call ourselves liberal. From my high school experiences here in the city, students are turned out very naive to the real facts of American government, to the real facts of life in America," he said.

Parks, a 1965 graduate of LaFollette High School where he was a member of the student council and the debate club, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Roger Parks, 639 E. Dayton St.

"I was brought up in an all-white community," he explained. "The only black people in my high school were myself and my sister. As a black person in school, I had no real identity. There were very few points in my education when I got any real knowledge of what black people contributed to what America is today.

"I blame that on the Madison school system, but it's true of all school systems."

Parks said that he thinks the University faces "a real crisis."

"There are students who have been here four or five years who still have no real desire to get involved in our country's problems," he said. "That's the real challenge of a university — to make education relevant — to get them involved.

"My real ambition right now is to get involved with many of the problems facing the country."

A member of the University's state champion debate team, Parks is also director of a three-month educational program called Project TEACH. The project is being sponsored by the University YMCA, and he and Jim Sykes, YMCA program director, originated the idea.

About 50 white students from all over Wisconsin have volunteered to spend their summer vacations making their hometown communities more aware of the racial situation.

"Many Wisconsin Communities don't feel involved in the U. S. racial problem," Parks said. "There ought to be discussion going on. The students will try to talk with the people and try to set up discussion groups, for instance, in the schools. Perhaps they can use the newspapers; it's up to the student to find out how."

Each student will be paid $450 at the end of the summer and Parks says that some of them "have taken this as a real commitment." They have had weekly training sessions.

About 14 Negro students are also involved in the project but Parks thinks that **"the best people who can deal with this problem are white students."**

"The basic cause of black poverty is white racism," he said.

Some of the communities that the project will reach are Janesville, Eau Claire, Stevens Point, Green Bay, Platteville, Milwaukee, Beloit, Oshkosh, Marshfield, Columbus, Augusta, Wausau, Waterford, Neenah, and New Berlin.

The budget is $51,000 and Parks said that they need money.

Prior to Project TEACH, Parks was chairman of a seminar titled "Problems of the American Cities." He recently spent 10 days in New York and Washington, D. C. discussing the subject with government officials.

Wisconsin State Journal

People Page

PAGE 8, SECTION 5 SUNDAY, JUNE 9, 1968

ment that has united black students is an amalgam of at least three elements:

ONE. — The black movement in society at large, which increasingly emphasizes the value of assertive "blackness" rather than the old goal of integration.

TWO. — The student power movement, in which both white and black students confront university administrations and structures that they regard as anachronistic.

THREE. — The identity crisis that nearly all young persons go through at some time, but which may be particularly acute for members of minority groups.

* * *

Until a few years ago, Negro students on predominantly white campuses were notably out of touch with aspirations of slum Negroes. Carefully selected from the best Negro high school graduates, **they have envolved from "Negroes," begging for acceptance in a white world, to "blacks," proudly proclaiming their heritage and demanding recognition of their manhood.**

"You get the great big grin and you know it's not nice to see you at all."

Within the last two or three years, Negro student organizations have been formed at all of the institutions surveyed. Few Negroes on campus reject the groups' goals.

On virtually all of the campuses, the black students are demanding greater efforts to recruit black students. All want more black faculty and administrative personnel.

All are pressing for "black studies," — courses in black history (African and Afro-American), black literature, black music, black culture.

At Cornell, the students have urged that the courses be open only to black students ("because in this field we're so far ahead of whites they'd only hold us back," explains Earl Armstrong, president-elect of the Afro-American Society.

Perhaps the most controversial of the Negro students' demands is the one for separate living facilities. At most of the surveyed schools, they are asking for either a dormitory section or an off-campus cooperative for black students who wish to live without whites.

Although administrators have been willing to give the idea a try, specific proposals have aroused strenuous opposition from white liberals who contend that they run counter to antidiscrimination policies, and may even violate the law.

* * *

At Cornell, Negro students contend that they need a black cooperative be-

ly interested in concrete results.

* * *

In the end, however, what separates white and black students most is perhaps an intangible — the "feel" of what it means to be black in a white society.

The process of coming to terms with one's role in such a society is really a process of coming to terms with oneself — what psychologists call the "identity crisis." For a black student today this can be a particularly agonizing procedure.

Most of the black students now **attending the seven institutions previously went to high schools with large numbers of whites. But at night they could retreat to the black world of home, a world that gave them some sense of their own identity.**

Most live 24 hours day in an essentially white world and this can be a deeply unsettling experience.

"I never really understood whites until I came here," said a Yale freshman. "You have to live with them to hate them."

But although he and other Negro students can cite cases of outright discrimination and bigotry, what they talk about more often is simply a lack of sensitivity and empathy.

"This is supposed to be one of the best colleges in the country," a Yale senior said. "But these guys live in an unreal world, a world that doesn't encompass the things that a man who is struggling in society has to deal with.

"You have to live with whites to hate them."

"They don't know half as much about us as we know about them—because they've thought so little about us for so long."

* * *

For girls in particular, the social life at a predominantly white college can be the spark that first starts them questioning their identity. At Bridgeport, the all-black group now being formed was started largely by Negro girls who spent weeks sitting round their dormitories without a date.

"It's much easier for a boy to get along here," said one of the Bridgeport girls. "If he's a good athlete and a good dancer he can get into a fraternity and no white girl is going to turn him down if he asks her to dance.

"But we can't ask a white boy for a date and you can be sure they don't ask us. With lots of the black boys dating white girls, we just sit around the dorms and get angry."

Male athletes do seem to have it easier, but those questioned at the seven campuses stressed that this was deceptive.

Gregory Morris, a Cornell senior, was the high scorer on the basketball team and has been drafted by the Pittsburgh Pipers of the American Basketball Assn.

"Sure, being a basketball star made me 'popular,'" he said. "I know just about everybody on campus. Everybody says 'Hi Greg' when they pass me. But don't think that makes me exempt from the problems any black kid has up here. Last year I dated a white girl and it got pretty serious until her parents made her cut it off. For a while there, I got pretty hostile."

* * *

There are, to be sure, a few Negroes who have managed to integrate fully into campus life and feel little of the discomfort other Negroes feel.

But these Negroes are in a small minority. For the things that make a white university feel wrong to a black as so intangible that they have very little to do with overt opinions.

Know Your Madisonian

Dr. Abraham A. Quisling

"Medicine is rewarding, I think. And with the scientific progress in antibiotics and anesthetics you can do things for people that you couldn't 30 years ago.

"Now you feel that everybody you see, you at least have got a chance to do something for them."

Dr. Abraham A. Quisling, a gray haired gentleman with a neat mustache, speaks with the conviction of experience — his own, and the experience of family tradition. One of the founders of the Quisling Clinic, 2 W. Gorham St., he has been a doctor for more than 35 years. Active in professional organizations and the Chamber of Commerce, he is currently serving as Madison chamber president.

* * *

He says that he first became interested in medicine while observing his father's practice, which was located in the family home. Following the progress of an older brother through medical school confirmed the interest.

Medicine as a traditional Quisling family career goes back further than Abraham Quisling's father, however.

"My great uncle was a physician in Norway," he said. "My grandfather, Abraham, and two of his sons were doctors, including my father."

A Madison native, Dr. Quisling, 62, received his B. S. and M. D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin. His specialty is internal medicine.

He has been an active member of the county, state, and American medical societies, the state and national societies of internal medicine, Wisconsin Heart Assn., the University and medical school alumni associations, and the New York Academy of Sciences. He has held several offices in these organizations.

A member of the Madison Chamber of Commerce for many years, Dr. Quisling has served on many chamber committees, served on the board of the Wisconsin Chamber of Commerce for several years, and is a past vice president of the state chamber.

He speaks enthusiastically of the Madison chamber, particularly of its Clean Lakes Program and the Business Ethics Division. "It has saved thousands of dollars for Madison consumers," he said of the Business Ethics Division.

* * *

Aside from his business and professional interests, Dr. Quisling is a member of the Madison Club, past president of the Maple Bluff Country Club, and a member of the YMCA, and attends Bethel Lutheran Church.

Although he is obviously a busy man, Dr. Quisling still finds time for his regular medical practice.

"I still practice," he said. "It's fun to practice. You don't like to give it up. I still have patients whom I've seen since I started to practice."

Having served on American Medical Assn. committees that helped develop Medicare, he speaks highly of the program. "I think it's done a lot of good. A lot of old people have more help and less to worry about now. Medicare has relieved them of the economic hazards of major illness."

Married to the former Roberta J. Hintze in 1931, he is the father of two children, Dagny Mary and Arthur Andreas. The Quislings live at 1918 Rowley Ave. Arthur did not follow the family medical tradition, but went into hotel management, Quisling explained.

DR. ABRAHAM A. QUISLING

Photo-Sketch by Edward Schumann

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RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE
FISK UNIVERSITY

EMPLOYMENT CLINIC
JUNE 21, 1961

Suggested Questions for Inquiry and Diagnosis by Clinic

1. Implications of recent legislation and directives from Washington (or otherwise) dealing with the conditions of the unemployed and setting forth provisions designed to help relieve unemployment conditions resulting from technological displacement. Such includes provisions for retraining of workers to meet the demands of urban technological developments.

2. Impact of factory decentralization... i. e. industry moving from industrial areas such as Detroit to other areas...upon employment and the unemployment of minority groups in such areas. The possibility exists that discrimination in the selection of workers to accompany industry movements to the South and the denial of opportunity for minority group manpower to accompany firms to Southern areas. (See # 7 below)

3. Discimination against Spanish-American youth with qualifications, college training and degrees in some instances, in employment; such in some instances possibly traceable to Cuban-United States relations at this time.

4. Thorough examination of the most recent Federal Government order dealing with minority manpower employment in Federal Agencies and in private business firms doing business with the Federal Government. Executive Order 10925.

5. Importance and need for definitive inventories of minority group manpower. Role of "color statistics" as a pretective factor in employment problems.

   a. Methods of collecting color statistics, particularly in view of State FEPC and other laws that forbid reference to race in employment procedures.

6. Degree to which minority group workers move up the occupational scale. To What extent are improvements occurring. Utilization patterns.

7. Problems of raising the levels of aspiration on the part of youth; approaches in counseling and guidance for youngesters--agencies and institutions for such including schools and colleges, churches, social agencies.... what is being done by educational systems in this respect? (See #14 below)

8. Industrial development in the South and in particular urban areas and the matt of employment practices by incoming firms....factors involved; discriminatory practices.

   a. How to improve upon employment opportunity for minority groups in new industry; Methods of working on this aspect of the problem; problems involved.

   b. Extent of discrimination by industry that moves South relative to denial of opportunity for minority groups to move with firm in "cadre" positions and as employees.

   c. Impact of labor unions upon new industry employment practices; also local business groups.

9. Problem of communication relative to the employment question... communication between Chamber of Commerce, Labor Unions, Community Groups, Government agencies. How to get various segments of the community to work in good faith on the problem

10. How one can know whether companies in states with anti-discrimination laws are complying with Federal Government contract provisions when such state laws forbid reference to race? Does such block pressures for compliance?

a. How will employer be able to demonstrate compliance with Executive Order 10925?

b. How can 10925 be enforced under such conditions? or utilized by groups working in the fair employment field?

11. Why Negroes do not engage in more business ventures? and operate industrial and commercial firms? Factors involved.

12. Concern with the "decline" in number of agencies which have served as major resources for helping in the area of Negro and minority employment such as the Union League in some areas. Who will perform functions normally performed by such agencies? Note also displacement of such agencies by government agencies such as FEPC and SCAD.

13. Inquiry into problems involving apprenticeship training, labor unions impact upon minority group employment and manpower utilization.

14. Responsibility of educational institutions both pre-college and those of higher learning, in matters pertaining to employment opportunity for minority groups..... placement bureaus, informing students, testing and encouraging applications on the part of youth and the filing of complaints with agencies.

FISK UNIVERSITY
RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE

June 25-July 7, 1962

Report
Employment Clinic

COMMITTEE: George Roybal, Chairman, Ernest Russell, Madeline Fields, Recorder, V. Kanatz, Mildred Williams, Recorder

Primarily, the function of the Employment Clinic was two-fold: (1) To view, identify, and analyze employment problems as they relate to the employment of minority groups in all sectors of the economy, (2) To identify and analyze various approaches to minimizing and eliminating discriminatory employment practices in all sectors of the economy.

IDENTIFICATION

In addition to the generally acknowledged areas of discrimination in employment, the following were placed in special focus: State employment services, vocational training, apprenticeship training, organized labor and on-the-job training.

In the analysis, although some "progress" was indicated in industry, serious problems are yet to be dealt with in the areas of State Employment Services, not excluding private agencies; vocational training is far from progressive in view of fast and ever-increasing technological changes; the hard grip on apprenticeships is maintained; and the failure of unions to implement their equal employment policies on the local level, both north and south, constitute what appears to be an impenetrable wall.*

CONCLUSIONS

In the process of attempting to bring about concrete approaches to the problems discussed, the following became areas of some enthusiasm:

1. Economic and political pressure
2. Executive Order 10925
3. FEP Legislation
4. "The Public Interest" approach
5. Injunctions (Kansas Federal* court ruling re-state employment Service)

Each of these areas were thoroughly discussed, analyzed in addition to existing programs and movements. All were found worthy of consideration in combating discriminatory practices.

COMMUNITY ACTION

Community action was considered both necessary and essential in the face of inaction, slow change (progress), outright complacency, in terms of "the public interest" stressed was the need for coherence among community groups and organizations in demanding more and better education, progressive vocational

training, FEP legislation, competent and realistic counseling, follow-up of initiated break throughs. Added were the awareness of effects of discrimination such as unemployment, deliquency, crime, swelling welfare rolls, etc. the use of existing legislation, executive order 10925, and instructions were definitely considered within easy grasp of many communities.

It was concluded that a successful plan for community action would have to include the following points:

1. Knowledge of facts
2. Sensitizing of minority community
3. Relating of problems to the community's PUBLIC INTEREST
4. Use of Community-wide (inter-racial) approach in committees and teams
5. Utilization of individual responsibility in assignments and follow-through

In a final analysis, the need for widespread concern because of the mirror-like view of "in the public interest," was deemed of convincing weight and, therefore, permeated our discussions and conclusions.

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21st Annual Race Relations Institute

June 29 - July 10, 1964

Final Report
Clinic on Community and Race
Leader: Dr. Joseph T. Taylor
Associate: Dr. Robert B. Johnson

I. Composition of Group
   a. Education: 14 (including two students)
   b. Human Relations and Civil Rights: 10
   c. Church Related Organizations: 1
   d. Social Worker: 1
   e. U.S. Post Office: 1
   f. National Sharecroppers Fund: 1

II. Ground Rules for Organization of Areas of Concern (page 1.)

III. Specific Areas Discussed
   a. Housing
   b. Leadership
   c. Education

IV. Unresolved Questions

CLINIC ON COMMUNITY AND RACE

Tuesday, June 30, 1964.

Areas of Concern

1. Leadership
   a. Apathy
   b. Incompetence - Fads and fashions.

2. Followship

3. Housing
   a. Attitudes
   b. Open occupancy

4. Social Changes
   a. Combined resources
   b. After the Civil Rights law - What?
   c. Advantages in seeking legal sanction

5. Implementation - Technique

6. Education - How to interpret the law properly

7. Responsibility of the Minority
   a. Reciprocal responsibility
   b. Self-improvement

8. Communities without Organizations - How do we start?

9. Civil Rights Bill
   a. Housing
   b. Employment
   c. Equal Opportunities

10. "Desegregation" and "Integration"
    a. Definition
    b. Which comes first?

Lewis Jones —

Arrival — any

Special arrangements

Have Vivian

Henderson call may.

2 days of time

Mahlon Griffith [Voluntary]

Fish

a committee for

repo

(12) effort

in Nashville

Wednesday, July 1, 1964.

Dr. Taylor: Concepts of the Community. Reference Points.

1. Territorial areas.

2. Characteristics. -The community is elastic with expanding and contracting parts.

3. Ingredients:
   a. A community is a place
   b. A community is people - described in various ways according to to reference systems
   c. A community is a service center. You must know how the group sustains itself, consumption patterns, contributions.
   d. A community is a network of interaction. Community members are interdependent, everybody is vital to the community structure. The Negro does not want gifts - he is entitled to the same rights as other members.

4. Things that pull people together in the community:
   1. Capacity for stacking things up
   2. Habits and traditions
   3. Institutions, e.g.
      a. Family - so the work will be continued. Marriage a sub-institution in our culture
      b. Religion - of widely different structures and beliefs
      c. Education
      d. Political institutions
      e. Economic institutions

You must know the power structure of your community and find the people who are significant and make desicions.

Area of concern for the day: What is the Housing Problem?

1. Choosing the kind of house one wants and the place of residence
2. Lack of houses for normal consumption
3. Supply of houses
4. Substandard housing
5. Insufficient income (Effective demand)
6. Availability of housing within certain income groups (land costs exorbitant)

Definiton of terms : Def. of "slum" in Grand Rapids, Mich.:
Houses dilapidated beyond repair - defective or no wiring, plumbing, outdoor toilet facilities, no hot water, etc.

Statistics: 55 million dwelling units in the U.S. - 13 mill. classed as "substandard". With 3-4 persons per unit, the number of people involved becomes considerable. One family out of five lives on the poverty level with an income of less than $3,000 per year. Not all those people are Negroes, though.

Open Occupancy Ordinances in e.g. Erie, Pa., Washington D.C., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Basic Intent: That a person cannot refuse to rent, show, or lease any house or dwelling unit because of race, creed, or nationality.
An ordinance must have statements of facts documenting that:

a. The community has a heterogeneous population
b. The situation is a disadvantage to the community
c. Prohibitions. Penalties.
d. Exclusions.

Comments

People in the community should be aware of the fact that there is a housing problem before the consultants or specialists come in.
The leader must know the community he is working in.
Information can be obtained in the Census volumes (Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce) or by writing to your own Congressman or Senators.
HHFA has drafts for ordinances.

Questions for July 2:

1. How to bring about an ordinance - step by step information
2. How to secure a home for a Negro in a community (shaping attitudes).
3. What do the real estate and appraisal boards have to say about property?
4. Who wants racial integration in housing?
5. What happens to property value when Negroes move in?
6. Problems in smaller communities adjacent to large cities.

Thursday, July 2, 1964.

Area of Concern: Housing
Guests: Atty. Herman Edelsberg, Washington D.C., Dr. J.C. James, Howard Univ. Admission Office, Wash. D.C.

The discussion revolved around an organization known as "Neighbors, Inc," which was established in Washington D.C. in order to stabilize an area with more than 40,000 inhabitants. The project began because of the relocation of Negroes affected by an Urban Renewal program and the need was felt for a civic assocation that would cooperate to make or build a neighborhood where all could live.

I. Objectives
   a. To prevent white neighbors from "running."
   b. To redress the balance - achieved by inviting people (whites) to move into the area. There was no quota system.

II. Activities
   1. Screening of real estate dealers in order to list fair ones
   2. Referring buyers to such dealers
   3. Organizing and carrying out educational programs for home owners
   4. Maintaining list of adequate and varied housing in the area
   5. Sponsoring cultural activities which involve community groups and agencies.

III. Generalizations
   1. Before organizing for open occupancy, one must establish a beneficent purpose.
   2. There must be a constant review of the situation to find out if you are being too restrictive.
   3. Judgment of "tipping point" should be worked out cooperatively with persons concerned.
   4. Positive recruiting is essential in attempting to maintain a stable neighborhood.
   5. Find out what you want and commit yourself to devices for achieving it with adequate and efficient leadership.

Highlights from discussion
1. Restrictive covenants are unenforceable through the courts. However, people tend to obey covenants more than the law.
2, Some covenants run with the land. On the surface they seem to be binding, on buyer and seller, but the restraints are moral rather than legal.
3. Parallel to an open occupancy ordinance, should go a program of education and social action.
4. Laws passed may be brought to referendum. After the public has voted, the court can rule on specific problems.
5. Supreme Court decision of 1948, Schelley vs. Kramer, outruled restrictive covenants.

Friday, July 3, 1964.

Area of Concern: Leadership

Panelists: Priscilla Massie, John H. Sardeson, Theodore J. Thuesen, and Robert C. Wallace.

Generalizations

1. There are certain occupational areas to which we look for leadership, e.g. minister, lawyer, labor leader, businessman, intelligentia (teacher, writer) etc.
2. There are certain "types" associated with leadership:
   a. Decision making group (intelligentia)
   b. John Henry Type (writers)
   c. Primadonna type
   d. "One's enough - more would be too much" type
   e. "You're different" type
   f. Committed type
3. There is leadership of groups and leadership of persons.
4. Other way of characterizing leaders:
   a. Able persons but not well liked
   b. Able, with personable qualities, e.g. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake
   c. Able, With some kind or mystic power of attracting followers. Positive: Billy Graham Negative: Mayor Curley.
   d. Opinion leaders (think for others), e.g. Ralph McGill, James Baldwin
   e. Pragmatic - negotiators who get things done
   f. Unexpected - created by a situation, respond to a call, e.g. Harry Truman.
5. What do we look for in a leader?
   a. Leadership should help set and clarify goals of heterogeneous groups and reconcile interests.
   b. Leadership should assess situations, identify barriers, obtain resources to maintain objective and help charter course to get the job done.
6. How do you judge leadership?
   a. In the light of purposes of the group. Groups working at different tasks need different leaders.
   b. Leaders are only as effective as their group will let them be.
   c. The entire group is responsible for failure or success of group project
   d. There must exist both an ultimate goal and short time goals to give the group healthy working conditions.

Alfred E. Cowles, Exec. Director of Human Relations Commission, Grand Rapids, Mich.:

1. Leaders should
   a. Start where the people are
   b. Be non-judgmental in their approach
   c. Refrain from super-imposing middle class values on people
2. Leaders should be
   a. Sincere
   b. Dedicated to the cause they represent
   c. Knowledgeable
   d. In touch with the people

3. Various levels of leadership
   a. Neighborhood
   b. Area
   c. City
   d. State, nation.

Monday, July 6, 1964.

Area of Concern: Education. Echoes from various parts of the nation.

I. Tennessee. Resource persons: Rev. K.M. Smith, father of one of the first children to integrate the public school system in Nashville 8 years ago, Mrs. Wilkinson, Negro therapist in white school.
Rev. Smith:
1. There was violence and threats of violence at the time, but when the city administration decided to take a firm stand for integration, all demonstrations stopped.
2. The community was more prepared for change than the city officials would allow.
3. He had unexpected offers of support from whites
4. The daughter was not prepared in any way before the encounter and had no problems - not color conscious.
5. Integration is delayed by lack or shortage of Negro teachers in white and integrated schools.

Discussion around different aspects of the problem.
1. Teacher may be willing to transfer but cannot find housing (Example from Montgomery County, Washington D.C.)
2. Many Negro teachers want to preserve segregation in order to keep their jobs.

II. St. Louis. The superintendent did a good job of trying to give information and help to teachers and parents in an integrated situation/

III. Oklahoma. Supreme Court decision 1954 ended a school segragation based on a system of majority and minority schools

Points of discussion
1. Should you send a Negro child to a white school even if the child is opposed to the idea?
2. What role will "Negro colleges" play in an integrated system of education?

Dr. Robert Johnson :
1. Tranquillity does not equal progress.
2. If you don't choose to get rid of tension by segregating, expelling or exterminating the minority, you've got a two-fold task:
   a. Keep tension below conflict level
   b. Use tension creatively and constructively
3. Tension is a part of growth
4. Try to create learning experinces and have a rescue mission for those who get hurt.

Donald S. Safford:
Civil Rights Bill

1. Provides technical assistance in the adoption and implementation of integration.
2. Provides grants to universities to teach persons involved in desegr.
3. Provides grants to local school boards.
4. Provides the Atty. Gen with increased power to bring suits.

Tuesday, July 7, 1964

Area of concern: Education

1. Quality of education in a dual system.
2. End product of a dual system.
3. Drop-out problems.

A. Questions
   1. What are the disparities?
   2. To what degree are there disparities?
   3. Are Negro schools inferior to white schools?
   4. What is the relationship between quality of education and desegregation?

B. Problems stemming from "dual system":
   1. Overcrowding.
   2. Overloading of teachers.
   3. Inadequate facilities.
   4. Bad effects on (a) pupil and (b) teacher morale.
   5. Inadequate curriculum.
   6. Inadequate maintenance.
   7. Inferior teacher preparation.
   8. Pressure from authorities on teachers.
   9. Inadequate representation.
   10. High cost of supporting two (or more) school systems.
   11. "Separate" is inherently inferior.
   12. "Brainwashing" of Negro administrators.

C. Problems of desegregated system:
   1. Lack of personal attention.
   2. Language barrier (esp. among Spanish-speaking people).
   3. No instruction in Negro history.
   4. Inadequate guidance and counseling.
   5. Cultural bias (white middle-class standards).
   5. (cont.) Most Negro teachers are middle-class oriented and m-class teachers try to impose their values on lower class people - with unfortunate effects.
      The Southern Negro schools have
      - libraries and no books.
      - laboratories and no chemicals.
      - football fields and no coaches or equipment.

III. Drop-out Factors
1. Discouragement.
2. Large families.

Remedies:
1. Reading classes. (Before they drop out.)
2. Retraining. (When they have already left.)

Dr. Johnson
3 factors associated with minority groups
1. Avoidance (= flight)
2. Acceptance (= fright)
3. Aggression (= fight)

Some Unanswered Questions

1. What can and must community leaders do to secure maximum benefits from the Civil Rights Bill?

2. Which should have priority in our efforts - integrated schools or integrated neighborhoods? Can we make a choice?

3. What are the chief tangible obstacles to school integration? What methods or techniques are available for removing these barriers?

4. How can we best help young people to find a productive place in society, though they have limited education?

5. How can we develop an effective formula for selecting bi-racial committee members for human relations activity?

6. How can interracial communication be improved?

7. What can Negroes and whites do to reduce prejudices that are both latent and manifest in both groups?

8. What considerations account for the reluctance of the Federal Government to exercise its powers to a greater extent in protecting minority groups in Mississippi and Alabama?

9. How do Negroes achieve or acquire a sense of dignity and self respect in the face of the indignities they suffer?

10. What plans are being made to prepare for the integration of heretofore all-Negro institutions?

V. Recommendations Regarding Future: Institute Process

A. Distribution of daily clinic discussions to clinic participants.
B. Briefing of participants in Institute as to policies, procedures, and acceptable group practices.
C. That the Institute send a letter of appreciation to the Fisk University staff, responsible for the Institute.

Recorders: Ragni Lantz
Priscilla Massie
Bernice S. White

RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE

FISK UNIVERSITY

June 28, 1965

Employment Clinic

The Employment Clinic has several purposes all of which, in the final analysis relate to the employment and utilization of minority group manpower. Primarily, the function of the clinic is two fold:

(1) To view, identify, and analyze employment problems as they relate to the employment of minority groups in all sectors of the economy.

(2) Secondly it is the objective of the clinic to identify and analyze various approaches to minimizing and eliminating discriminatory employment practices in all sectors of the economy.

In approaching these purposes it is not only important that the clinic recognize and view points at which barriers to nondiscriminatory employment opportunity exist or can be erected (such as education and vocational training, apprenticeship training, labor union, and recruiting production) but further inquiry into the various devices and tools available which might be useful in meeting the problem and preventing its further development is necessary.

Procedure: Primarily the discussion technique will be utilized. In addition the experiences of clinic participants will be welcomed as points of discussion via brief case reports on problems, approaches and solutions as they have occured in various situations.

Objective: It is expected that after completion of the clinic a report will be carefully prepared setting forth major findings. The report is to be of such that it not only will be presented by a recording and reporting committee at the final session of institute but it will also be useful for further study by interested parties.

This was modified by participants to include Economic — poverty — Discrimination, Social Reform etc.

RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE
FISK UNIVERSITY

EMPLOYMENT CLINIC
June 28, 1965

Suggested Questions for Inquiry and Diagnosis by Clinic

1. The problem of achieving coordination among various community organizations actively engaged in bringing about improved employment and job opportunity for minority groups; effective use of total community resource.

2. (a) Implications of recent legislation and directives from Washington or otherwise dealing with the conditions of the unemployed and setting forth provisions designed to help relieve unemployment conditions resulting from technological displacement. Such includes provisions for retraining of workers to meet the demands of urban technological developments. Manpower development programs.

   (b) Thorough examination of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965 with particular reference to community action program, job corp, and questions pertaining to "involvement of the poor."

3. Definition of problem and its facets; the nature of circle causation and its magnitude; implications for action and programming.

4. Impact of factory decentralization...i.e. industry moving from industrial areas such as Detroit to other areas...upon employment and the unemployment of minority groups in such areas. The possibility exists that discrimination in the selection of workers to accompany industry movements to the South and the denial of opportunity for minority group manpower to accompany firms to Southern areas.

5. Discrimination against Spanish-American youth with qualifications, college training and degrees in some instances, in employment.

6. Role of fact finding and community self analysis; development of instruments and devices for placing local employment problems in focus as well as tuilizing community resources.

7. (a) Thorough examination of the Federal Government orders dealing with minority manpower employment in Federal Agencies and in private business firms doing business with the Federal Government (Executive Order 10925).

   (b) Thorough examination of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with particular reference to Title VII and Title VI.

8. Importance and need for definitive inventories of minority group manpower. Role of "color statistics" as a protective factor in employment problems.

   a. Method of collecting color statistics, particularly in view of State FEPC and other laws that forbid reference to race in employment procedures.

9. Degree to which minority groups workers move up the occupational scale. To what extent are imporvements occurring? Utilization patterns.

10. Problems of raising the levels of aspiration on the part of youth; approaches in counseling and guidance for youngsters - agencies and institutions for such including schools and colleges, churches, social agencies.....what is being done by educational systems in this respect?

11. Industrial development in the South and in particular urban areas and the matter of employment practices by incoming firms....factors involved, discriminatory practices.

    a. How to improve upon employment opportunity for minority groups in new industry; Methods of working on this aspect of the problem; problems involved.

    b. Extent of discrimination by industry that moves South relative to denial of opportunity for minority groups to move with firms in "cadre" positions and as employees.

    c. Impact of labor unions upon new industry employment practices; also local business groups.

12. Educational developments; vocational and technical training programs; adult education.

13. Problem of communication relative to the employment question...communication between Chamber of Commerce, Labor Unions, Community Groups, Government agencies. How to get various segments of the community to work in good faith on the problem.

14. How one can know whether companies in states with anti-discrimination laws are complying with Federal Government contract provisions when such state laws forbid reference to race? Does such block pressures for compliance?

    a. How will employer be able to demonstrate compliance with Executive Order 10925?

    b. How can 10925 be enforced under such conditions? Or utilized by groups working in the fair employment field?

    c. How can Title VII of the Civil Rights Bill be enforced?

15. Why Negroes do not engage in more business ventures? And Operate industrain and commercial firms? Factors involved.

16. Concern with the "decline" in number of agencies which have served as major resources for helping in the area of Negro and minority employment such as the Union League in some areas. Who will perform functions normally performed by such agencies? Note also displacement of such agencies by government agencies such as FEPC anc SCAD.

17. Inquiry into problems involving apprenticeship training, labor unions impact ipon minority group employment and manpower utilization.

18. Responsibility of educational institutions both pre-college and those of higher learning, in matters pertaining to employment opportunity for minority groups....placememt bureaus, informing students, testing and encouraging applications on the part of youth and the filing of complaints with agencies.

CLARK COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 13, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Attached you will find materials pertaining to the Race Relations Institute.

I talked with Lewis Jones a few days ago, and it is my understanding that he will either call or correspond with you in the not too distant future. I believe that the enclosed material will give you at least some indication of the major thrust of the Employment and Economic Clinic. Likewise you will see a list of Suggested Questions for Inquiry and Diagnosis by the Clinic for the Summer of 1965; and 1964 on Community and Race. I can't put my hand on a 1965 report for an employment group. I do recall, however, that it covered a broad range of problems involving poverty, employment distribution, economic security and welfare. We can at least talk by telephone after you have had a chance to look at this material.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian W. Henderson

VWH:svm
Enclosure

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

June 17, 1966

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Coordinator
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thanks for your letter of June 15. I look forward to being with the Institute this year. My plan is to arrive in Nashville on Sunday, July 3, to be on hand for the second week of clinic sessions for which Vivian Henderson and I have the responsibility.

The exact time of my arrival is uncertain at this point. However, I can make my way to Fisk quite handily and there is really no need for you to have that extra bother.

I look forward to seeing you in July.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV/km

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
WESLEY A. HOTCHKISS, GENERAL SECRETARY

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203
TELEPHONE: 242-3396

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

June 15, 1966

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Our hospitality arrangements for the 23rd Annual Institute of Race Relations are being completed. This summer the participants and workshop leaders will all be housed in Crossthwaite Hall on the Fisk University campus.

As early as you can conveniently do so, please advise us of your travel plans, so you can be met upon arrival.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis W. Jones

Lewis W. Jones
Coordinator

June 27, 1966

Mr. Ben D. Segal
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Room 1229, 1800 T Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

I have been working with the Fisk University Institute of Race Relations on their Workshop on Economics and Employment. As you know, the Institute begins on June 26 and runs through July 9. The second week, in the Workshop session, will be spent primarily on matters related to employment.

Would it be possible for you to be with us sometime during that week? Almost anytime during the week would suit, but if you can be with us on Thursday, July 7, it would be especially helpful.

Aside from getting some economic background as it relates to employment problems, the participants in the Workshop will be studying community organization directed towards the elimination of job discrimination, public agencies on the state and local level which handle such problems, and the relation between such state and local efforts and the programs of the federal government such as EEOC. I feel that your present position and your past experience make it especially important for our participants to have at least one session with you.

June 27, 1966

Mr. Ben D. Segal
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Room 1229, 1800 T Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Would you let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. I certainly hope that you will be able to join us in Nashville.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director Labor Program
Dictated and signed in his absence

EFV/km

NASHVILLE TENNESEAN, 7/8/66

Today's Racial Riots Called Result of Past Inaction

By PAT WELCH

Race riots such as the recent one in Omaha are a consequence that might have been avoided if cities had taken action two decades ago when problems were first predicted, the Institute of Race Relations was told yesterday.

Ben. D. Segal of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission said in yesterday's second session that more than three million Negroes fled the South between 1940 and 1965 "in search of a better life."

Three-fourths of the Negro national population now in the cities "nurse despair and bitterness" in "crowded, dilapidated, rat-infested housing units" where they "still await the promise that America was supposed to hold out to them," Segal said.

THE DIRECTOR of EEOC office of liaison, Segal predicted that present population trends would make Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, New Orleans and Philadelphia predominately Negro "within the next 15 to 20 years."

Although Washington is the only major city in which Negroes now outnumber whites, Segal predicted that "nearly every major city in the United States will have a Negro majority by the year 2,000, if present trends continue."

There is "nothing alarming" in such a change in itself, he said, comparing it to the period when "some of the great cities passed to the Irish."

BUT THE NUMBERS mean that the Negro "will wield great power," Segal said. "What must concern us are the attitudes being forged in today's ghetto, which will motivate tomorrow's leaders."

As the white middle class "leaves for the suburbs," leaving the inner city to the Negro migrants, "we shall be divided into two warring camps—one inside the city, the other on the outskirts," Segal said.

"I cannot conceive of a more destructive way to organize a new society," he said, if "white racism is replaced with black racism.

"Yet this is certain to be the outcome if we fail to take decisive measures against the hate-producing life of the Negro ghetto.

"THE SOLUTION to the cities' problems lies in how competently and how forcefully we set about righting the wrongs which have been perpetrated against minority groups," Segal said, including "Spanish-surnamed Americans no less than Negroes."

Segal was special assistant to Vice President Hubert Humphrey on the President's Council on Unemployment before joining EEOC seven months ago. The agency observed its first year's anniversary last week.

He cited the "terrible statistics" on unemployment, "ghetto by ghetto": "Unofficial figures indicate 25 to 35 per cent in the Watts area"; more than 30 per cent of Negro youth in Oakland; and "more than twice the white rate" in Baltimore.

NEGRO unemployment is twice the national rate of 4 per cent, Segal said, "but it is estimated that the true unemployment rate among Negroes, counting the under-employed, would be 12 per cent."

Segal called for "something more aggressive" to follow "token adherence to the law" in desegregation. He mentioned "a deliberate seeking out, special training or a waiving of prerequisites which may not be relevant to the job" for Negroes.

"The difficulty of finding jobs" for those disadvantaged already by "poor schooling" and "stunted motivation" is complicated by the "flight to the suburbs" of industry and new business, which has followed the white population.

RECOMMENDATIONS made recently by the administration could be used to mobilize both private and government agencies, Segal said, including "Metropolitan Job Councils" in cities with large Negro populations, "a large-scale, government-financed program of public works," "training and counseling programs for minority youth," strengthening unions, "establishing national standards for public assistance" and improving schools.

The cost of such programs, Segal said, should be compared with "the cost of NOT taking these steps."

The first session of the morning heard an attack on the Negro church for its failure to fully support the civil rights movement.

The Rev. Bryant George, a director of the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, said the church chose to "give out spiritual balm on Sunday to people whose heads are beaten by society."

Fisk Slate

Today's schedule for the final program in the 23rd annual Institute of Race Relations, meeting in Park-Johnson Hall at Fisk University:

8-9:30 a.m. — "The South 1966: Progress and Prediction" — Paul Anthony, executive director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

10-11:30 a.m. — "Social and Legal Processes in Community Renewal" — Daniel R. Mandelker, professor of law, Washington University, St. Louis.

7:30 p.m. — "The Problems of the Mexican" — Cong. Henry B. Gonzales.

23rd ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

"Race Relations to Human Relations— A New Agenda"

FISK UNIVERSITY

June 27—July 9, 1966

A JOINT PROJECT OF THE RACE RELATIONS AGENCIES OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, IN COOPERATION WITH FISK UNIVERSITY

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

June 27 - July 9, 1966

R O S T E R

Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

23rd Annual
Race Relations Institute
June 27 - July 9, 1966

ROSTER

Registrants

Anderson, John F. - 722 Bresslyn Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37205 (Office - 700 Bresslyn Road) Pastor, Brookmeade United Church of Christ.

Andrews, Gaston H. - 418 N. Polk Street, Bolivar, Tennessee 38008. Teacher.

*Anthony, Paul - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Exeutive Director, Southern Regional Council.

Armstrong, Doris E. - 1734 Pecan Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Teacher.

Ashworth, Louise C. -1113 32nd Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37209. Clerk-Typist, Fisk University Music Department.

Banks, G. Nathaniel - 881 N. Raymond Avenue, Pasadena, California 91103 (Office - 1545 Verdugo Road, Glendale, California 91103). Regional Secretary, Pacific Union Conference of Seventh Day Adventists.

*Barber, Carroll G. - 1826 Jefferson Street - Apt. 1 - Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Staff Associate, Race Relations Department, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries.

Barner, Sophia M. - 2703 Morena Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Teacher.

Belcher, Mrs. Jack - 1248 Pratt Street, Wichita, Kansas 67214. Real Estate Broker. Representative United Church Women

Belgard, Mrs. Sarah - 1900 Richard Jones Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37215 Teacher.

Bergman, Beverly J. 622 S. E. 5th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414 (Office 72 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105) Assistant Director, Governor's Human Rights Commission.

Billes, Ronald E. - Box 41, V.A. Hospital, Butler, Pennsylvania. Summer School student Fisk University.

Blackman, Mrs. Sally - 932 30th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37209. Hostess, A. & I. State University.

---

* Lecturers and Consultants

Borthick, J. W. - 613 Crestview Drive, Springfield, Tennessee 37172. Teacher.

Boyd, Mrs. Lily T. - 1801 14th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212. Head Counselor, Jubilee Hall, Fisk University.

Bradford, Mrs. Cedrick - 739 North Church Street, Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001 (Office Vado, New Mexico). Director, HELP Vado Center. Representative - United Church Women.

*Branton, Wiley A. - United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530. Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Bridgeforth, Mrs. Agnes - Box 193, Pulaski, Tennessee 38478. Teacher.

Bright, Mrs. Franklyn P. - 3737 Ross Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53705. Representative - United Church Women.

Brinkley, Mrs. Marietta - -656 Foster Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee 38106. Teacher.

Brown, W. J. - (P.O. Box 664) 2120 Bates Avenue, Eustis, Florida 32726. (Office Tanares, Florida). Student welfare worker (Visiting Teacher).

Brumbaugh, Alice Martin - 168 South Washington Street, Greencastle, Pennsylvania 17225. (Office Department of Sociology, Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania 17201). Teacher.

Bryant, James H. 126 E. Forrest Avenue, Lebanon, Tennessee 37087. Teacher.

Bryant, Lethia - Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Student.

Bryant, Mrs. Ruth B. - 1211 Southwestern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky, 40211. Housewife.

*Buggs, John A. - 1806 Arroyo Boulevard, Pasadena, California 91103. (Office 1184 Hall of Records, 320 W. Temple Street, Los Angeles, California 90012). Executive Director, County of Los Angeles Commission on Human Relations.

Carthon, Jack, Jr. - Route 1, Orlinda, Tennessee 37141. Teacher.

Caruthers, Churchill - 1740 Ellsworth Street, Gary, Indiana 46403. Student.

Chapnick, Mrs. Mary F. - 101 G Street, S. W., Washington, D. C. 20024 (Office Community Relations Service, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530). Executive Assistant.

Cheers, Mrs. John Etta - 1105-#2 Sigler Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37203 (Office 1105 South Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37203). Social worker, South Street Center

Chumbley, J. H. 617 E. Main Street, Watertown, Tennessee 37184. Teacher.

Clark, Mrs. Mylvette - 855 English Court, Winter Park, Florida 32789 Teacher.

Clement, John E. - 505 Eastlawn Avenue, Wilmington, Delaware 19802 (Office 1006 E. 28th Street, Wilmington 19802). Pastor, Presbyterian Church of Our Savior.

Coker, Carleslie J. - 104 Circle Drive, Hendersonville, Tennessee 37075. Teacher.

Conner, Harold T. - P. O. Box 25, Martin, Tennessee 38237. Teacher.

Cook, James - 11420 Wade Park, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (Office 7209 Hough Avenue, Cleveland 44106). Pastor, Lutheran Church in America.

Cooper, Mrs. Carolyn T. - 1102 North 5th Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37207 Teacher.

Coppins, Faye D. - 151 Euclid Street, Mt. Clemens, Michigan 48043. Teacher.

Corn, Mrs. John P. - 5419 Laconia Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45237. Homemaker and substitute teacher. Representative - United Church Women.

Daley, Wesley Walton - Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Student.

*DeLoria, Vine, Jr. - 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Executive Director, National Congress of American Indians.

Dobbins, J. A., Gallatin, Tennessee 37066. Teacher.

Dobbins, Saint F. - Box 340, Decaturville, Tennessee 38329. Teacher.

*Douglass, Joseph H. - National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. Chief, Office of Interagency Liaison, National Institute of Mental Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Dunn, Beulah D. - R.F.D. #2, Springfield, Tennessee 37172. Teacher.

Dykes, James E. - 3740 Hydes Ferry Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37218 (Office 2119- 24th Avenue, North, Nashville 37208. Editor of Message Magazine.

Evans, Mrs. Eloise - 2055 Boston Street, Detroit, Michigan 48206. Representative United Church Women.

*Feild, John G. - 1707 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Director, Community Relations Service, United States Conference of Mayors.

Faulkner, Marty. Lane Road, Kents Hill, Maine 04349. Social Caseworker.

Fenner, Melvin R. -Belvidere, Tennessee 37306. Minister, United Church of Christ.

*Foreman, Paul - Department of Sociology, College of Liberal Arts, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania 16802. University Professor.

Foster, Mrs. Jasper -- 2257 E 84th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Saleswoman. Representative United Church Women.

*Foster, Mrs. Luther H. - Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088. Civic worker.

*French, Eleanor - 90 La Salle Street - Apt. 15A, New York, New York 10027 (Office 475 Riverside Drive, New York 10027). United Church Women Staff Member.

Fuson, Mrs. Marian D. - 911 18th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Housewife.

*George, Bryant - 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. Director of Internal Operations and Administration, Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

*Gibson, Doris - 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO.

*Gilbert, Rabbi Arthur - 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

*Goff, Regina - United States Office of Education, Room 3100 GSA Building, 7th and D Streets, S. W., Washington, D. C. 20202. Assistant Commissioner, Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped.

*Graham, Richard A. - Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D. C. 20506. Commissioner.

Graves, Vernon G. - 416 Jackson Street, Milan, Tennessee 38358. Teacher.

*Green, Robert L. - 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Director, Citizen Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Griffin, Aaron Logan, 2715 20th, Niagara Falls, New York 14305. (Business address - Bridge Station Box 116, Niagara Falls 14305). Executive Director, Niagara Community Center.

Griffin, Theolia John - 803 East Main Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37206. Teacher

*Griffith, Mahlon - 1401 South Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37212. Employment Representative, Department of Personnel, State of Tennessee.

Hale, Leo - 440 Jackson Street, Milan, Tennessee 38358. Teacher.

Haney, Paul - 612 Hartsville Pike, Gallatin, Tennessee 37066. Teacher.

Harbert, Barbara W. - 1108 Jackson Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Teacher.

*Harper, L. Alexander - Richards Avenue, South Norwalk, Connecticut 06854. (Office 289 Park Avenue South - Room 51, New York, New York 10010). Director for School and Community Integration, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.

Harris, Mrs. H. C. Juliette - 82 Valiant Street, Hill Air Force Base, Utah 84401. Housewife and student. Representative United Church Women.

Harwood, Mrs. Betty C. - 226 South Elm, Webster Groves, Missouri 63119. Housewife and student.

Hatch, Mrs. Lloyd A. - 1131 Scheffer Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55116. (Office 309 Clifton, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403). Assistant Director, C.S.R., Minnesota Episcopal Diocese. Representative United Church Women.

Heflin, Jerry Glenn - Box 86, Cedar Hill, Tennessee 37032. Teacher.

*Henderson, Vivian H. - Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia 30314. College President.

Hickson, Mrs. Jesse - 35 Dewey Street, Stratford, Connecticut 06497. Teacher Social Worker. Representative United Church Women.

*Hiestand, Dale L. - Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027. Professor of Business Economics.

Hill, Bobbie M. - 1321 North 6th Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37206 (Office 110 Public Square, Nashville 37201). Metropolitan Policeman. Representative Metropolitan Police Department.

Hill, Mrs. R. L. - 415 E. Jordan Street, Pensacola, Florida 32505. Elementary School teacher. Representative United Church Women.

Hill, William H. R.F.D. #4, Decatur, Illinois 62521. Process Research Chemist.

Hinton, Mrs. Valeska - 828 W. Third Street, Peoria, Illinois 61605 (Office City Hall Building, Peoria 61602). Executive Director, Commission on Human Relations.

Hobbs, B.S. - Box 126, White House, Tennessee 37188. Teacher.

Hockett, Mrs. Etheldra - 1456 Ash Street, Wichita, Kansas 67214. Teacher.

Homrighausen, Ronald - 1365 East 142nd Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44112 (Office 1424 Hayden Avenue, Cleveland 44112). Pastor of St. James Lutheran Church. Representative Lutheran Church in America.

Hornby, Helen J. - Lista de Avianca (Office San Andres Isla), Columbia, South America. Teacher.

*Hotchkiss, Wesley A. - 287 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010. General Secretary, Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries.

Jackson, Addie B. - Route 1, Box 119, Houghton, Louisiana 71037 (Office P.O. Box 118, Princeton, Louisiana 71067). Teacher.

Jarrett, Maysoe - G1355 East Juliah Avenue, Flint, Michigan 48505 (Office 210 East Fifth Street, Flint 48504). Police Officer, Police Community Relations Bureau. Representative City of Flint Department of Public Safety.

Johns, Mrs. Hellyn B. - 914 15th Avenue, South, Nashville, Tennessee 37212 Retired School Teacher. Representative National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa.

Johnson, Mrs. Aldridge - 623 N. Morris Street, Portland, Oregon 97227 Housewife - C Cap. Nursery School. Representative United Church Women.

Johnson, Mrs. Delma - 3515 E. 34th Street, Denver, Colorado 80205. (Office George Washington Carver Day School, 2270 Humboldt Street, Denver 80205). Associate Director. Representative United Church Women.

Johnson, Mrs. Vanilla - 1059 W. Pascagoula Street, Jackson, Mississippi 39203. Homemaker. Representative United Church Women.

*Jones, Lewis W. - Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Research Coordinator.

Kerr, Myrtle J. - 2715 Tuxedo Street, Detroit, Michigan 48206. Student.

*Keyserling, Leon H. - 1001 Connecticut Avenue, North West, Washington, D.C. 20036. Former Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers. Consulting Economist and Attorney; President's Conference on Economic Progress.

Kirkpatrick, John M. - 7201 Lake Drive, East St. Louis, Illinois 62203 (Office City Hall, East St. Louis 62201). Publisher, East St. Louis Crusader, Executive Director, East St. Louis Human Relations Commission.

Kleckley, Mrs. Marie W. - 787 Michael Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30329. Teacher.

Kleckley, Voight. 787 Michael Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30329. Minister.

Knee, Homer - Waters Avenue, Watertown, Tennessee 37184. Teacher.

Lawrence, Mrs. Jimmie Anne - 6939 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637 (Office 3763 South Wabash, Chicago 60637). Unit Supervisor J.O.B.S Project (U.S. Government). Representative J.O.B.S. (Job Opportunities Through Better Skills).

Lee, Samuel C. - Box 378, Ripley, Tennessee 38063. Teacher.

Lodree, Mrs. Gladys - 8628 Prairie Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60619. (Office Sears YMCA, Chicago, 60624). Group worker.

*Long, Herman H. - Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama 35160. College President . Director, Race Relations Institute.

Lunsford, Thomas - 955 Lawyers Lane, Columbus, Georgia 31906. Fisk University Student.

*Lyford, Joseph P. - Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 92703 (New York Office 136 East 57 Street 10022) and Department of Journalism, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.

Malone, Mrs. Allie A. - 130 Vickers Avenue, Watertown, Tennessee 37184. Teacher.

Malone, John V. - Box 483, Gallatin, Tennessee 37066. Teacher.

*Mandelker, Daniel R. - Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri 63130. Professor of Law.

*Marcano, Hipolito - Inter American University of Puerto Rico Law School, Edificio Bernardini - Avenue Eleanor Roosevelt -PDA 31 (Post Office Box 1293) Hato Rey, Puerto Rico. Dean of the Law School; also Senator (address - Munoz Rivera Avenue, Capitol House, San Juan, Puerto Rico).

Masingale, Obie L. 2509 25th Avenue, N. Court, Nashville, Tennessee 37208 (Office 561 U. S. Court House, Nashville 37201. Assistant to State Soil Conservationist. Official representative U.S.D.A.

Mc Cray, John H. - Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama 35160. Director, Alumni-Public Relations.

Mc Cormick, Mr. J. Dayton - 292 Park Lane, West Lafayette, Indiana 47906. Homemaker. Representative United Church Women.

McGruder, Mrs. Cunlie - 908 32nd Avenue, North, Nashville 37209. (Office 1308 Jefferson Street, Nashville 37208). Housewife and civil rights leader. Representative Nashville Branch NAACP.

McKinney, Mrs. Robert J. - 6717 Calle Mercurio, Tucson, Arizona 85710. Housewife. Representative United Church Women.

McLeod, Mrs. Grace D. - 2711 O'Neal Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37208 Registered Nurse, Metropolitan Public Health Nursing Association. Representative Seventh Day Adventist Human Relations Association.

Meers, William J. - 108 Fifth Street, La Grante, Kentucky 40031. Naval Officer (until March 1968).

Meyer, Mrs. Marie A. - 123 South Gore, Webster Groves, Missouri 63119. Student - Housewife.

*Milgram, Morris - 51 East 42nd Street - Suite 211 - New York, New York 10017. President, Board of Directors, Planned Communities, Inc. - a subsidy of Modern Community Developers.

*Millet, Garland J. - 805 Youngs Lane, Nashville, Tennessee 37207. (Office Library Room 101-A, Fisk University, Nashville 37203) Assistant to the President.

Milligan, Earl D. - 5518 Kendall Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee 37209 (Office 210 Public Square, Nashville 37201). Metro Police Department. Representative Metropolitan Police Department.

Mitchell, Jennie - 3504 Geneva Circle, Nashville, Tennessee 37209. Teacher.

Maxwell, Mrs. Jane H. 1835 Hermosa Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Teacher.

Moore, Mrs. Anna. 163 East End, Ripley, Tennessee 38063. Teacher.

Murrell, Mrs. Claudia - Tennessee A & I State University, Nashville, Tennessee 37203. Teacher.

Moore, Barbara - 612 Lynn Circle, Atlanta, Georgia 30314. (Office Atlanta University School of Social Work 30314). Student.

Moore, John W. - 1212 Villa Place, Nashville, Tennessee 37212. Teacher.

Moore, Norman R. - 1104 Clifton Lane, Nashville, Tennessee 37204 (Office 810 Broadway, Nashville 37203). Assistant Professor, University of Tennessee School of Social Work.

Munro, Winsome - c/o African Department, Dutch National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. Fron South Africa and on a study trip. Representative United Church Women.

Nelson, Billy - Box 334, Smyrna, Tennessee 37167. Teacher.

Parker, Warrington S., Jr. - 2166 Meadow Lawn Drive, Holt, Michigan 48842 (Office 520 N. Capiton Avenue -P.O.Box 157- Lansing, Michigan 48933). Director of Community Affairs. Representative Michigan Catholic Conference.

Penning, Mrs. Albert - R. R. 1, Aplington, Iowa 50604. Housewife. Representative Racial Justice Task Force, United Church of Christ.

Phelps, Mrs. Grace - 1027 Elm Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah 84106. Housekeeper. Representative United Church Women.

Quarles, Arnold E. - 223 School Street, Lewisburg, Tennessee 37091. Teacher.

Quarles, Mrs. Gloria - 223 School Street, Lewisburg, Tennessee 37091. Teacher.

Reeve, Mrs. Howard - 110 N. 21st Street, Fort Pierce, Florida 33450. Representative United Church Women.

Roberts, John W. - Rodney Terrace, Prospect, Connecticut 06715 (Office 34 Hopkins Street, Waterbury, Connecticut 06704. Social Worker. Representative Pearl Street Neighborhood House.

Robinson, Gerald - Watertown, Tennessee 37184. Teacher.

Robinson, Mrs. Lennie G. - 171 Barbee Street, Ripley, Tennessee 38063 Teacher.

Robinson, Martin, Jr. - 1503 Alcy Road, Memphis, Tennessee 38106. Teacher

Roehm, Mrs. William - 4314 Drexel Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin 53716. Representative United Church Women.

Root, Oren, Jr. - 1120 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10028. Student.

Roy, Nora Lee - 1029 College Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee 37209 (Office Tennessee A. & I. State University, Nashville 37203. Teacher of Sociology.

Ryder, Morrison L. - 806 Birch Street, Lansing, Michigan 48915. (Office 1023 william Street, Lansing 48915). Community Center Director.

Saffold, Mrs. Oscar E. - 2010 Meharry Boulevard, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Teacher.

*Seessel, Thomas V. - 270 Orange Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511. Director of Project Processing and Program Review, Community Progress, Inc.

Shaw, Cornelia - 158 Boone Street, Jackson, Tennessee 38301. Teacher.

Simmons, Burnell W.- 546 Conley Road, Alamo, Tennessee 38001. Teacher.

Simmons, Brenda Joyce - 546 Conley Road, Alamo, Tennessee 38001. Teacher.

Simmons, Mrs. Lula C. 546 Conley Road, Alamo, Tennessee 38001. Teacher.

Scarlis, Basil George - 1413 Whittier Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20012 (Office U. S. Department of State). Escort.

Sessoms, Miss Mildred Jackson - 1615-B 22nd Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. (Office A. & I. State University, Nashville 37203) Resident Counselor.

Short, Sam - Wilkinson Road, Freetown, Sierra Leone, Africa. (Office Fort Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone). Visiting Journalist.

Sloan, James Theodore -- 3902 Aberdeen Road, Nashville, Tennessee 37205. Retired.

Smallwood, Felix -- 118 Greenlawn Drive, Lebanon, Tennessee 37087. Teacher.

Smith, Mrs. Alfred O. - 1830 Rice Street, Sparks, Nevada 89431 (Office mailing address P.O. Box 1102, Reno, Nevada 89504). Representative United Church Women - Northern California, Nevada.

Smith, Gray - 413 Ellendale Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37205 (Office Metropolitan Action Commission, 804 Stahlman Building, Nashville 37201). Coordinator of Education MAC. Representative Metro Action Commission

Smith, Ocie Lee - P. O Box 982, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70821. National Sharecroppers Fund.

Sorace, John - 1244 Kennmore Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37216 (Office 110 Public Square, Nashville, Tennessee 37201). Policeman. Representative Metro Police Department.

Spencer, C. B. - Rolling Meadows Sub Division, Franklin, Tennessee 37064. Teacher.

Spivey, Mrs. Ruth E. - 2854 Oakman Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan 48238. Representative Michigan United Church Women.

Stampley, Samuel L. - 1226 14th Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50309 (Office Commission on Human Rights, Argonne Armory Building, Des Moines 50309). Intergroup Relations work. Representative Desmoines Commission on Human Rights.

Stevenson, Mrs. Maxine M. - 900 17th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37208. Teacher.

Stokes, Robert M. 606 Leeville Road, Lebanon, Tennessee 37087. Teacher.

Streeter, Mrs. Emmett T. - 2439 Evans Street, Omaha, Nebraska 68111. Housewife and bookkeeper. Representative, United Church Women.

*Taylor, Joseph T. - 300 W. Fall Creek Parkway, Indianapolis, Indiana 46208 (Office 518 N. Delaware Street, Indianapolis 46204). Acting Dean, Indianapolis Regional Campus. Representative Indiana University.

Tchobanoglous, Marie - 2531 Regent Street, Berkeley, California 94704. (Office 1414 Walnut Street, Berkeley 94709). Teacher. Representative Inter-Group Education Project.

Thomas, William Carl - 1585 Tartan Trail, Hillsborough, California 94010. (Office 640 N. Delaware Street, San Mateo California 94403). Community Resources Counselor. Representative Educational Resources Concern, San Mateo High School District.

Thorpe, Mrs. Ruby R. - Route 1, Camden, Tennessee 38320. Teacher.

Trammel, Bettye - 1719 Windover Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37218. Teacher.

Van Hoose, Mrs. M. H. - 410 Rickter Street, San Antonio, Texas 78207. Home Maker. Representative United Church Women.

Van Roekel, Mrs. Joseph - 1015 N. Market Street, Marion, Illinois 62959 Housewife. Representative United Church Women.

*Via, Emory - 2255 Lenox Road, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30324. (Office 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta 30303). Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council.

Waning, Mrs. James W. - 4637 Old Dillard Road, Eugene, Oregon 97405. Housewife. Representative United Church Women.

Ware, Everett O. - 616 Western, Topeka, Kansas 66606 (Office State Office Building Office Building, Topeka 66612). Field Representative, Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

Weber, Ruth - 225 N. Fulton Avenue, Mt. Vernon, New York 10552 (Office 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027). Editor, The Church Woman magazine. Representative United Church Women.

Welcher, Terry L. - 122r Salem Avenue, S. W., Roanoke, Virginia 24016. Student.

West, G. P. - Route 3 Pilot Know Road, Gallatin, Tennessee 37066. Teacher.

Williams, Mrs. Jackie Marie - 2967 W. 10th Place, Gary, Indiana 46404 (Office 401 Broadway, Gary 46402). Correctional Caseworker, Gary Youth Commission.

Williams, Nathaniel - 1044 29th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37208 (Office 804 Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee 37201). Deputy Director, Metro Action Commission.

Wingenroth, Vernon - 529 N. Pine Street, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17603. Minister elect, St. Paul's United Church of Christ, Baltimore. Representative Penn Central Conference, United Church of Christ.

Wolfers, Mrs. Earlene Fulkerson - 450 Bryan Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri 63122. Homemaker - Student. Representative Metropolitan Church Federation, St. Louis Presbyterial Society.

Wood, James R. - 2412 Pierce Street, Nashville, Tennessee 37212 (Office Sociology Department, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 37203) Ph.D. Student.

York, James A. - 2317 Brittany Drive, Nashville, Tennessee 37206 (Office 110 Public Square, Nashville 37201). Lieutenant of Police. Representative, Nashville Metropolitan Police Department.

Yeager, Thomas W. - 124 7th Street, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003 (Office Manuscript Division, Library of Congress). Preparations Assistant, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Zimmerman, Alvin L., Sr. - 302 Burkesville Street, Columbia, Kentucky 42728 Ordained Minister, United Presbyterian Church, Columbia, Kentucky. Representative United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Carawan, Guy - Furnace Dock Road, Peeksville, New York 10566. Folk Singer. Directed evening group singing.

TELEGRAM

MISS LILLIAN SMITH
CLAYTON, GEORGIA

We the members of the 1966 Race Relations Institute at Fisk were indeed grieved when we learned you were unable to attend the Institute and receive in person the Charles Spurgeon Johnson Award for Distinguished Contribution to Human Relations. We feel that we missed a great opportunity to meet with a person who has meant so much in the struggle for human rights and human dignity. We will cherish all the more the books and other writings you have given us for so long, May God shower his richest blessings upon you.

Juliette Harris

Maysoe Jarrett

Representing the members of the 23rd
Annual Institute of Race Relations

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER

DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
WESLEY A. HOTCHKISS, GENERAL SECRETARY

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203
TELEPHONE: 242-3396

UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

July 13, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

We are grateful for your contribution to the success of the 23rd Annual Institute of Race Relations. The enclosed check covers a refund of your travel costs and an honorarium which can only be a token expression of our appreciation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Lewis,

Lewis W. Jones
Coordinator

#257.23 ck
7-14-66 kh

July 21, 1966

Rev. W. Carl Thomas
Community Relations Council,
The Know and Care Center
640 North Delaware Street
San Metieo, California
Mateo

Dear Carl:

At last I am back in my office and can answer the request that you made at Fisk. Enclosed is a copy of the American Federationist for April 1966. I think you will find a number of the articles of interest; perhaps those beginning on pages 11, 12, and 17, will be the most pertinent.

As to names of union people in the Bay Area who might be sympathetic to the work you are doing, I believe the best thing I can do is to refer you to Don Vial at the University of California. He is working with their labor education program and should be able to supply some further leads. His address is: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

I trust that this information will be of some use to you. It was certainly good to get to know you during the Fisk Institute. Please be in touch with me if you think there's anything that I or the Council might have that would be of use to you.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure: Am. Federationist, April 1966

July 22, 1966

Mr. Ben Segal
Liasion Office
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

I want to thank you personally and on behalf of the Fisk Race Relations Institute for your participation in its recent program. Your speech was an important one for the whole conference and stimulated a good bit of thought as well as a number of excellent remarks.

I especially appreciate your being on hand fo work with the clinic session on employment problems. This was a useful session and the clinic participants were delighted to have you with us.

After you left fourpersons asked that I send their names and addresses to you so that you could put them on the mailing list for the Newsletter and other materials which you think are appropriate. They are listed on the attached sheet.

Thanks again for your help. It was a pleasure to get to see you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

NAMES FOR E.E.O.C. NEWSLETTER

Mrs. Jimi-Anne Lawrence
Unit Supervisor
Job Opportunity Through
Better Skills
3763 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60653

The Rev. W. Carl Thomas
Community Resources Council
The Know and Care Center
640 N. Delaware
San Matieo, Calif.

Mr. Alfred O. Smith
P. O. Box 1102
Reno, Nevada 89504

Mr. Warrington S. Parker, Jr.
Michigan Catholic Conference
P. O. Box 157
Lansing, Michigan.

File – Fisk Institute of R.R.

23rd Annual

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The Charles S. Johnson Award to Miss Lillian Smith

The Charles S. Johnson Memorial Lecture by Dr. Joseph H. Douglass

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF RACE RELATIONS
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, BOARD FOR
HOMELAND MINISTRIES. 1966

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Inst. fity Eval.

Staff meeting & Eval at mid-point —
Some interest in groups development — careful read on Eval

Food — 50-50
Service — rigid (choice when there are choices - speed up line)

Schedule —
Unexpected by leaders —
15-20 minutes delay in all meetings
Changes —
Too many speaker drop outs
No Notice to Clinic leaders re changes
Utilization of speakers —
perhaps too many moves, bounce in & out, no sig. contact or disc. — also people don't realize who they are learning

re level —

Avoid notes in clinic when Via listed Civ. Rts & govt agencies by initials and spelled out name —

217 W 125 Street New York 27, N.Y. 666-9510

A. Philip Randolph Institute

A. Philip Randolph, President
Robert W. Gilmore, Treasurer
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

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Rachelle Horowitz
Mordecai Johnson
Tom Kahn
Leon Keyserling
Benjamin E. Mays
Isaiah Minkoff
Rev. Gregory Mooney
Pauli Murray
Eleanor H. Norton
Rabbi Joachim Prinz
L. D. Reddick
Donald P. Slaiman
Gus Tyler
C. Van Woodward
Andrew Young

June, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Participants in the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights"

FROM: Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

As a Participant in the White House Conference "To Fulfil These Rights", we thought you would be interested in the enclosed publications of the Randolph Institute.

We believe the fight for a extended employment insurance benefits, a higher minimum wage and the repeal of 14B is an integral part of the fight for Civil Rights.

The Institute is alos proposing to publish Roy Wilkins testimony on behalf of the Civil Rights Act of 1966.

If you would like copies of that testimony as well as additional copies of the enclosed please write to the Randolph Institute.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

112 EAST 19th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 / (212) ALGONQUIN 4-4953

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Joel R. Jacobson
Tom Kahn
E. T. Kehrer
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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
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John Lewis
James Lipsig
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Deborah Meier
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Richard Parrish
Rose Pesotta
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.
Vera Rony
Edmond Rovner
Bayard Rustin
Nanette Sachs
Leon Schachter
Meyer Schapiro
Benjamin Segal
Clarence Senior
Brendan Sexton
Francis Shane
Al Shanker
Horace Sheffield
Jack Sheinkman
Boris Shishkin
Ralph Showalter
Donald Slaiman
John Somers
Michael Sovern
Edward J. Sparling
Max Steinbock
Irwin Suall
Clyde Summers
Roy Wilkins
Jerry Wurf
James E. Youngdahl

Rec'd 7/8/66

File

July, 1966

Dear Friend,

I know you've been concerned, as I have been, about recent incidents involving Negro and Puerto Rican youth in Watts, Chicago and Bedford Stuyvesant. Finding work for these young people would be a major step toward eliminating these incidents. For this reason, I wish to take a few minutes of your time to discuss developments in the area of youth employment.

The Department of Labor reported the other day that while unemployment among white youth had decreased remarkably, unemployment among Negro youth had increased to 32 percent. That estimate is too low. It does not include young men who have given up the search for jobs or the thousands of young men who have retreated into the world of heroin.

When the Department of Labor issued its report it accounted for the unusually high rate of unemployment among Negro youth by saying that Negro boys and girls do not know where to look for work. That is much too simplistic an explanation.

Last month more than 240 Negro and Puerto Rican young men came to the WDL office. They wanted to be ironworkers and to take Local 40's entrance examination. The staff worked day and night to service them, and seventy young men attended WDL tutoring sessions.

The problem is not that Negro youth don't know where to look, but that the WDL staff is small and not able to tutor or to give individual attention to all of the qualified applicants. Most other youth programs suffer from lack of funds and staff. I am appealing to you in behalf of the WDL because its program has achieved remarkable results despite these obstacles and because its young staff has displayed amazing energy and resourcefulness.

The program can become a complete and unqualified success story if you contribute today. Your contribution will allow WDL to expand its staff, and to lay the groundwork for additional offices in Buffalo, Chicago, Newark and Atlanta. Your contribution will buy testing materials for young applicants and will allow the legal staff to test unfair regulations.

Won't you contribute today? I thank you in advance.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

APR/pm

A. Philip

November 10, 1966

Mr. Bayard Rustin
Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Rustin:

Please send me one copy each of your articles, "From Protest to Politics" and "Black Power and Coalition Politics."

Could you give me a price for fifty copies of "A Freedom Budget for All Americans" for distribution to State Councils on Human Relations and unions in the South?

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

217 W 125 Street New York 27, N.Y. 666-9510

A. Philip Randolph Institute

1966

A. Philip Randolph Institute - Freedom Budget

DEAD

A. Philip Randolph, President
Robert W. Gilmore, Treasurer
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

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Rabbi Joachim Prinz
L. D. Reddick
Albert Shanker
Donald P. Slaiman
Norman Thomas
Gus Tyler
C. Vann Woodward
Andrew Young

November 15, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is one copy of my article "From Protest to Politics" and "Black Power and Coalition Politics."

The Randolph Institute charges 75¢ per copy for more than ten copies of the Freedom Budget. Fifty copies would, therefore, cost you $37.50, including postage.

I look forward to sending an order to the State Councils on Human Relations.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

BR/vi
Enclosures

CR-
PO #
1968

December 7, 1966

A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Sirs:

Please send me one hundred copies of your "A Freedom Budget for all Americans." Enclosed is our check for $50.00 for this order.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Project

EFV:hj
Enclosure

December 30, 1966

A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Sirs:

On December 7, 1966 our office ordered one hundred copies of your publication"A Freedom Budget for all Americans." Enclosed in that letter was check #1968 for $50.00 to pay for this order.

As of this date we have not received the Freedom Budgets. Would you please let us know if this order has been mailed, and if so, when? If it has not yet been mailed please fill the order as soon as possible so that we may distribute it to interested parties throughout the South.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS

James Farmer

James Forman

Dorothy Height

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

A. Philip Randolph

Bayard Rustin

Roy Wilkins

URGE CONGRESS TO INCREASE AND EXTEND UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR ALL WORKERS

EXTEND THE MINIMUM WAGE!

A statement supporting a $2.00 minimum wage and extended coverage for domestic and farm workers, by civil rights leaders:

James Farmer

James Forman

Dorothy Height

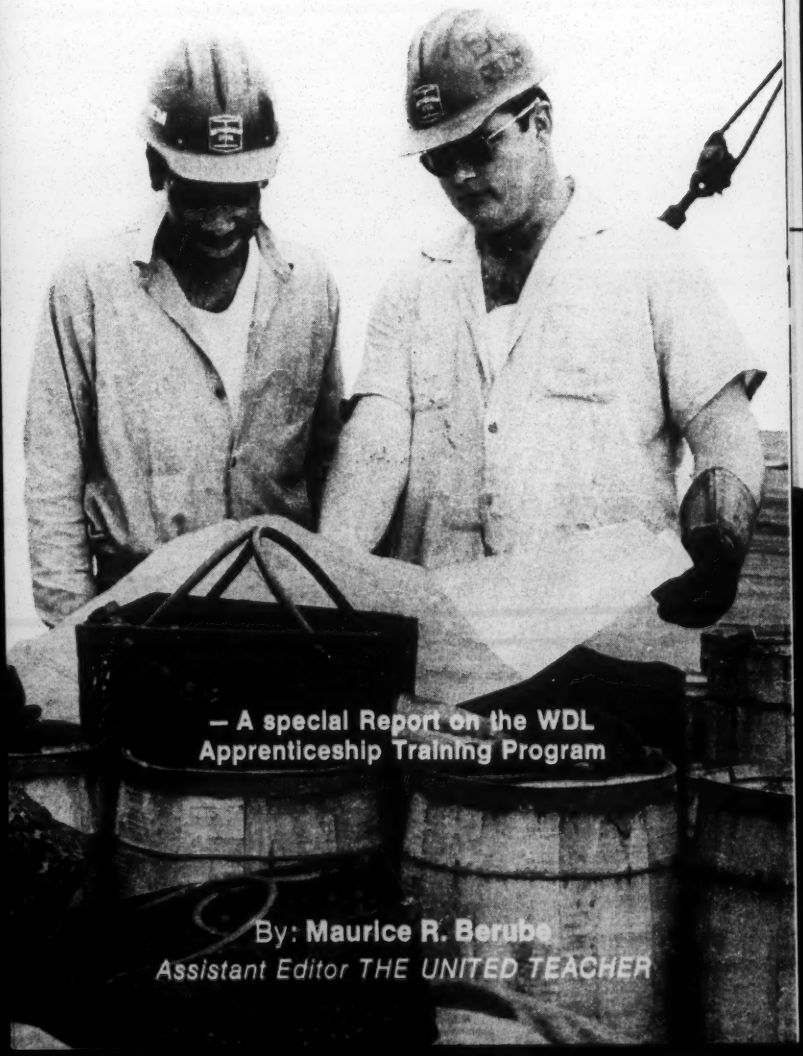
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

A. Philip Randolph

Bayard Rustin

Roy Wilkins

Breaking the Barrier in the Building Trades Unions



— A special Report on the WDL Apprenticeship Training Program

By: Maurice R. Berube
Assistant Editor THE UNITED TEACHER

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE

Founded to serve civil rights activists.

Dedicated to strengthening the alliances needed to assure democratic social change.

Committed to projecting political, social, and economic programs that will improve life for all Americans.

★★★★★★★★★★

REPEAL 14B

★★★★★★★★★★

A statement supporting a strong trade union movement by civil rights leaders:

JAMES FARMER

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

ROY WILKINS

Rey Ed. Inst.

SPECIAL REPORT

TITLE IV OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT: A PROGRAM IN SEARCH OF A POLICY

RACE RELATIONS INFORMATION CENTER

Reg Ed. Inst.

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGION

Date August 10, 1970

To: Hayes Mizell, David Jacobs, Bill Rosser, Janet Wells, Andrew Marrisett, Tom Gilmore
Lousie Moody, Rims Barber, Bob Valder, Frankie King, Frances Porter, Rev. Corder,
Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Bradely, Bob Mants, Joyce Miller

From: Winifred Green

Subject: Emergency School Aid Funds for non-profit groups

Enclosed is a very poor copy of the regulations for the ESA money. You will note that they have been signed by the Commissioner, but not the Secretary. This means that they are subject to change, but folks in Washington say this is probably it.

On Thursday I met with Sidney Gardner, Director Center for Community Planning, Office of the Secretary, Dept. HEW, Washington, D. C. 20201. Area Code 202 962-8975. Mr. Gardner is in charge of the non-profit part of the funds. He seems like a good guy as feds go and was open to discussion about how the funds will be used. He has seen the Educational Resources Center proposal and thinks it is good.

He says that the grants for non-profit will be in two catagories: 1. research and demonstration (these will be large and cover more than one district and 2. individual grants to one district. The question of whether a district is eligible if the LEA is not eligible has not yet been decided. Non-provit groups proposals will be subject to the governor's veto.

They are thinking now of eight types of proposals that they will consider. They are:

1. Remedial and tutroial projects-they would hope different from Title I

2. Community Relations and Information-such things as a Rumor Center, publications and programs to promote dialogue between the community and the school.

3. Monitoring and Evaluation

4. Student Programs (extra cirricualr

5. Parent Involvement

6. Comprehensive planning-this one is for CAPS and Model Cities

7. Activities of the bi-racial committies and this can include staff

8. Grants to Black Universities to provide services for LEA and private groups

Also enclosed is a list of meeting times and places for explanations about the money. I have not yet been able to find out where in these cities. Dr. Bunche in Atlanta claims he doesn't know. Isuggest you call Jerry Brader's office in D.C. Area Code 202963-5836

I have just learned that President has til Tuesday at mid night to veto this & he may do so!

CC: BWM
WH
Tom Gray

Phylis McClure

CONFIDENTIAL - ADMINISTRATIVE

TITLE 45--PUBLIC WELFARE

CHAPTER I--OFFICE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

PART 181--EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

The regulations set forth in this Part are applicable to the Emergency School Assistance Program (hereinafter "the program"), which will be administered by the Commissioner of Education. Authority to carry out the program is based upon the following statutory provisions:

1. The Education Professions Development Act, Part D (20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a).

2. The Cooperative Research Act (20 U.S.C. 331-332b).

3. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IV (42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9).

4. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, section 807 (20 U.S.C. 887).

5. The Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments

of 1967, section 402 (20 U.S.C. 1222).

6. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title II (42 U.S.C. 2781-2837) (under authority delegated to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare).

Regulations previously published pursuant to the foregoing statutory authorities will not be applicable to the program.

Federal financial assistance provided pursuant to the Emergency School Assistance Program is subject to the regulation in 45 CFR part 80, issued by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and approved by the President, to effectuate the provisions of section 601 (42 U.S.C. 2000d) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352).

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AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 181 are

issued under 20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837.

§ 181.1 Definitions.

As used in this part:

(a) The term "Commissioner" means the United States Commissioner of Education.

(b) The term "desegregation" means the assignment of students to public schools and within such schools without regard to their race, color, religion, or national origin, but "desegregation" does not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

(42 U.S.C. 2000c)

(c) The term "local educational agency" means a public board of education or other public authority legally constituted within a State either for administrative control or direction of, or to perform a service function for, public elementary or secondary schools in

a city, county, township, school district, or other political subdivision of a State, or such combination of school districts or counties as are recognized in a State as an administrative agency for its public elementary or secondary schools, or a combination of local educational agencies; and includes any other public institution or agency having administrative control and direction of a public elementary or secondary school.

(20 U.S.C. 881)

(d) The term "minority group", with reference to any person or persons, means a person or persons of Negro, American Indian, Mexican-American, or Puerto Rican origin or ancestry.

(e) The term "nonprofit" as applied to an agency, organization, or institution means an agency, or organization, or institution owned or operated by one or more nonprofit corporations or associations no part of the net earnings of which inures or may lawfully inure, to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual.

(20 U.S.C. 881)

(f) The term "secondary school" means a school

which provides secondary education, as determined under State law, except that it does not include any education beyond grade 12.

(20 U.S.C. 881)

(g) The term "terminal phase", as it relates to a desegregation plan, means that phase of the plan at which the local educational agency begins operating a unitary school system within which no person is effectively excluded from any school because of race or color.

(Alexander v. Holmes Co. 396 U.S. 19 (1969))

§ 181.2 Purpose.

The purpose of the emergency assistance to be made available under the program described in this part is to meet special needs incident to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination among students and faculty in elementary and secondary schools by contributing to the costs of new or expanded activities to be carried out by local educational agencies or other agencies, organizations, or institutions and designed

to achieve successful desegregation and the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the schools on the basis of students or faculty being members of a minority group.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.3 Eligibility.

(a) Assistance under the program may be made available to a local educational agency

(1) which has submitted to the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare a final order of a State or Federal court or a voluntary plan for the desegregation of the schools operated by such agency, which order or plan (A) is accompanied by the Assurance of Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 described in 45 CFR 80.4(c) and (B) has been determined to be acceptable under such

provision; and

(2) which (A) is to commence the terminal phase of such plan or order by the opening of the 1970-1971 academic year or (B) has commenced such terminal phase during the 1968-1969 or 1969-1970 academic year.

(b) In any case where the Commissioner finds that it would more effectively carry out the purposes of the program, he may make a grant to any public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution (other than a local educational agency), and contract with any public or private agency, institution, or organization to assist in the implementation of one or more desegregation plans described in subsection (a).

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(c) The Commissioner initially will reserve for use pursuant to subsection (b) ten percent of the funds made available for the program. Any of such reserved funds not used pursuant to subsection (b) within such time as the Commissioner may determine will be made available for use by local educational agencies pursuant to subsection (a).

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b,

42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.4 Authorized Activities.

Projects assisted under the program shall be designed to contribute to achieving and maintaining desegregated school systems and should emphasize such activities as the following:

(a) carrying out special community programs designed to assist school systems to implement desegregation plans such as (1) promoting understanding among students, school staffs, parents and community groups; (2) conducting community information programs to provide information concerning desegregation; (3) establishing and supporting committees consisting of minority and nonminority group members; (4) conducting school-home visitation programs; and (5) conducting special parent programs designed to facilitate the implementation of the desegregation plans;

(b) carrying out special pupil personnel services designed to assist in maintaining quality education during

the desegregation process such as (1) providing special guidance and counseling personnel with expertise in working with a desegregated student body; (2) providing remedial and other services to meet special needs of children affected by desegregation; and (3) employing special consultants;

(c) carrying out special curriculum revision programs and special teacher preparation programs required to meet the needs of a desegregated student body such as (1) developing new and varied instructional techniques and materials designed to meet the special needs of children affected by desegregation; (2) designing and introducing new curricula that serve children from various ethnic backgrounds; (3) developing new material and techniques for improved evaluation and assessment of student progress; (4) carrying out special demonstration projects for the introduction of innovative instructional methodologies which will improve the quality of education in desegregated schools; (5) providing for individualized instruction, team teaching, nongraded programs, and the

employment of master teachers; (6) establishing inservice programs to assist teachers in dealing with children who have inadequate English language skills; (7) promoting greater understanding of the attitudes and interpersonal relationships of students and teachers involved in the desegregation process; (8) upgrading basic skills and instructional methodologies; (9) mobilizing university and consultant expertise in developmental programs and seminars on problems incident to desegregation; (10) providing temporary teachers whose employment will permit permanent teachers to participate in training related to desegregation; and (11) providing teacher aides whose employment will help improve instruction in schools affected by desegregation;

(d) carrying out special student-to-student programs designed to assist students in opening up channels of communication concerning problems incident to desegregation such as (1) promoting mutual acceptance; (2) promoting greater understanding of racial peer pressures of students; (3) assisting student groups to develop interracial understanding; (4) involving groups

consisting of minority and nonminority group students in curriculum revision; and (5) assisting groups consisting of minority and nonminority group students to plan and conduct desegregated extra-curricular activities;

(e) carrying out special comprehensive planning and logistic support designed to assist in implementing a desegregation plan such as (1) employing additional administrative and clerical personnel necessary for implementation of a plan; (2) assisting in the rescheduling and reassignment of students and teachers and the redrawing of transportation routes; (3) supervising necessary physical changes; and (4) minor repairing and minor remodeling of existing facilities and leasing or purchasing of mobile or demountable classroom units.

Assistance may also be provided for any other specially designed project which the Commissioner determines will meet the purposes of the program. (20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b,

42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.5 Allotment.

(a) The Commissioner will allot the funds made available under the program among the States by allotting to each State an amount which bears the same ratio to the total amount of funds available as the number of minority group children aged 5 to 17, inclusive (as determined by the Commissioner on the basis of the most recent satisfactory data available to him), in the State who are in local educational agencies eligible for assistance under § 181.3 bears to the number of such minority group children in all of the States.

(b) That part of any State's allotment which the Commissioner determines will not be needed may be reallotted, on such dates as the Commissioner may fix, in proportion to the original allotments, but with appropriate adjustments to assure that any amount so made available to any State in excess of its needs is

similarly reallotted among the other States.

(c) In no event will more than 12-1/2 percent of the funds allotted be used in any one State.

(42 U.S.C. 2812)

§ 181.6 Application.

(a) An application of a local educational agency for assistance under the program shall--

(1) set forth a comprehensive statement of the problems faced by that agency in achieving and maintaining a desegregated school system, including a comprehensive assessment of the needs of the children in such agency;

(2) describe one or more activities that are designed to comprehensively and effectively meet such problems with assistance requested under the program;

(3) provide for effective procedures for evaluation (as further described in § 181.9);

(4) contain assurances satisfactory to the Commissioner, accompanied by such supportive information as he may require,

(A) that Federal funds made available under

the program for any fiscal year will be so used as to supplement and, to the extent practical, increase the level of funds that would, in the absence of such Federal funds, be available to the applicant from non-Federal sources for purposes which meet the requirements of the program, and in no case to supplant such funds;

(B) that Federal funds made available under the program will not be used to supplant funds which (i) were available to the applicant from non-Federal sources prior to the implementation by the applicant of an order or plan for the desegregation of its schools and (ii) have been withdrawn or reduced as a result of desegregation. For the purposes of this paragraph, a reduction as a result of desegregation shall not be deemed to have taken place where non-Federal funds available to a local educational agency pursuant to State statute are reduced by operation of such statute, solely on account of a decline in such agency's enrollment or its transportation

needs;

(C) that a reasonable effort is being made to utilize other Federal funds available for meeting the needs of children;

(D) that the applicant (i) has not engaged in the gift, lease, or sale of property or services, directly or indirectly, to any nonpublic school or school system which, at the time of such transaction, practiced discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin, where such gift, lease, or sale was for the purpose of, or had the effect of, encouraging, facilitating, supporting, or otherwise assisting the operation of such school or school system as an alternative available to non-minority group students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools; and (ii) will not engage in the gift, lease, or sale of property or services to any such school or school system for any purpose;

(P.L. 91-)

(E) that staff members of the local educational

agency who work directly with children, and professional staff of such agency who are employed on the administrative level, will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to being members of minority groups;

(F) that the local educational agency will assign staff members who work directly with children at a school so that the ratio of minority to nonminority group teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system;

(G) that no practices or procedures, including testing, will be employed by the local educational agency in the assignment of children to classes, or otherwise in carrying out curricular or extracurricular activities, within the schools of such agency in such a manner as (i) to result in the isolation of minority and nonminority group children in such classes or with respect to such activities; or (ii) to discriminate against children on

the basis of their being members of a minority group;

(H) that the local educational agency will comply with the policies set forth in the memorandum of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, dated May 25, 1970, entitled "Identification of Discrimination and Denial of Services on the Basis of National Origin";

(I) that the applicant will have published in a local newspaper of general circulation the terms and provisions of each project approved by the Commissioner within thirty days of such approval, or will have published in a local newspaper of general circulation, within thirty days of such approval, pertinent information as to the manner in which, and the place at which, the terms and provisions of such approved project are made reasonably available to the public;

(J) that the applicant will complete and submit to the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, by October 15, 1970, or such other time as may be determined by that Office, an

evaluation form to be furnished by that Office; and

(K) that the applicant will furnish to the Commissioner such additional information as he may deem necessary for the administration of the program.

(b) An application of a public or nonprofit private agency, organization, or institution (other than a local educational agency) for a grant under the program shall

(1) set forth a statement of the problems as seen from the point of view of such agency, organization, or institution, of achieving one or more desegregated school systems in the relevant community or communities;

(2) describe any previous involvement and concern of such agency, organization, or institution with education or school desegregation;

(3) describe the activities which such agency, organization, or institution proposes to undertake for the purpose of assisting in the implementation of one or more desegregation plans described in § 181.3(a), including a description of the manner in which such

activities would contribute to achieving and maintaining one or more desegregated school systems;

(4) contain an assurance satisfactory to the Commissioner that such agency, organization, or institution will furnish him such additional information as he may deem necessary for the administration of the program.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.7 Advisory Committees.

(a) In the case of a local educational agency with respect to which a bi-racial committee has been formed pursuant to an order of a Federal or State court, for the desegregation of the school system of such agency, such committee shall, prior to the submission of any application pursuant to § 181.6(a), be afforded a period of five days in which to review and comment to the local educational agency upon such application. Upon submission to the Commissioner, such application shall be accompanied

by any comments of such committee.

(b)(1) In the case of any other local educational agency, such agency shall, prior to submission of an application pursuant to § 181.6(a), select at least five but not more than fifteen organizations which in the aggregate are broadly representative of the minority and nonminority communities to be served. Those organizations that have been established pursuant to, or with respect to, other Federal programs, such as Community Action Agencies, City Demonstration Agencies, Title I Advisory Committees, Head Start Parents Advisory Committees, and 4-C Committees, should ordinarily be among those selected. Upon submission to the Commissioner, such application shall be accompanied by the names of the organizations so selected. Each such organization selected by the local educational agency may appoint one member to an advisory committee that shall be established by such agency within thirty days of approval by the Commissioner of its application.

(2) In addition to members appointed to the advisory

committee by organizations selected by the local educational agency pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection, the local educational agency shall appoint to the advisory committee such additional persons from the community as may be needed in order to establish an advisory committee composed of equal numbers of minority and nonminority persons, at least 50 percent of whom shall be parents whose children will be directly affected by the project to be carried out under the program.

(c) The local educational agency shall consult with any advisory committee formed pursuant to court order as described in subsection (a), or established pursuant to subsection (b), with respect to policy matters arising in the administration and operation by such agency of each project assisted under the program. The advisory committee shall be given a reasonable opportunity to observe and comment upon all project-related activities of the local educational agency and to evaluate each such project.

(d) The names of the members of any committee

described in this section shall be made public by the local educational agency.

§ 181.8 Student Advisory Committees.

In addition to other assurances required under this part, the application of a local educational agency shall contain an assurance that, promptly following the opening of the 1970-71 academic year, a student advisory committee will be formed in each secondary school affected by the project which has a student body composed of minority and nonminority group children. The number of minority and nonminority students serving on each such committee shall be equal. The members of each such committee shall be selected by the student body. The local educational agency shall consult with the student advisory committee with respect to the carrying out of the project and the establishment of standards, regulations, and requirements regarding student activities and affairs.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and

42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.9 Evaluation.

An applicant receiving assistance under the program shall include in the application a description of the methods, procedures and objective criteria to be used to evaluate the effects of each project to be assisted. Such evaluation shall be carried out by a qualified agency, institution, or organization, as determined by the Commissioner, (1) which is independent of the applicant and (2) which agrees to follow the employment practices which are required of a Federal contractor under Executive Order 11246 as amended. Such agency, institution, or organization shall conduct a continuing evaluation of such project, including its effectiveness in achieving clearly stated goals. An interim report of such evaluation shall be submitted to the Commissioner not later than May 1, 1971, and the final report of such evaluation shall be submitted to

the Commissioner as a part of the final project report.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.10 Priorities.

In determining whether to provide assistance under the program, or in fixing the amount thereof, the Commissioner will consider such criteria as he deems pertinent, including--

(1) the applicant's relative need for assistance;

(2) the relative promise of the project or projects to be assisted in carrying out the purpose of the program;

(3) the extent to which the proposed project deals comprehensively and effectively with problems faced by the local educational agency in achieving and maintaining a desegregated school system;

(4) the amount available for assistance under the program in relation to the applications pending

before him.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.11 Review by State educational agency.

The Commissioner will not approve an application for assistance pursuant to § 181.6(a) without first affording the appropriate State educational agency a reasonable opportunity to review and make recommendations with respect to such application.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c 9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.12 Non-Federal contributions.

In view of the emergency nature of the program and the fact that most local educational agencies have already determined their budgets for the 1970-1971 academic year, the Commissioner will not require an applicant to contribute to the costs of the project if the application is accompanied by an assurance satisfactory to him

that the applicant does not have available adequate resources for that purpose.

(42 U.S.C. 2812)

§ 181.13 Submission and disposition of application.

Each application under this Part shall be submitted to the Commissioner by such date as he may establish. The Commissioner will notify each applicant of the approval, disapproval, or other disposition of the application.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

§ 181.14 General Terms and Conditions.

Grants provided pursuant to this Part will be subject to the General Terms and Conditions for the Emergency School Assistance Program, published as an appendix to this Part and incorporated herein by reference.

(20 U.S.C. 1119-1119a, 20 U.S.C. 331-332b, 42 U.S.C. 2000c-2000c-9, 20 U.S.C. 887, 20 U.S.C. 1222, and 42 U.S.C. 2781-2837)

Effective date. The regulations in this Part

will become effective thirty days after publication in the Federal Register.

Dated:

U.S. Commissioner of Education

Approved:

Secretary of
Health, Education, and Welfare

Emory Via

File: Regional Education Institute

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Participants in the discussion of a Regional Institute to encourage quality and equality in education, October 7, 1970.

FROM: Winifred Green, Chairman, Steering Committee

RE: Steering Committee Meeting

DATE: October 21, 1970

The entire committee was present for a meeting in Atlanta on October 20, 1970. You will recall that the members were Winifred Green, Chairman, Rims Barber, Leon Hall, David Jacobs, Eldridge McMillan, and Emory F. Via.

The need for further efforts to assist in school desegregation and for achieving quality education was discussed. It was agreed that some further form of cooperative organization could be useful in meeting those needs.

Funding this year seems most unlikely.

There will be another meeting of the Steering Committee probably in late November or early December to further refine our thinking about a Regional Institute. We will keep you informed.

WG/gms

John Fischer

HARPER'S Nov., 1969

THE EASY CHAIR

Planning for the Second America

If General Electric expected to double its plant capacity and office space within the next thirty years, you can be sure it would assign a platoon of its ablest executives to figure out the best way to do it. In fact, General Electric almost certainly is doing that right now. I have talked to some of its planning officers, who were (for obvious reasons) discreet about their specific projects, but they were candid enough about their operations in general. Their job is to answer questions about the future. When will a new factory be needed—for radios, refrigerators, or some entirely novel product? What should be its initial capacity, and how much allowance should we make for expansion? How shall we raise the money? Where should it be built—taking into account the location of markets, labor supply, raw materials, rail and highway networks, the quality of local schools, and dozens of similar considerations? Such inquiries, for example, underlay the company's decision to build a $250-million manufacturing and distribution center at the new town of Columbia, Maryland; within ten years it is expected to employ 12,000 people.

In such long-range planning, General Electric is not remarkable. It is simply following sound business practice. Every enterprise of any consequence has a professional staff at work on its plans for future growth. Every enterprise, that is, except the United States of America.

Within the next thirty years, this country can expect to double the physical plant of all its cities. To take care of the predicted growth in population, it needs to build a new house, school, and office building for every one that now exists. It will need twice as many parking lots, universities, bus lines, jails, garbage dumps, airports, and bars. For the number of Americans almost certainly will rise from about 200 million to 300 million before the end of the century; and virtually all of the new people will live in cities. Indeed, our long-dwindling rural population probably will shrink still further, as displaced farmers continue to move to the metropolises. This means that we face the job of building a Second America—of duplicating all of our man-made assets—within a single generation. What our forebears did in three hundred years, we have to do in thirty. Such is the inescapable arithmetic of the population explosion.*

The task probably is not impossible. A nation which can explore the moon ought to be able to tend to its own housekeeping, if it sets its mind to it. The odd thing is that, up until now, we haven't. During the years when we were cheerfully spending $23 billion on outer space, we spent peanuts on the space we have to live in. Even today thousands of talented people are busy planning what to do on the moon, but no agency of government is planning the Second America. Nowhere in Washington can you find anybody who is responsible for figuring out where those 100 million extra people are going to live, how they will get to work, or who will put roofs over their heads.

Many agencies—indeed, far too many—are fiddling with bits and pieces of the problem; but they work at cross purposes, because they have no common goal. Neither the White House nor Congress has set forth an overall policy to guide them. No one in authority has said, "Here is the blueprint. This is what we want the United States to look like thirty years from now. Every one of you bureaucrats, from the county farm agents to the Atomic Energy Commission, is hereby directed to work to this pattern. Your first responsibility is to make sure that we reach these national goals by the end of the century."

Such a blueprint actually exists. It is traced out, in considerable detail and with hundreds of pages of supporting data, in four recently published books. The goals they set are clear, sensible, and well within the country's capacity. They are proposed by some of the best minds in America, after many months of argument and grinding labor. So far, of course, the plan has not been accepted by either Congress or the President. (I doubt whether Mr. Nixon has even read the books, although Daniel P. Moynihan and some of his other aides certainly have.) Under our habits of government, it cannot be accepted in Washington until it has been thoroughly discussed throughout the country, and has won a considerable degree of public assent. This process has not even started, because the four books are practically unknown to the public at large. So far as I know, not one of them has been reviewed by the *New York Times* or any other major newspaper, though they have had casual mention in a few news stories. But they will not be ignored forever; on the contrary, they are likely to become central texts for the political debate of the coming decade, because they deal with issues which will shape the lives of all of us, and our children.

The books which comprise The Plan were produced by a curious, and uniquely American, process. It would be an exaggeration to call them underground publications, but they were created so quietly that they almost look surreptitious.

Until quite recently, the American credo held that planning was just dandy for businessmen, but was forbidden to politicians and civil servants. *Public* planning was regarded as a sin, indulged in by godless Communists but unthinkable for any right-minded American. This dogma was formally proclaimed some thirty years ago, when President Roosevelt tried to set up a National Resources Planning Board, on the theory that it might be useful to know what assets we had and how they were being used. The elderly conservatives who then dominated Congress promptly denounced the Board as subversive, cut off its money, and drove some of its staff into political exile. This ruthless lesson was enough to make prudent bureaucrats shun the very word "planning" for decades to come.

Nevertheless many people in govern-

*People who enjoy arithmetic can find the detailed figures in two recent publications of the Census Bureau: *Projections of the Population of the United States by Age, Sex, and Color to 1990, with Extensions of Population by Age and Sex to 2015* and *Projections of the Population of Metropolitan Areas: 1975.*

ment realized that some planning was necessary for the efficient conduct of the public business, just as it is for private enterprise. Their problem was how to go about it without attracting the malevolent attention of the Eastlands, Goldwaters, and House Un-American Activities Committee. A customary solution—imperfect, but better than none—is to work behind a political heat shield: a commission.

Almost anybody can set up a commission. Usually it is appointed by the White House, but on occasion it may be created by a Cabinet member, a Congressional committee, a foundation, or by some convocation of mayors or governors. Its chairman is a more-or-less eminent citizen without political ambitions, and therefore not too nervous about criticism; his fellow commissioners ordinarily are obscure characters, vaguely described as "experts." Since it is a quasi-official body, it can be financed with tax money, or in a pinch by foundation grants—usually enough to hire a highly competent staff. Such a commission is directed to study some question—almost always a politically ticklish one—and to come up with recommendations. If these recommendations turn out to be palatable, they can be adopted, with hosannas, by the original sponsor. If not, they can be repudiated or ignored.

Occasionally a commission produces immediate results, as in the case of the Hoover Commission which led in 1949 to a useful overhaul of the executive branch. More often a commission's findings will sound so radical, or expensive, that neither legislators nor executive agencies will dare to touch them right away. Nevertheless the findings—and the thousands of pages of testimony and studies on which they are based—are now in the public domain. With luck, they will attract the attention of academics and maybe a few journalists; they will be referred to in books and Congressional debates; and so their once-startling propositions gradually become familiar. At that point they may be ripe for political action. Thus, for example, President Nixon's recent recommendations for reform of the welfare system are the outgrowth of suggestions put forth years earlier in half a dozen commission reports.

Several of Mr. Fischer's reports in "The Easy Chair" during the past year have dealt with current innovations in American government. He is the author of Master Plan: U.S.A. *and other books.*

So it is with the four books which outline a plan to accommodate the country's next 100 million people. They are reports of commissions (although one calls itself a committee). While these groups worked independently of each other, their ideas are remarkably similar; and the recommendations of each one tend to complement and reinforce the recommendations of all the others. Nobody intended that their reports should thus fit together to form a reasonably coherent scheme of action—but it isn't altogether coincidence, either. You might say that the pieces fell into that pattern because the spirit of the times demands it; or, more prosaically, that when intelligent men stare long enough at the same body of facts, they are likely to arrive at similar conclusions. As usual, most of the politicians who are aware of these conclusions have greeted them with wary, not to say stunned, silence. It will take a little time yet for them to become commonplaces of political discourse.

Only one of the reports is likely to be read in its original form by any substantial number of ordinary people. Entitled *The New City,* it is the product of the National Committee on Urban Growth Policy. It was brought out last August in an attractive format, with plenty of pictures, by a commercial publisher, Praeger ($12.50), and is available through bookstores; moreover, it was edited by Donald Canty, a professional writer-editor. The other three reports were published by the Government Printing Office in its usual drab style; they have to be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents; and they are written for the most part in the Late American Mandarin dialect which is now standard with bureaucrats and social scientists. Consequently their ideas are not likely to reach many readers, aside from determined urbanologists, until they are available in translation.

All I can attempt in this space is to indicate the main thrust of their argument. Each of the commissions concluded independently that it would be a hideous—and expensive—mistake to force the next 100 million Americans to live in our present cities. Yet that is precisely where they will end up, if present trends are permitted to continue. Already two-thirds of our population is living in some 230-odd metropolitan areas: cities of 50,000 and more, together with their suburbs. According to the Census Bureau projections mentioned earlier, virtually all of the anticipated increase will crowd into those same cities unless we do something to divert it elsewhere. Not because everybody wants to hive up that way.* People are being pushed in that direction by government policies of long standing—the farm program, the welfare system, the location of science centers, the obsolete rules for building public housing and insuring home mortgages, the way government contracts are let. None of these policies was meant to shove people into the already clotted-up metropolitan centers. Each of them was originally devised for an entirely different, and well-intended, purpose. Only belatedly did it become apparent that they are, as an unexpected by-product, influencing the direction of future growth—and that the cumulative result may well be a national disaster.

How this works is explained in two of the reports: one by the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, the other by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The first was a temporary *ad hoc* group appointed by President Johnson; he did not like its findings, presumably because they were critical of measures to which he was committed, such as the oil-depletion allowance and the subsidy of rich farmers. For months the report (*The People Left Behind*) lay buried in the White House and might never have been released, if it had not leaked inadvertently to the press. The other commission is a permanent body established ten years ago as a joint enterprise of federal, state, and local governments. In its quiet way it has been doing some of the most hardheaded and farsighted planning ever undertaken in this country, and has issued more than forty reports, many of them highly technical. The most important of these (in my opinion, at least) appeared in 1968 under the title *Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth.* It not only presents a reasoned criticism of the country's present policies—or non-policies—but also sets forth an array of alternatives. The fourth book, *Building*

*Jane Jacobs does, and a certain number of kindred souls who believe the boondocks begin just west of the Hudson. But a Gallup poll taken last year indicated that 56 per cent of the people questioned would prefer to live, if they could, on farms or in small towns rather than in a metropolis. Moreover, the steady movement from the core cities to the suburbs demonstrates that a considerable additional percentage yearns to get as far away from downtown as possible. Although sociologists, novelists, and urban intellectuals have been excoriating suburbia for the last thirty years, it still looks like the promised land to a growing number of Americans.

the American City, is better known as the Douglas Report, after Paul H. Douglas, former Senator from Illinois and chairman of the Commission on Urban Problems. It is the longest (more than 500 pages) and offers the most detailed diagnosis of the cities' ills, together with prescriptions for curing them.

Anyone who reads the four reports together quickly realizes that they are revolutionary documents — perhaps as revolutionary as anything published in this country since *The Federalist* papers. They demand nothing less than a reshaping of American institutions—the whole web of local governments, the tax system, the labor unions, the welfare programs, and many another hallowed relic—and they make such a compelling case that the reader is likely to find he has become a revolutionist himself before he reaches the last page.

The most dramatic proposals are those designed to channel our growing population away from Megalopolis. This is a prime goal of all four commissions, although each of them approaches it in a different way.

The New City recommends the building of 110 new communities within the next thirty years, to provide homes and jobs for 20 million people. Ten of them would be cities of at least one million population; the rest would average about 100,000 each. The Rural Poverty Commission in its report, *The People Left Behind,* puts more emphasis on encouraging the growth of existing small towns, especially in those parts of the country such as Appalachia, the South, and the Midwest which have been sending the most migrants to the big cities. Many a shabby and discouraged village of, say, 5,000 people can be converted into a thriving and attractive community of 50,000 to 100,000, if the right steps are taken to bring in new industries.*

Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth endorses both of these strategies. They supplement each other, and both are clearly needed since the proposed new cities would take care of only a fifth of the added population. But this study, like the Douglas Report, also devotes considerable attention to the things which have to be done to make our present big cities livable and governable. All four recommend the setting up of a new and muscular arm of government to handle the detailed planning for future growth, and to see that the plans are carried out. (Mr. Nixon's Council for Urban Affairs, headed by Pat Moynihan, might well evolve into just such an agency.)

My first reaction to this Grand Design was skepticism. It sounds great, all right, but isn't it too grandiose to be practical? And how could the country ever pay for it?

As I prodded deeper into the assembled evidence, however, my skepticism began to erode. I ended up convinced not only that the plan is feasible, but that it probably will be achieved in large part before the end of the century. Moreover, this undertaking could turn out to be more exciting than the exploration of space—and far more likely to enlist the enthusiastic commitment of alienated young people.

Cost is not so big an obstacle as it might seem. The new cities should pay for themselves; indeed, they might actually return a profit to the public purse. And in any case, most of the capital would come from private investors rather than the taxpayers.

That is one of the lessons we have learned from Western Europe, where new cities are an old story. Great Britain, for instance, already has built fourteen of them, providing homes and close-at-hand jobs for half a million people. They have proved so successful, both socially and economically, that fourteen more are now in the works. The latest of these, announced only last January, will be the most ambitious new city yet undertaken; eventually it alone will accommodate a half-million people, and the total population of the twenty-eight projects should reach three million. The experience of Finland, Sweden, and Holland with similar projects has been equally encouraging.

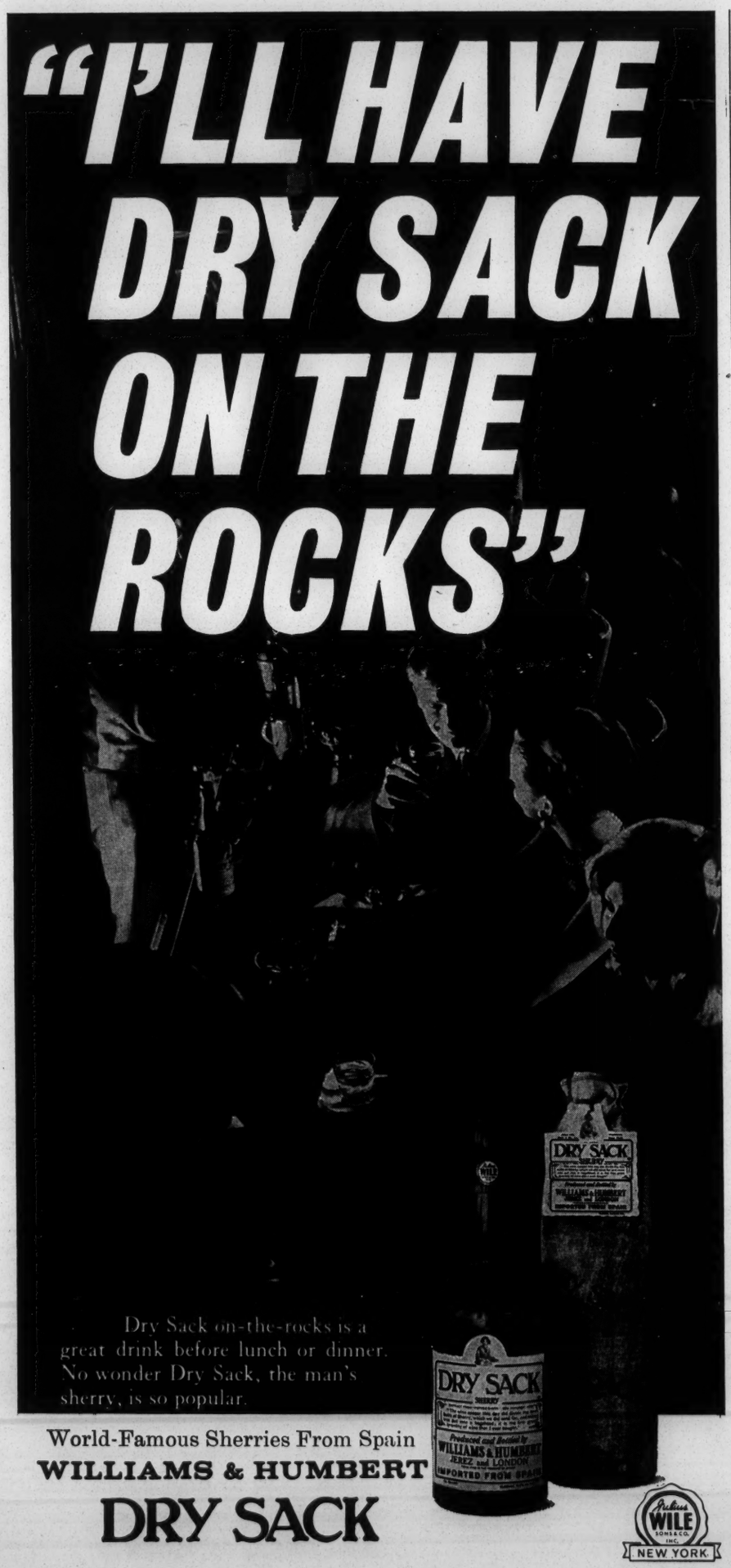
Our own experience has been encouraging too, although few people realize it. For new communities are also an old story in America—so old it has been largely forgotten. Every schoolchild learns that Washington, D.C. was designed from scratch by Major L'Enfant. But how many know that he also planned Paterson, N.J. in 1791 as a new city sponsored by the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures? Or that Marietta, Ohio, Salt Lake City, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Winston-Salem all originated as new towns, to mention only a sampling out of dozens of such ventures?

Most of these were started before the Civil War, when cheap land was plentiful, by private corporations or religious sects. A few more were built with government money during the Depression years, when private capital was hard to come by: notably Norris, Tennessee, and three so-called "Greenbelt Towns" near Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and Washington, D.C. They served as proving grounds for new ideas in design—the superblock, cluster housing, the separation of auto and pedestrian traffic—which eventually were widely adopted by private developers. At the time, however, they brewed up a storm of irrational emotion, which I had a chance to observe at first hand, because I worked for a couple of years with the Greenbelt Towns project. Real-estate operators denounced it as a socialistic threat to the divine rights of land speculators. And one Congressman, the late John Taber of Auburn, New York, actually believed that the new town north of Washington was designed as a hiding place for arms, in preparation for the day when that madman Roosevelt would dispatch a ravening mob to sack Capitol Hill. He told me so, and refused my pleas to come see for himself that the Greenbelt toolshed hid nothing more sinister than lawn mowers and baby carriages. If you think some Congressmen are peculiar today, you should have known the prime specimens of the Thirties.

Only in the last decade has big business started to invest in new communities, on a scale far larger than is generally realized. Fifty-two such projects were under way in 1968, each of them covering at least a thousand acres and offering all the facilities needed for a community of three thousand or more residents.* The most famous are Reston and Columbia, on opposite sides of Washington, D.C., but most of them are located in California, Florida, Arizona, and Colorado. The largest is California City, embracing more than 100,000 acres and designed to accommodate eventually 600,000 people; it is the brainchild of a rich young man named William M. White, Jr., the head of Great Western United Corporation. Other major corporations involved in

*For a case history of such a transformation, see "The Lazarus Twins in Pennsylvania: How Scranton and Wilkes-Barre Are Rising from the Dead" in the November 1968, issue of *Harper's.*

*A full listing, of possible interest to both home seekers and investors, is given on page 78 of *Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth.*



building new communities are General Electric, Westinghouse, IT&T, Boise Cascade, and the Del E. Webb Company. All of them, and a dozen smaller firms in the same field, obviously expect to earn a profit.

In that case, why shouldn't we depend on private enterprise to build all the new cities we need, with little or no help from government? In theory, this sounds reasonable, because the financial arithmetic is enticing. All you have to do is buy a few thousand acres of farmland at, say, $500 an acre, build the nucleus of your town, and then sell off the land at perhaps ten times its original price, plus construction costs. The creation of a new population center is all it takes to send land values skyrocketing; witness what has happened in Rockland County, New York, or in the new city of Columbia, Maryland.

In practice, alas, private enterprise can't do the job alone, for two reasons.

First, it is too hard to assemble large tracts of land in places where new communities are needed. Only a genius like James Rouse could have assembled at a reasonable cost the 14,000 acres needed for Columbia, in the fast-growing area between Washington and Baltimore, and he probably could not duplicate the feat today. Several of the new-town builders in the West avoided this problem, because they already owned huge expanses of farming land; examples are the Irvine Ranch and the acreage where Great Western United once raised sugar beets. But few such situations are left.

In the second place, a new town requires a lot of "patient capital" to finance the initial streets, sewers, water supply, and other community facilities. The investment is safe enough, but it cannot be fully repaid until the whole project is completed—which may be twenty or thirty years, or longer. Even the strongest corporations find it hard to raise that kind of capital, especially in a tight money market. That is the reason why Robert Simon, the original developer of Reston, Virginia, got into trouble and had to turn control of the management over to Gulf Oil.

If we are going to get the new cities we need, therefore, some arm of government will have to help out in three ways. (1) It must assemble large blocks of land, without running up the price, by use of its powers of condemnation and eminent domain. (2) It must put up a good part of the "front end money" for building community facilities, in the form of long-term loans. (3) It must take responsibility for the overall plan-

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ning, which no private corporation is capable of handling; only a public agency can, or should, select the sites for the 110 new communities, set standards for protection of the environment, and arrange inducements, when necessary, to create job opportunities. (This does *not* mean government subsidy to business; usually all it takes to bring new industries into the desired location is provision of a good highway, a dependable water supply, and perhaps an industrial park, a government installation, or a nearby university. Witness what happened when Route 128 was built as a ring highway around Boston.)

The rest of the job can confidently be left to private enterprise. Experience to date, both here and abroad, indicates that plenty of businessmen will be eager to flesh out the new community with homes and factories, once the skeleton is in place: that is, the basic plan and the infrastructure of streets and utilities.

It makes no sense to calculate the cost of building the Second America according to the four-book plan—or some variant—without also looking at the cost of the alternative. If we simply let our present cities double in size, in the chaotic and heedless way they are now growing, the cost will be infinitely greater. One reason is what economists call "diseconomies of scale." After a city reaches a certain size, the per capita cost of providing services—water, police protection, transport, and all the rest—begins to rise sharply. (Nobody knows for sure what the optimum size might be, because our political scientists have done surprisingly little research on this question; the most plausible estimates I have seen suggest that the desirable population ceiling may lie somewhere between 200,000 and one million.)

Far greater, however, are the social costs of urban elephantiasis, and tax costs which inevitably follow. The events of the last five years have made one thing unmistakably clear: when a city gets too big, it pays an enormous price in crime, drug addiction, spreading slums, decaying schools, and racial turmoil.

If he is interested in saving money, therefore, every true conservative ought to be a passionate advocate of The Plan. So should everybody who simply wants the country to be a decent place to live in. And, after all, why shouldn't we build the Second America in a sensible and humane fashion? If the British and the Finns can do it, why can't we? □

1/5/73

A View of HEW

Outgoing Secretary Richardson Thinks Agency Is Unwieldy, Urges Elimination of Many Programs

By JONATHAN SPIVAK
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Elliot Richardson believes a strong dose of consolidation and retrenchment is required at the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

The departing HEW Secretary is convinced that the government's major domestic agency is unwieldy and unworkable as currently constituted. His prescription, which is currently being considered by the White House, would add up to the biggest revamping since the department was established in 1953. If pursued by his successor, Saspar Weinberger, it would have far-reaching impact on the scope and substance of most of HEW's 307 programs.

But it would stir up a bitter battle with the interest groups and politicians that support these programs. Lawmakers have balked at comparatively small steps to eliminate programs and could be expected to oppose massively the sweeping new Richardson proposal. Critics of the kind of consolidation and pruning that Mr. Richardson has in mind see it as the wholesale abandonment of federal leadership in attacking national social problems. They worry, too, that Congress would be abdicating its authority to determine priorities for HEW programs. Thus there would be stiff Capitol Hill resistance to giving the Nixon administration the legislation it would need for such a revamping at HEW.

But Mr. Richardson, who will soon become Defense Secretary after 2½ years in the HEW post, insists that drastic changes must be made. "I see no way to . . . deal with these problems intelligently until we radically reduce and simplify the range of decisions that have to be made at the federal level," he asserts.

Broader Groupings

To accomplish this, he contends, scores of HEW programs should be eliminated and replaced by broad groupings of HEW activities. These new programs would offer states and localities wider discretion in spending HEW funds. Other existing narrowly-focused HEW endeavors should be phased out in favor of broadened income-maintenance and other programs that give aid directly to individuals and families. The department should stop providing subsidies for many health, education and welfare services, Mr. Richardson says; instead it should concentrate on experimentation and demonstration. HEW's manpower-training activities should be pared to deal only with areas of pressing need, he adds.

"My concern is that as a free self-governing society we aren't able to make intelligent decisions about the allocation of resources to urgent social problems," the HEW Secretary declares.

"You can't do it under a structure that has vested responsibility for a tremendous number of narrow-gauged decisions in the federal government," he insists. Mr. Richardson made his views known in an interview. Mr. Richardson's ideas are known within the department as the "mega proposal" because of their scope and complexity, and are designed to provide the White House with a detailed blueprint for reform of HEW.

The Richardson ideas are carefully tailored to fit with the philosophy and rhetoric of Mr. Nixon's new federalism. Their appeal could be substantial to the White House and Mr. Weinberger because the ideas provide a powerful rationale for restraining HEW's future growth. The department's annual budget now is $84 billion and is likely to rise to at least $90 billion next year even if some program pruning is done quickly. Indeed, President Nixon's selection of Mr. Weinberger as successor to Mr. Richardson was seen as a clear signal that early retrenchment was a major objective. Mr. Weinberger is currently director of the Office of Management and Budget.

If HEW were revamped along the lines Mr. Richardson advocates, the department would move wherever possible toward an income-maintenance approach—putting money into the hands of individuals and letting them fill their needs in the private marketplace. "The social workers or bureaucrats hypothetically might not feel the decision was wisely made but let the individual make his own decision," Mr. Richardson argues.

An expanded federal health-insurance program, for example, could cover all medical expenses above a fixed percentage of family income—ranging from 3% to 15%. Medicare, Medicaid, neighborhood health centers and other federally supported health programs could be eliminated or drastically curtailed.

Financing Higher Education

Costs of higher education could be financed primarily through government-guaranteed private loans, Mr. Richardson believes. Students would be expected to repay their obligations, perhaps over 15 years, with the size of the payments tied to the borrower's income. As a consequence, he says, other college-aid programs could be cut back or phased out, such as $876 million a year in Social Security benefits for surviving dependents who are attending school, $300 million in direct loans to poor students, $200 million in interest subsidies on government-guaranteed loans, and the $12.6 million-a-year program of aid to land-grant colleges.

Many other HEW activities could become expendable if Mr. Richardson's ideas were executed. For example, some $250 million a year in federal grants and loans for construction of medical schools, health-research facilities, classrooms and other public buildings could be dispensed with and federally guaranteed private loans substituted. And HEW could gradually withdraw from support of such specialized institutions as Gallaudet College, which serves the deaf. These currently cost the department $100 million a year.

Mr. Richardson says his primary objective isn't economy but is simplifying the department's structure so that decision making is more logical and consistent. A major step would be establishment of broad block-grant programs in education, health and welfare. The Nixon administration, through its special revenue-sharing plan, has already proposed one such consolidation for education, grouping together 35 elementary and secondary aid programs. Health-revenue sharing would tie together most public-health programs aimed at control of disease, including activities for prevention of lead-paint poisoning, drug abuse and alcoholism. Social-welfare revenue sharing would embrace federal programs for the aged, vocational rehabilitation and child welfare.

Snipping Federal Strings

Mr. Richardson feels that the new programs should have a minimum of federal strings attached. State and local units of government would be empowered to make most of the decisions on how to spend the block grants, but there would be safeguards. For example, 90% of the social-services money might have to go to the poor, and states would have to maintain records and data available to the public. And parents' advisory councils would have to be established for education programs.

But these would only be the most prominent of the HEW consolidations. Mr. Richardson visions other new laws cutting through the complexity of HEW's current operations. Almost two dozen different research-and-development programs could be supplanted by six new ones for mental health, health services, biomedical research, education, social services and income maintenance. Despite the delegation of other HEW responsibilities to states and local units of government, the national focus in research and development should be preserved, the departing HEW Secretary says.

Manpower-development programs that are scattered throughout the department could be grouped together in three major categories—health, education and welfare—and stringent criteria employed for spending federal funds. Only when rising wage and salary levels don't overcome shortages of trained professionals should the federal government step in, Mr. Richardson reasons. It is estimated that HEW manpower outlays might gradually be cut to less than half the current $1.1 billion a year under such an arrangement.

Other consolidations could group together several dozen different programs for delivering health, education and welfare services into five broad new categories. The new programs should cover only the start-up costs of such endeavors as group-medical-practice arrangements and foreclose long-range government subsidies, Mr. Richardson believes.

Most interest groups in the health, education and welfare fields, committed to the crurent way of doing business, would oppose these ideas. But the HEW secretary argues that by taking a giant bite at the problem of consolidation and retrenchment, the Nixon administration might succeed.

"The only chance for serious consideration," he asserts, "depends on the sheer size and audacity and the very fact it does represent a coherent approach to health, welfare and education responsibilities of the federal government as a whole."

Allied Van Lines Draws A $20,000 Civil Penalty, Partial ICC Suspension

Mover Is Told to Cease Violating Household-Goods Rules, Can't Carry Some Items for 15 Days

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—The Interstate Commerce Commission levied a $20,000 civil penalty and took other disciplinary action against Allied Van Lines Inc. for alleged violation of ICC household-goods regulations.

The commission said that in addition to the penalty accepted by Allied, the ICC directed the Chicago-based moving concern to cease violations and suspended for 15 days a portion of Allied's operating rights. Violation of the cease-and-desist order could lead to more severe penalties, including further suspension or even revocation of Allied's total operating authority, the ICC said.

The 15-day suspension prohibits carrying certain shipments for insitutions and businesses. It goes into effect Jan. 15.

The action against Allied, the nation's largest household-goods mover, is the second taken by the ICC against a moving concern. It previously announced similar penalties for Aero-Mayflower Transit Co., Indianapolis. The agency also is investigating customer complaints about six other movers.

The ICC charged that Allied had violated a

used a gun he picked up off an airlines check-in counter. The pistol had been checked in by a policeman with a ticket agent.

* * *

Massive cutbacks at HEW are needed, with scores of narrowly focused programs being replaced by broadened income-maintenance activities, outgoing Welfare Secretary Richardson said. In an interview, he suggested an expanded federal health-insurance program to replace Medicare, Medicaid and neighborhood health centers; financing students' higher education through 15-year government-guaranteed loans, thus replacing other college aid programs; and federally backed private loans to replace federal grants and loans for building medical schools, classrooms and other public structures. W-S-J 1/5/73

Resignation of Robert Ball as Social Security commissioner has been accepted by Nixon, reliable sources told the AP. Ball, who has held the post for more than 10 years, reportedly wanted to stay on the job. There wasn't any immediate White House confirmation. But the White House did say that although Secor Browne still plans to resign from the Civil Aeronatutics Board, Nixon has renamed him CAB chairman. And chief U.S. arms-control

Sidestepping the Scythe

Beneficiaries of Social Programs Organize To Fight Nixon's Expected Budget Slashes

By MONROE W. KARMIN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Even before President Nixon sends his new budget to Congress, a mighty mobilization is under way to fend off what is expected to be the deepest slash in social programs since their birth in New Deal days.

Because preliminary reports indicate that the presidential scythe is swinging across the board, the rush to defend is being joined by platoons of interest groups both in the nation's capital and throughout the country.

Welfare workers are ready to fight. So are librarians, builders, educators, mortgage bankers, doctors and nurses, unions, tenants, mayors, farmers, black people, old folks, Spanish-speaking people, materials manufacturers, bureaucrats and so on—just about everybody who has participated in and benefited from the growth in federal aid programs the past 40 years.

Preparing for Battle

Coalitions are forming. Public alarms are being sounded. Private appeals to the White House are being issued. Contacts with Capitol Hill are being made. Lawsuits are being readied. And political claim checks are being proffered in preparation for a historic battle of the budget.

For instance:

—Ray Watt wants to talk with the President. He got into the White House Jan. 4 but saw staff members only. Mr. Watt, a California builder, is on the board of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, which builds subsidized housing. Naturally, Mr. Watt is disappointed that Mr. Nixon wants to stop subsidizing housing. Mr. Watt's dismay is compounded by the fact that he was chairman of the Builders-for-Nixon Committee, which raised more than $2 million for the President's reelection. The White House people "don't seem to understand the full impact of their actions on the economy," Mr. Watt says, "and we're trying to make them aware and will continue to do so."

—George Meany has a lot of things to discuss with Mr. Nixon. One is the Public Employment Program, which distributes over $1.2 billion a year to provide public-service jobs. The AFL-CIO chief wants the program continued at its current level but fears that the President intends to slice it to midget size or to eliminate it. Already the labor federation has warned that "elimination or reduction in the federal effort in job creation could touch off a new round of spiraling unemployment."

—The Coalition for Health Funding speaks for 29 major health organizations and is gaining new members rapidly as word of Mr. Nixon's plans to slash the health budget seeps out. The coalition already has met with every member of the House and Senate Appropriations committees to present its case. It complains that spending cuts have already begun. "Students are being turned away from medical, nursing, dentistry and other schools because of the lack of loan funds," maintains Connie Holleran, chairman of the steering committee. "Grants aren't being awarded."

—The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, which represents more than 1,000 rural electric systems, is summoning its membership to the capital to protest the administration's cutoff of direct government loans to the co-ops. "We have one immediate objective," says Robert D. Partridge, the association's executive vice president, "and that is to restore the direct-loan program, which has served rural America and the entire nation so well for over three decades."

—The U.S. Conference of Mayors is planning a series of hearings (cochairmen: New Orleans Mayor Moon Landrieu and Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson) to be held in major metropolitan areas this spring to dramatize the local effects of Mr. Nixon's budget-cutting actions. The mayors especially fear the consequences of his proposed abolition of housing subsidies. "These present gigantic problems for us," says John Gunther, executive director.

The Upper Hand

For all the activity, however, a feeling is beginning to permeate Washington that the President, emboldened by his landslide election victory, holds the upper hand in the congressional budget battle. He is planning to end the traditional categorical-aid programs for narrow purposes, such as urban renewal. Instead, he proposes to lump these aid programs into special revenue-sharing grants for broader purposes, such as community development; these grants would have fewer federal strings attached. In effect, the President is saying: "Congress had better enact revenue sharing in a hurry, and you interest groups had better lend your support or you won't get any money." The consensus is that he will prevail.

The battle of the budget, then, may come down to an effort to ensure that no federal aid funds are lost in the transition from the old to the new form of financing. "What can we do?" one exasperated lobbyist asks. "We need the money, and I don't think Congress will be willing to defy the President if it faces a cutoff of funds, which is what it faces."

And so the mobilization picks up steam—more to protect against loss than to reap gains. Stanley Waranch, the immediate past president of the National Association of Home Builders, is demanding a meeting with the President. He began demanding—but to no avail—even before outgoing Urban Secretary George Romney announced the moratorium on subsidized housing. "If the programs aren't reinstated in some way," Mr. Waranch declares, "we will reach a catastrophe for low-income families."

The freeze on housing has propelled some 50 organizations, ranging from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to the League of Women Voters, into a new coalition to oppose the action. Warning of "catastrophic" human and economic consequences, the coalition is urging Senators to hold up confirmation of new Nixon Cabinet choices until the President rescinds his order. Moreover, the coalition is considering seeking a court injunction to compel him to spend the money appropriated by Congress for subsidized housing.

Among other things, the White House has marked for extinction the Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration, which aids impoverished parts of the country. The President won't seek renewal of the authorizing legislation, which expires June 30. In addition, the agency has orders to freeze $100 million of the approximately $250 million it is authorized to disburse this year for local development.

pected to be trimmed to $5 billion in the fiscal year that begins next July 1 from $5.5 billion in the current year. Moreover, the White House proposes to eliminate some programs: $146 million for special cultural-enrichment activities in poor school districts, $43 million in aid to state departments of education and $15 million in college community-service programs.

The Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs, which represents 75 elementary, secondary and higher-education organizations, is preparing for battle. It intends to see that every Congressman and Senator knows just what the cuts will mean in his home state. Congressional newcomers will get special attention. "We want to make sure that all of the new Congressmen are aware of the problem by inviting them or their staff people to breakfast," says Chick Lee, the committee's chief staff man.

To revive the soil-conservation program known as REAP, which had nearly all its funds frozen by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz last month, the National Limestone Institute is striving to inundate Congress with one million protest letters from farmers. "The letters are pouring in now," reports Robert M. Koch, president of the industry organization. Limestone application is one of the soil-improvement practices normally subsidized by the 37-year-old program.

The public-employe unions are reacting sharply, if predictably, to the administration's freeze on new hiring and talk of cuts in the federal bureaucracy. The National Federation of Federal Employes has told all members of Congress that "the harsh freeze on hiring and promotions and arbitrary manpower ceilings have increasingly handicapped agencies in carrying out their missions."

Phase 3 & '74

Most Analysts Expect Strong Year—if Boom Isn't Overdone in '73

They Urge Curbs on Budget, Money Supply; Inflation May Level Off Around 3½%

1/17/73

Case of Too Good Too Soon?

By LINDLEY H. CLARK JR.
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—The latest moves in Washington do nothing to dampen private economists' expectations of a strong 1973. But some are worried that the year may be so good that 1974 will turn out to be a whole 'nother story.

Many analysts were surprised by the timing of Phase 3, which removed mandatory wage-price controls from most of the economy. Most figure the move will spur some price boosts, but they were looking for some increase in inflation this year anyway. They figure the key question now is whether the government will apply what they consider the right amount of monetary and fiscal restraint.

The Federal Reserve Board's decision last week to approve a higher discount rate, the fee the Fed charges on loans to member banks, is at least an indication that the agency wants to keep the money supply under control. (Raising of the discount rate tends to limit the growth of the money supply because it tends to increase the cost of—and thus discourage—borrowing.) The growth of the money stock slowed last fall, but it speeded up again in December. For the year it grew by 8.1%, a rate that nearly all economists consider too high for the present economy.

The reason is that the present economy this year appears to be headed into something like an old-fashioned boom. Most analysts think the boom can be kept under reasonable control. If it is, they believe 1974 will be a good year, too, though not as busy as 1973. But they see a real chance that the government, businessmen and consumers will overdo in 1973, especially now that controls are being phased out.

"Too Good Too Soon"

"The danger is that business may get too good too soon," says Alan Greenspan, president of Townsend-Greenspan & Co. "Up to now there has been a strong element of business and consumer caution that has helped to keep the recovery under control. There are signs, though, that the caution now is diminishing."

"The current recovery is like a second-stage rocket," says Sam I. Nakagama, economist for Kidder, Peabody & Co. "The air is better, and the rocket needs less thrust to keep it going. But it may get too much thrust in 1973."

An overly exuberant economy would build up powerful inflationary pressures. The wage-price controls, even before they were relaxed last week, were never designed to cope with excess demand and, in the face of a new push

An overly exuberant economy would build up powerful inflationary pressures. The wage-price controls, even before they were relaxed last week, were never designed to cope with excess demand and, in the face of a new push from unions and business, could well collapse now. Then highly restrictive monetary-fiscal moves to curb the resulting inflation could curb the recovery as well—in 1974 if not earlier.

There are some economists who see that as the likely scenario. Eliot Janeway, for example, figures that 1974 will be "pretty bad." The chief question about 1974, in his view, is from what level the downtrend will start. (Of course, Mr. Janeway is famous for predicting the Dow Jones average was headed for 500 when it was really headed for 1000.)

Most economists are more optimistic. For one thing, they're counting on firm but moderate fiscal-monetary restraint throughout 1973, not a sudden slamming-on of the brakes. If they're right, they figure the current business uptrend can be sustained through 1974 and perhaps even longer.

The 1974 Outlook

"Up to now the economy has been making the best approach to full capacity that it has made in the entire post-World War II period," says A. James Meigs, economist for Argus Research Corp. "We have the best chance we have had of reaching capacity and still maintaining stability."

The current recovery has been slow getting off the ground. In 1971, the year the upturn officially began, the gross national product—in terms of 1958 dollars—expanded only by a modest 2.7%. Last year real GNP apparently grew by nearly 6.5%, which was the best year-to-year gain since 1966.

What of 1973? A Wall Street Journal survey of a score of economists produces an average forecast of 6% real growth rate for this year. According to Irwin L. Kellner, vice president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., "1973 is going to be a good year regardless of what policymakers do over the next few months."

Forecasting for 1974 obviously is a high-risk affair. Yet many business economists say their companies, and their companies' customers, seem more eager than ever for a long-range view of the outlook. Says Peter H. Crawford, vice president of First National City Bank, "To act as though the world will end on Dec. 31, 1973, is just foolish."

Mr. Crawford and First National City expect real growth to be edging downward this year, reaching an annual rate of about 5½% in the third and fourth quarters. They look for the trend to continue into 1974 but still expect real growth to stay well above 4% next year.

That's close to the average prediction for 1974. Among the more optimistic forecasters polled by The Wall Street Journal are the Argus Research economists, who look for a 5% rise in real GNP. A. Gary Shilling of White, Weld & Co. doesn't want to predict beyond the first half, but he looks for real growth of 5% to 6% in that period.

One of the lower forecasts comes from Michael Evans, president of Chase Econometrics Associates, who expects real GNP to rise by only 3.2% in 1974. But that in itself reflects increased optimism; a few weeks ago Mr. Evans was forecasting a recession in 1974.

Estimates of real-growth prospects vary partly because economists differ on the inflation outlook. When President Nixon announced Phase 3, he set a goal of reducing the rate of inflation to 2½% by the end of this year, but few business economists regard that figure as realistic. On the average, the analysts look for the inflation rate to level off in the neighborhood of 3½% in the next couple of years,

Phase 3 & '74: Analysts Expect Good Year—if Boom Isn't Overdone

Continued From First Page

though some expect it to be edging upward a bit in 1974.

The inflation outlook depends heavily on developments in government policy. And most economists have been encouraged by the Nixon administration's announced determination to restrain federal spending, and they hope the Federal Reserve System will make progress in limiting the growth of the money supply.

"I'm convinced that the government is not going to give in to pressures to add fiscal or monetary stimulus," says Paul J. Markowski, chief economist of Weis, Voisin & Co. "I think the administration will come close to holding the line on spending."

Mr. Markowski and other private economists agree that the administration's plan to hold federal outlays to $250 billion in the current fiscal year will be difficult to achieve. "The attempt to prune unsuccessful programs, reorganize the Executive Office and congressional budget procedures, and eschew massive new initiatives will be accompanied by acrimonious debate, but I believe progress will ensue," says Beryl W. Sprinkel, senior vice president and economist for Harris Trust & Savings Bank of Chicago.

Some economists worry that a sharp slowdown in federal spending could retard or even reverse the recovery. But a number of analysts figure that spending curbs could have exactly the opposite effect.

Many economists long have talked of a fiscal multiplier—the idea that an increase in federal outlays produces more than an equivalent rise in private spending. Alan Greenspan thinks that the nation now may be dealing with a sort of negative multiplier.

In recent years, he explains, rising inflation rates led businessmen and consumers to expect more of the same, so they spent less. As the chance of budget control grows, he reasons, the public inflationary expectations are diminishing and "you're getting a multiplier in the other direction." If the government spends less, in other words, the public may spend more.

Role of the Consumer

There's no doubt that businessmen and consumers are increasing their spending, and most economists look for more of the same. "Inventory accumulation will probably accelerate strongly; it reached an $8 billion annual rate in the third quarter of 1972, compared to $1.3 billion a year earlier," says Raymond J. Saulnier of Columbia University's Barnard College. "A high level of capital appropriations—20% above last year—and strong increases in capital-goods new orders suggest increases in 1973 shipments of at least 15%, possibly higher."

Consumer outlays look strong to the economists, too. Consumer spending should continue to pace the growth with an advance of 9% this year, says Lionel D. Edie & Co. "Increases in auto sales are expected to moderate, but furniture, appliances and nondurable goods will continue to show strong performances."

Substantial increases in private spending, many analysts reason, could make it easier for the administration to curb federal outlays; there would be fewer arguments that the economy needed the spur of government spending. A booming private economy, they add, also would strengthen the Federal Reserve's hand if it moves to moderate the growth of the money supply to lessen the risk of fresh inflation.

One reason that some economists worry that the private boom may get too strong is that the public early this year will be getting around $8 billion of extra income tax refunds, because of the overwithholding of taxes last year. But a number of analysts think that a large portion of these refunds will not be spent but will be stashed in savings accounts.

February Pressure

The key tests for the administration, Congress, the Federal Reserve and businessmen will come early this year. The outlook for federal spending restraint, for instance, is likely to be clarified by the early confrontations between the Nixon administration and the new Congress.

Moreover, says Mr. Nakagama, "a conjuncture of unusual forces—particularly the Treasury's need to borrow an extra $8 billion to pay tax refunds, record auto assemblies to build dealer inventories, and sharp increases in capital goods output will put unseasonably heavy pressures on the money markets by February."

National Distributing's Unit to Buy Alfred Hart For $9.5 Million of Cash

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

ATLANTA—National Distributing Co. said it agreed in principle for a subsidiary of National to acquire Alfred Hart Co. for about $9.5 million in cash.

The transaction is subject to approval by the boards of both companies, Alfred Hart holders and of certain administrative agencies. It's also subject to signing of a definitive agreement.

National Distributing is a wine and liquor distributor in Georgia and Florida and a linen service operator in Virginia and North Carolina. Alfred Hart, based in Los Angeles, is a liquor and wine distributor in Southern California.

For fiscal 1972, ended July 1, National Distributing reported earnings of $1.5 million, or 97 cents a share, on sales of $114.9 million. Alfred Hart Co. had earnings for fiscal 1972, ended June 30, of $699,000, or $1.27 a share, on sales of $47.7 million, according to a National Distributing spokesman.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS
monitor
CENTER FOR COMMUNITY CHANGE 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 • Telephone 202/338-6310

February 1, 1973

To: David Ramage, Jr.

From: Woodrow L. Ginsburg WLG

Subject: General Revenue Sharing

I have attached a draft narrative explaining in some detail the general revenue sharing act passed by the Congress and signed by President Nixon last fall.

The emphasis, as you can see, is on what actions can be taken by local community organizations associated with the Center to assure that the rights of the minority and the poor are fully protected when these revenue sharing dollars are expended.

This account will be used in the forthcoming issue of MONITOR, to be published on February 15.

Muskie's speech 2/3/73 including results of questionnaire

Humphrey - Mansfield "ready" to lead

Mr Cooper has "analysis" (?)

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GENERAL REVENUE SHARING

The next few months---from now until July 1 when state and local governments adopt their budgets for the next fiscal year---are critical for local community groups if they are to have a hand in planning for the expenditure of Federal dollars parceled out under the revenue-sharing program enacted late last year.

The reasons calling for prompt activity by local community organizations are two. By April 15 of this year, many local and most state governments will hold extraordinarily large amounts of cash in hand since they will have received Federal revenue sharing dollars for the whole of 1972 and the first quarter of 1973. Moreover, once the budget for Fiscal 1974 is adopted, chances are decisions made on programs to be paid for by revenue sharing monies will hold true for the life of the program.

The stakes are high: about $7 billion will have been passed on to the state and local units by this April. The five-year program calls for returning a total of $30.2 billion of Federal dollars to states, counties and municipalities.

Neither the law nor regulations issued by the Treasury Department governing its implementation requires citizen participation in determining how this money will be spent. Nor are state and local governments required to file extensive reports on how the funds have been expended and which programs and persons have been affected.

(The general outlines of the revenue sharing act have been spelled out in previus issues of this publication: see MONITOR, Oct/72 and Dec/72.)

Local community action groups can receive revenue sharing funds for their programs directly from state and local governments, provided officials in these jurisdictions can be persuaded to make such commitments. One example: the experience of Southwestern Indian Development Inc., which received funds from the city of Phoenix for social services programs.

In light of these facts, the burden of protecting the interests of the minority poor and other disadvantaged groups falls on community action groups.

Of the $30.2 billion to be returned to state and local units over the five years from the effective date (January, 1972), one-third will go to state governments, the remaining two-thirds to local units (counties, villages and towns).

While $20 billion in revenue sharing checks will to to more than 36,000 local governmental units, roughly half of that amount will go to the 50 largest cities.

Under the program, states have been allocated funds based on either of two formulas, whichever is greater: a five-factor formula that considers population, urbanized population, population weighted inversely for per capita income, income tax collections and general tax effort, or a three-factor formula which takes into account population, general tax effort and per capita income.

Local units have received funds based on three factors: population, per capita income and general tax effort.

Indian tribes and Alaskan native villages which have recognized governing bodies performing substantial governmental functions have received an allocation from their county's total. This special allocation is based on population of that tribe or village in relation to the population of the county area.

The purpose of the formulas is simple: to put the money where it's most needed. The avowed purpose of the act is also simple: to help ease the financial burden on states and local communities.

General revenue sharing funds may not represent a net increase in Federal dollars flowing from Washington. Many groups

fear the present Administration might well cut other programs, advising local and state units to make up the difference with revenue sharing dollars.

These fears are not groundless. MONITOR has learned that in Newark, for example, Federal funds supporting a health clinic operated by the North Jersey Community Union were cut back sharply. U.S. officials urged Newark to replace these funds with money funnelled to the city in the form of revenue sharing.

RESTRICTIONS ON REVENUE SHARING FUNDS

The uses to which revenue sharing dollars can be put vary as between the states and local units. The 50 states, for example, can use the funds for any legal expenditure except to match Federal grants.

Local units, on the other hand, must spend the money for what the act calls "high priority expenditures." The list of priorities is broad, however, and permits great leeway in the manner local units use the dollars.

The local priorities are maintenance and operating expenses for public safety (including law enforcement, fire protection and building code enforcement); environmental protection

(including sewage disposal, sanitation and pollution abatement); public transportation (including transit systems and streets and roads); health; recreation; libraries; social services for the poor and the aged, and financial administration.

And finally, the statute permits local units to make "ordinary and necessary capital expenditures authorized by law."

Local units may not expend revenue sharing dollars for education, general administration or matching other Federal funds.

One major loophole: local governments can substitute revenue sharing dollars to pay for programs now financed with locally-raised revenues.

Local and state governments both are free to reduce taxes, if they so choose. They have been cautioned by the Treasury Department, however, that a reduction in their tax efforts could reduce allocations to them under the formula in future years.

If many communities cut local taxes, however, Congress is certain to protest since its members will see themselves cast as villainous tax-raisers and local officials will appear to be heroic tax-cutters.

All levels of government are required to place revenue sharing dollars into separate trust funds and account for them separately from other funds.

The law requires that no person shall be excluded from participation in or be denied the benefits of a program funded in whole or in part with revenue sharing monies on the basis of race, color, national origin or sex.

Lastly, each governmental unit must agree that persons employed in jobs financed in whole or in part out of the revenue sharing trust fund are to be paid wages not lower than the prevailing rates of pay for persons employed in that government.

FOR CDC's: BONANZA OR BANE?

There are opportunities and pitfalls in the program, insofar as local community development corporations are concerned.

To begin with, many public interest organizations, the Center for Community Change among them, believe the interim guidelines set last fall by Treasury are drawn far too ambiguously. The section governing anti-discrimination, for example, is not self-enforcing.

"Effective enforcement," according to the comments made by a civil rights task force, "demands at a minimum that states and localities be advised of their substantive obligations under the law, and that workable procedures be developed for the Federal government to detect and remedy non-compliance.

"The proposed regulations do not address these issues in any serious way," the statement continued.

Another shortcoming in the program is the absence of strict regulations requiring public notice and consultation with all segments of a community before final decisions are made on how to spend the money.

Such a failing presents a serious problem for local community groups of the minority poor since many local and state officials will feel free to ignore the needs of these, our most disadvantaged citizens.

If, after all, there is no requirements that a city council, for example, hold public hearings to determine the greatest needs of all segments of the community, or that representative groups be given a chance to participate in the decision-making process, it is almost certain that the minority poor will not receive a fair portion of the benefits made possible by revenue sharing.

Under the guise of uncertainty on the long-term operation of revenue sharing, many state and local government officials are proposing to spend their allocations on buildings and hardware, not for the services which will meet the genuine needs of the community.

A GUIDE FOR ACTION BY LOCAL GROUPS

Given all of this, what can local community organizations do to assure that their constituents are not denied the benefits of the revenue sharing program?

First, it should be understood that there is widespread ignorance of the law and its provisions among many state and local government officials as well as ordinary citizens.

Thus, it is important for local organizations to find out precisely what monies will be allocated to their state and local governments, the basis of distribution of funds within the several governments, what plans have been made for use of the funds, how government officials intend to publicize the entire planning and expenditure process so that the people can be informed, what plans each unit has for accounting on the use of the funds, and what effects the revenue sharing dollars will have on each segment of the community.

On reporting: each state and local government must submit a report to the Treasury Department which outlines the amounts and purposes for which the funds have been spent or obligated. Also, before the beginning of each entitlement period, each governmental unit must file with the Secretary of Treasury

a report which sets forth the amount and purpose for which it is planned to spend or obligate revenue sharing dollars for that period.

Treasury has announced that its Office of Revenue Sharing will have a skeleton staff of about 25 persons to check the audits supplied by state and local units. It is expected this staff will be able to check only 300 or so units annually.

Thus, each state and local unit must perform the audits, according to the system in effect in each government. In addition, Treasury will be relying on regular state audits of local governments as well as reports filed by reputable accounting firms.

FAILINGS IN THE REPORTING SYSTEM

The reporting system as set up does not provide for a sufficient degree of accountability by state and local units. The Federal government, given the small staff in the Office of Revenue Sharing, will be virtually unable to initiate investigations to make certain the law is being complied with.

Local community groups should press for exact details of all reports submitted to the government and for their widespread publication. Only in that way can the community know what officials are doing with the revenue sharing funds.

Next, it is important for the leadership of local organizations to seek out those officials who will be in charge of planning the use of the dollars.

After this relationship has been established, local groups should take every step to assure their point of view about spending the money is made known. One way to do this: a series of public hearings, with broad publicity in advance, at which representatives of the entire community can present their ideas for the expenditure of the funds.

All of this can be made to work. To cite the example noted earlier, of the Southwestern Indian Development Inc., that group was able to persuade, not without some difficulty, the city council of Phoenix to set aside revenue sharing funds for SID's programs.

According to the Arizona Republic, "most members of the council believe(d) that money should be used for one-time, non-recurring expenses, with most of the emphasis placed on the capital budget instead of the operating expenditures.

"Representatives of Southwestern Indian Development Inc., met with city officials soon after the federal-revenue-sharing program passed Congress and asked that funds be included for Indians.

"One of the major changes in the revised federal-revenue-sharing budget is the inclusion of $50,000 for Indian social service programs."

It should be remembered that in almost all cases, before state and local governments can act on the allocation of revenue sharing dollars, legislation in one form or another must be passed, depending on the state constitution or the local charter. It is before that legislation has been enacted that local groups can have the most significant impact.

After the legislation has been enacted, local groups can continue to play an important role by monitoring expenditures carefully. Particular attention must be given to assure that all sectors of the community benefit in an equitable fashion.

COALITIONS URGED

To carry out these activities effectively requires a concerted effort probably beyond the capacity of a single group. One way to surmount this is to bring about a coalition of public interest groups in the area, and in the doing, to work out common goals and objectives based on the demonstrated needs of the poor community.

The coalition should make certain the needs are clearly demonstrated by pointing out such matters as the unemployment

rate, the lack of services to the poor and the aged, the extent to which health problems in the ghetto or barrio are not being met, the lack of community facilities for the poor---in short, the dimensions of the social and economic pathology of the minority community.

The local group or coalition of groups which shows minority poor needs persuasively enough can compel government to act to meet the deficiencies. The result will be that revenue sharing dollars will be spent less for frills, new police cars, more weaponry and city halls and more to meet the pressing needs of American society.

# # #

February 1, 1973

ccc monitor: general revenue sharing, appendix.

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President's Budget Geared To Ending Key Programs

ALL-OUT SUPPORT in the legislative drive for enactment of a National Health Security program is pledged by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland at a Washington news conference. From left are

Spending Ceiling Given Top Priority

Budget

By David L. Perlman

Pres. Nixon has asked Congress to help him dismantle major federal programs dealing with jobs, poverty, housing, education and health.

He submitted a budget designed "to hold down federal spending" and to shift responsibility to states and cities. And in a nationwide radio address, the President called on the American people to back him up and tell Congress "to get big government off your back and out of your

Economy

By Saul Miller

The government's top economic policy for 1973 will be "restraining federal expenditures" backed up by compliance with Phase 3 wage and price standards and an increase in food supplies to bring down prices.

Pres. Nixon listed these priorities in his Economic Report and said it is up to Congress to see that the present expansion is not turned into a feverish boom by voting more federal funds than he has proposed.

To Ending Key Programs

ALL-OUT SUPPORT in the legislative drive for enactment of a National Health Security program is pledged by AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. Lane Kirkland at a Washington news conference. From left are Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), cosponsor of the bill; Pres. Leonard Woodcock of the Auto Workers; Rep. Martha W. Griffiths (D-Mich.), cosponsor; Kirkland, and Dr. Mathilde Krim of the Sloan-Kettering Cancer Research Institute. **(Story, Page 8.)**

Budget

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The budget axe fell on programs enacted or expanded in every administration since FDR's New Deal, including the first term of Pres. Nixon.

The public service employment program, signed into law less than two years ago, will be phased out under the Administration's plans because "unemployment has fallen and the financial ability of state and local governments to meet demands for services has improved."

The Office of Economic Opportunity, command post for the anti-poverty program launched in the Johnson Administration, would be dissolved and its community action operations discontinued.

No further funds would be spent for the hospital construction and modernization grants under the Hill-Burton Act, dating from the Truman Administration.

A chart accompanying the budget portrays the "dramatic improvement in housing conditions"

(Continued on Page 3)

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If Congress goes along with his budget policies, Nixon said, 1973 "can be a great year" that will bring unemployment to about 4.5 percent by the end of the year, the rate of inflation to 2.5 percent or less and a growth in real output of 6.75 percent.

These projections are based on slowing down economic growth after mid-1973 to prevent an anticipated rise in inflation and indicate that the Administration is willing to accept a 4.5 percent unemployment rate for the year rather than trying to achieve a full employment rate.

The President's report and the report of the Council of Economic Advisers contained no specific legislative recommendations as it reviewed the 1972 economic record, the workings of the economic stabilization program and the outlook for 1973. For the first time the report contained a chapter on the economic role of women.

In repeating his earlier request of Congress to extend the Economic Stabilization Act for one year, the

(Continued on Page 2)

Labor Board '72 Caseload Tops 40,000

The National Labor Relations Board, reporting on its busiest year since it was created by Congress in 1935, said it handled 41,039 cases during fiscal year 1972. It was the first time in the history of the board that its caseload exceeded 40,000.

The NLRB said overall case intake in fiscal 1972 rose by 3,827 cases, most of them charges of unfair labor practices by unions or employers and petitions for employe secret ballot representation elections. Cases totaled 37,212 in fiscal 1971.

Unfair labor practice charges accounted for 26,852 cases in 1972, a 13 percent increase over the 23,770 of the preceding year. Rep-

(Continued on Page 8)

Over Three Years:

60,000 Gain 20% In ILG Dress Pact

New York—The Ladies' Garment Workers have reached agreement on a new contract giving 60,000 dress industry employes in eight states wage increases of 20 percent over a three-year period.

The settlement, reached a day before the old contract expired, was the first in a major industry to be negotiated since the Administration's Phase 3 wage-price program went into effect three weeks ago.

The agreement provides wage increases of 8 percent the first year, 6 percent the second, and 6 percent in the final year. It covers 30,000 dressmakers here and an additional 30,000 in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware and Maryland.

The dress industry agreement, which is binding on five employer groups involved in the bargaining, was ratified by delegates of the union's Dressmakers Joint Council.

The new contract also provides a full day's paid holiday on Election Day.

The ILGWU said the settlement probably will serve as a guide in negotiations between other employers and the 440,000-member union.

Besides the dressmakers, the union represents workers in firms that make sportswear, undergarments, raincoats, coats and suits, and other items of women's clothing.

Talks between the two parties were conducted almost daily since Jan. 2. ILGWU Pres. Louis Stulberg, who participated directly in the negotiations when they became deadlocked, told delegates at the ratification meeting that the new contract was "the best agreement" obtainable.

New York City union members were represented by Dressmakers Locals 22 and 89, Cutters Local 10, Pressers Local 60, Shippers Local 60A and Office Employes Local 159.

On Jan. 16, at a time when negotiations stalled, New York shop

(Continued on Page 7)

Labor Dept. Loses Bid To Upset Safety Ruling

The Labor Dept. was turned down on a motion to reverse a federal court order barring the enforcement of substandard state safety plans over the more comprehensive Occupational Safety & Health Act standards.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, in denying the Labor Dept. a hearing, upheld the lower court ruling that federal enforcement must preempt unapproved state safety plans.

The suit was brought by the AFL-CIO and the Steelworkers against then-Labor Sec. James D. Hodgson and George C. Guenther, assistant secretary for occupational safety, charging that the Labor Dept. had ignored a Dec. 28 deadline on the development of state plans.

Hodgson had extended the deadline six months on "temporary orders" to allow states to continue their safety programs even though their plans had not been approved by the Dec. 28 cutoff.

(Continued on Page 6)

Meany Urges Union Role In Welcome to POWs

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany has called on the federation's state and local central bodies to join with other community groups in welcoming home the U.S. prisoners of war being released in Southeast Asia.

He cautioned central bodies to show consideration in their welcome plans for the family situation and the physical and mental conditions of those returning.

"Not to be forgotten," Meany urged, "is the family which may be notified, after years of waiting, that their hopes have been dashed."

Meany expressed confidence that the state and local labor movements "will be able to demonstrate the sincere gratitude of the nation and citizenry in a generous and sympathetic manner."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: George Esser DATE: February 6, 1973

FROM: Emory Via COPIES:

SUBJECT: Information report on meeting in Washington called by Rammage on February 4, 1973

About sixty persons were in attendance. They came largely from the D.C. area although many represented some form of larger constituency. The participating individuals and their group identifications will be sent to us later. The range included people from National Association of Counties, Urban Coalition, League of Women Voters, National Tenants Organization, AJC, Rural Housing Alliance, etc.

The meeting started with a presentation from staffers of CCC. Rammage made it clear that the meeting was personal not organizational in sponsorship. Background information had been prepared by CCC (pulled together by Ginsburg but using staff specialist, e.g., in housing). These materials are attached.

Group reactions were varied, diffuse, nebulous at times but there were common threads--considerable--even though some of them may end in conflict. Conflicts in the group, in any open way were certainly minimal. The conversations ranged between what was needed for "lifesaving" efforts for particular agencies or functions to what kind of broad policy response should be made to the multiple challenges of revenue sharing,

regionalization-loca~~tion,~~lization and to impoundment and budget cuts. There were varying calls to try ~~and~~ to get organized on Saturday but there was sufficient recognition that not every agency represented knew what the impact of cuts on them would be, that the potential conflict of interests among some of the groups were not adequately aired (The National Association of Counties representative said they would work with almost anyone regarding protecting CAPs and other programs, but that issues should be selected and refined so that groups were comfortable with what they were working on; she had occasion to remind the group of what she meant when later someone else after recognizing defense expenditures as an area needing cutting went on to say that aviation and highways were two other areas that should be cut; the NAC representative made no bones about the fact that they would not be able to join in damning highways.)

Although the group was brought together by impoundment and budget cut actions, the discussion slithered into revenue sharing from time to time. I had the feeling that a number of members of the group have not faced up to the reality of revenue sharing which dictates tactics and strategies tailored to that reality.

Rammage was authorized to select a steering committee, also self appointments perhaps will be accepted, to receive information, encourage and receive analyses of impact on affected groups (from those in attendace, e.g.), to sort out issues with special attention to where there is great common interest and where conflicts are likely. They might also be in touch with appropriate members of House and Senate members and staff to

alert them of this ad hoc coalition's interests, the possibility of new information, analyses, etc., being provided and to determine what information is being generated through Congressional sources.

In summary the Steering Committee is to work on: (1) Analyses; (2) being a clearinghouse(Carlin of CCC will have staff responsibility); (3) action strategies; (4) an agenda for new meeting including "flushing" out and "fleshing" out possible difference among groups; (5) approaches to public representatives; (6) approaches to mass media.

Impact of Emergency Employment Act cut, loss of $1 billion compared to proposed funding for a limited number of categories especially recognizing that EEA was a from of revenue sharing.

Difficulty of tracking some monies, and the difference represented in "quality" depending on who spends it even at the federal level. For example, $39 million to be transferred from Community Economic Development to OMBE (I believe WALL STREET JOURNAL reported this with a headline saying increased money for civil rights) and Ginsburg indicated orally that on looking at OMBE budget it showed an increase of only $20 million.

Issues and questions raised, some needing public relations attention, and some possibilities for action by the participants:

Develop a counter budget.

Use Ginsburg material to refine what actual monies are being talked about; pie charts from differing interest views; bring public attention to the $73 billion excerpted from defense, trusts, and debt interest.

Give public exposure to the self-interest of middle

Americans, that this is a terrible budget for them rather than a form of salvation.

Study "variances" between what Administration has promised, seems to be promising, and what is actually provided. Dollars, jobs, types of programs, and whether any structures remain or are proposed to carry out function.

Counter, in public mind, Nixon's stealing of "power to the people" slogan by revenue-decentralist proposals.

Mobilizing local officials, informing them so Administration loses their support. (Impoundment and budget cuts seem to be doing this despite their interest in revenue sharing).

What is the total number of jobs lost through budget cuts? What is impact of FmHA impoundment on non-profit sponsors?

Does Model Cities have a backlog of funds that can be used to make up for some of the cutoff.

Impact of Emergency Employment Act cut, loss of $1 billion compared to proposed funding for a limited number of categories especially recognizing that EEA was a from of revenue sharing.

Difficulty of tracking some monies, and the difference represented in "quality" depending on who spends it even at the federal level. For example, $39 million to be transferred from Community Economic Development to OMBE (I believe WALL STREET JOURNAL reported this with a headline saying increased money for civil rights) and Ginsburg indicated orally that on looking at OMBE budget it showed an increase of only $20 million.

Matters that steering committee will likely have to resolve:

Whether a long or short-run effort, whether to create an organization; degree of funding needed if any; whether to focus on life saving activities for particular programs or categories or develop a political program; balancing among revenue sharing, impounding, budget, and philosophy of new federalism; how much fragmentation of efforts leads to winning skirmishes (and perhaps not even a battle) and losing war; should dismantling be fought across the board (is it better to deal with Phillips in Washington or Waller in Mississippi regarding OEO-type matters).

Related activities (in process, being considered):

Harold Fleming hosted a group earlier around impact on civil rights issues.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is undertaking a study. Focus seems to be impact on units of government and federalism. Woody Ginsburg is close to this effort and perhaps cooperating with it. Meyer(s) is man for the Commission.

John Kramer and others are working on litigation strategies. Kramer indicates it may be months before they really have something going, although on the side Bill Taylor thought it might move faster than that.

There was a report that the U.S. Conference of Mayors' has a "hard analysis". There was no following comment on this and it was not even clear whether they already had a budget analysis or whether it was about revenue sharing.

Several coalitions were mentioned and the steering committee is to attempt to get a full list. Those mentioned centered around the following: housing, rural housing, elderly, health groups, model cities, and CAP directors.

Reported consideration of massive mobilization by CAP agencies and participation by Abernathy for February 20.

Groups not in evidence (with exception of labor, Via uncertain about whether invitations were issued):

Unions--there were invitations and steering committee considers some participation essential

LDF, NAACP, Urban League, Washington Research Project, Common Cause, Potomac Institute, AFSC.

PARTIAL LIST OF THOSE ATTENDING

NTO John Hampton
National Association of Social Workers - Glenn Allison
National Sharecroppers Fund - John Wilson
American Jewish Committee - Hy Bookbinder
League of Women Voters
Urban Coalition - John Conway
Pablo Eisenberg
Center for Voluntary Society - John Dixon
Center of National Policy Review - Bill Taylor
Consumer Action(?) - Jim Turner
Council of the Aging
National Council on Hunger - John Kramer
Rural Housing Alliance - Clay Cochran
National Housing Economic Development
Law Project - Blaustein
Area III, Model Cities -Joseph Robertson, Pre.
(Also UAW Representative)
National Association of Counties - Peggy Seeley
Dorothy Stimpson

S.W. Council of LaRaza
Several church related agencies
Fred Harris
Joe Walsh
Tom Wahman
Any Bennett
From CCC: Rammage, Ginsburg, Berman, Lesser, Carlin
Brazier(?), and at least one other.

REVIEW *and* OUTLOOK

W-S-J 2/1/73

Thinking About Taxes

Last year was a big year for property tax reform talk and nothing much came of it, which is fortunate, since a good deal of the talk was not especially well informed.

Some of the same ideas may pop up again this year; although the Executive Branch's interest has obviously waned the matter is active in the courts and in public discussion. So this might be as good a time as any to air some recent contributions to the discussion. These contributions suggest, among other things, that the property tax is not so bad as it sometimes has been made to appear. And that alterations in property taxation should be left to the states and not be undertaken by the federal government.

A starting point for a lot of the property tax reform discussion was the 1971 Serrano v. Priest decision, in which the California Supreme Court held that California's system for financing public schools, through substantial dependence upon local property taxes, "invidiously discriminates against the poor" and thus violates the equal protection clause of the federal Constitution. In a case from Texas, the U.S. Supreme Court will decide this term whether to apply a similar rule nationwide.

The California decision rested heavily on showings of disparities between various California school districts in what taxpayers paid and what they got in terms of "per-pupil" expenditures for schools. Rich Beverly Hills residents paid $2.38 per $100 of assessed valuation and got $1,232 per pupil in spending; poor folks in the Baldwin Park section of Los Angeles paid $5.48 but got only $577.

But recent studies have shown that this sort of disadvantage by no means prevails nationwide. A research effort by Stephen F. LeRoy and Peggy Brockschmidt for the Kansas City Federal Reserve Bank review shows that in the Kansas City area, taxpayers in the central city and small rural towns tend to fare better on the tax-school ratio than those in affluent suburbs. A similar finding is reported in the Public Interest by two other tax researchers, George E. Peterson and Arthur P. Solomon, who did a broader study.

The Public Interest report goes even further to cast doubt on whether the property tax is particularly regressive relative to other forms of taxation, as some of its critics have claimed. ". . . in state after state the principal leaders of the property tax 'revolt' prove to be substantial homeowners and [real estate agents] rather than the proverbial 'little men,' " they conclude. "We believe that it is these relatively well-to-do people who would be the true beneficiaries of currently popular proposals for effecting massive property tax reductions."

The Public Interest argument relies perhaps too heavily on homeowners' deductions from their federal income tax, for its analysis counts not only the deduction for property taxes but also for mortgage interest. But even those who insist that the property tax is regressive might have trouble proving that it is much more regressive than other popular forms of state and local taxation, such as the sales tax. And a federal value-added tax, which was being widely proposed last year as a substitute for property taxation, would have to be skewed some way to avoid the same regressivity objection.

All of these considerations suggest, it seems to us, that the property tax is an area that the federal government should avoid. That is exactly what the President's Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations concluded in a report it issued in December. The report said that "states should retain primary responsibility for shaping policies dealing with general property tax relief and intrastate equalization of school finances."

At least 11 states already have moved to deal with one of the most obvious problems of the property tax: its heavy impact on the old or disabled with property but very low incomes. While both 1972 presidential candidates promised solutions to this problem, there is every evidence that it, too, can be most easily dealt with by the states and should thus remain a state responsibility. Treasury Secretary Shultz suggested at a recent budget briefing for the press that the government might seek to stimulate state property tax relief for the elderly, but he indicated that the administration otherwise is inclined to leave the subject alone.

Which still leaves the federal government where it was before, not with aviable substitute for property taxation, but with a federal revenue problem. The record would suggest that one answer to that problem may well lie in encouraging added state responsibility for both spending and raising the money. When that happens, "new federalism" will have taken on some real meaning.

2-14-73 C.H. 2L4 EV - Rev Sh. Impact

MIS Analysis

MANPOWER RETAINED AS ECONOMIC TOOL DESPITE FUNDING CUTS IN 1974 BUDGET

- In spite of reductions, substantial funds remain
- Cuts hurt some programs, but others gain
- Budget reflects priorities on welfare, vets
- But basis for budget decisions is still unclear

After months of speculation and conjecture about the Administration's intentions in regard to manpower, at least some of the questions have now been answered. With the publication of the President's 1974 budget message in late January, it is clear that the worst fears have not been realized, although for some programs the new budget will certainly bring radical changes.

Analysis of the budget is always a somewhat esoteric exercise since it is presented in so many different ways that comparison from one year to the next is almost impossible. This year the job is made even harder by the Administration's proposal to lump some of the manpower programs together under so-called revenue sharing. However, despite these difficulties certain things are made clear, particularly in regard to the next fiscal year.

1. Manpower programs will continue. Moreover, with the single major exception of the Public Employment Program, they will continue at a substantial rate. Despite previous alarms to the contrary, the Administration clearly still regards manpower as an important social and economic function of government. Taking all manpower activities supported by the federal government, available manpower funds have been cut by 15 percent—a healthy cut, but far short of a death warrant. It should be noted that this percentage applies to new obligational authority. The amount of money that is actually spent in manpower programs for wages, salaries, goods, and services will be reduced by only 10 percent during the next fiscal year. The difference between the two sets of figures occurs because there is always a carryover of obligated funds from one year to another—that is, funds made available in one year are rarely completely expended in that year. For this reason, the effective impact of the budget on existing manpower efforts is better measured by the obligational authority figures than the expenditures. Of course it is the expenditure rate which has the direct impact on the economy—and which is therefore the major concern of the inflation fighters.

The fact that the overall reduction is only 15 percent is most relevant to those who are concerned with manpower in its broadest sense, as an available element of national economic and social policy. It does not allay the concerns of those who are directly involved in operating present manpower programs, nor does it solve the problems of the principal manpower target groups—those who for one reason or another need help in order to compete in the labor market.

One reason for the relatively moderate reduction in the aggregate manpower effort is that some of the sharper program decreases have been offset by other program increases. For example, reflecting the Administration's priority interest in moving welfare recipients into employment and in providing day care for the children of welfare mothers, the Work Incentive program is scheduled for a fourfold increase (in this case the cost of day care is tallied under the manpower column of the budget). Similarly, manpower job training programs administered by the Veterans Administration have been increased by 15 percent. Taking just those programs administered by the Department of Labor, the proposed reductions are more severe: New funds are reduced from $3.3 billion to $2.3 billion, a 30 percent reduction. And actual expenditures will be reduced from $3.4 billion to $2.8 billion, a 20 percent reduction. Expenditures that were authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Economic Opportunity Act (this includes institutional training, on-the-job training, the Concentrated Employment Program, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Public Service Careers, Operation Mainstream, and Job Corps) will be reduced by 15 percent. Expenditures for the Work Incentive program will be increased by 30 percent.

2. Not surprisingly, the Administration intends to let the Public Employment Program die. However, rather than end the program abruptly when the Emergency Employment Act expires on June 30 of this year, the Administration has decided to let the program run itself out, using carry-over funds left from this year's appropriation. Moreover, apparently the program is not to be held to last year's level of $1 billion, but the full authorization of $1.25 billion is to be made available. By so doing, it is hoped that the transition to revenue sharing will be made smoother for state and local governments which are faced with the problem of either absorbing or providing some other effective transition to permanent employment for the 150,000 persons who are presently employed in the PEP program.

PEP, however, will not die easily. Indeed the struggle over public employment promises to become a major point of confrontation between President Nixon and Congress in the coming months. Already, Congressman Henry Reuss (D.-Wis.) has introduced a bill calling for the creation of 500,000 public service jobs a year, at an annual cost of $3.5 billion. A companion bill is expected soon in the Senate. Given the initial reluctance of the Administration to go with a public employment program at all, it is unlikely that the Administration will be willing to compromise on this issue.

3. The Work Incentive program for welfare recipients has moved from its initial position as stepchild

2/14/73

of the federal manpower program to a front and center position. Although welfare reform has been dropped as a priority interest of the Administration—indeed is not even mentioned in the budget message—it is clear that the Administration expects to rely heavily on manpower as a solution to rising welfare rolls and welfare costs. In 1973 it is planned to place 150,000 welfare recipients in jobs and another 120,000 in training programs. These figures are expected to increase to 165,000 and 132,000 respectively in fiscal year 1974 as funds are increased.

Manpower Revenue Sharing

4. Decentralization will continue—but it is to be accomplished within the existing legislative framework. Although the budget calls for a "new" approach through special manpower revenue sharing, no new legislation will be proposed by the Administration. Congress is not being asked to consider and enact a special revenue sharing law. In this respect, the manpower special revenue sharing called for in the Nixon budget is different from the other three special revenue sharing programs: education, community development, and law enforcement. What is proposed is a lumping together of two sources of funds—the funds authorized under the Manpower Development and Training Act (which is due to expire on June 30, 1973) and the funds authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act (which is due to expire on June 30, 1974). But although the appropriations request will be made for a single line item, called revenue sharing, there is no intention to distribute all of these funds to state and local governments. Twenty-five percent is not to be shared at all, but is to be retained and directly controlled by the federal government.

Special revenue sharing accomplished in this way is not synonymous with comprehensive manpower legislation. In the first place, it is not comprehensive. Some important elements will be left out of the package offered to state and local governments, the most important of these being the JOBS program administered jointly by the National Alliance of Businessmen and the Department of Labor. Also it is expected that a large part of the Job Corps will be retained as a national program, although there will be some effort to encourage local prime sponsors to take the responsibility for some of the existing residential manpower centers. The national contract program will also continue, as will federally supported research and experimental and development programs.

Second, there are real problems with mixing funds authorized under two separate laws, with different objectives and different implementation procedures. For this reason, it is highly unlikely that manpower special revenue sharing by administrative fiat can accomplish the Administration's original objectives for revenue sharing; namely simplification, elimination of red tape, and the encouragement of local flexibility to deal more effectively with local problems.

Third, the issue of special revenue sharing will most certainly become yet another point of friction between the Administration and the Congress. Although no legislative proposal is being made to cover revenue sharing for manpower, in order to move ahead with the administrative program, there must be a request for an extension of the Manpower Development and Training Act. It must be assumed that the principal reason for not asking Congress for special revenue sharing was in order to avoid a bruising fight over the Public Employment Program and to take away the Congressional liberals' biggest bargaining chip—comprehensive manpower legislation in exchange for some form of public employment.

Extension of MDTA is not as favorable an arena for Congressional liberals as comprehensive manpower legislation would have been, particularly since the MDTA has developed such strong institutional support and is now almost a sacred cow. Nevertheless, lacking any other Administration-backed legislative proposal, it could become the focus of a trade off.

5. Decategorization is still a slogan—and will probably remain so. Without new legislation it does not appear likely that the existing categorical programs will cease to exist. There may be more flexibility within categories, but categorical guidelines will probably continue to be used to determine how and in what manner local funds are to be spent. It may be possible for local communities to determine if they would prefer to spend less money on one program and more on another, but it is not likely that they will be permitted to invent new program designs. JOBS and MDTA institutional programs will certainly be maintained. If categorical programs are to be subsumed into something larger, it will occur primarily in those programs which are authorized under the EOA.

So much is clear from an analysis of the budget presentation. What is not clear is what comes next—next fiscal year and during the balance of the Nixon Administration. **Aside from a demonstrated and hard-nosed lack of faith in the viability of job creation through public employment as a solution to unemployment, and an undemonstrated and somewhat naive show of faith in the potential of workfare as an antidote to welfare, it is hard to determine the basis for the manpower decisions that were made in developing the present budget.** It is not at all clear what the Administration expects of its manpower policy, what goals it hopes to achieve through use of the federal dollar in support of manpower programs. The negative rationale for the present budget has been made plain—that is, to hold the line on domestic spending in order to reduce inflationary pressures. It has been stressed to such an extent that the positive aspects, if they are there at all, have been lost. We would hope that in the next few weeks as Administration officials appear before Congress to explain and defend their appropriations request, more satisfactory answers will be forthcoming. □

Memphis Press Scimitar 2/16/73

U.S. Funds Threatened By Cutoffs

Desegregation Plans Found Unacceptable

WASHINGTON. — (UPI) — A federal judge today ordered the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to start proceedings that could lead to a cutoff of federal funds for many public higher educational institutions and public schools systems in 16 states.

Under the ruling, which could affect an estimated 3 million students from the grade school through the university level, HEW must see that none of the 16 states receives federal funds for use in segregated schools.

That requirement comes under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

U.S. District Judge John H. Pratt ordered HEW to start moving within four months against all higher public educational systems in Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Florida, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Maryland and Virginia.

Pratt ordered similar action begun within two months against all elementary and high school systems in these 10 states and some systems in Kentucky, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia and Missouri.

Among the steps required under Pratt's order is that HEW approve desegregation plans submitted by the affected school systems or conduct hearings to withhold federal financial aid.

Pratt's order was based on a decision he issued Nov. 16 in a "class action" suit brought by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in behalf of all black elementary, secondary and higher education students in the 16 states. In that ruling, Pratt said HEW must reinstitute the fund cutoff procedures the administration abandoned three years ago.

Should the government appeal Pratt's decision, his order could be delayed at least until the next school year. In legal documents filed recently with Pratt, federal attorneys said the government was reserving the right to appeal his Nov. 16 ruling.

In that ruling, Pratt found that colleges and universities in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and North Carolina "have totally ignored" HEW requests for voluntary desegregation plans, and that Arkansas, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia submitted plans unacceptable to HEW.

At the elementary and high school level, he found 113 southern school districts had reneged two years ago on previously approved desegregation plans and that 74 still were out of compliance with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting federal aid for segregated school system.

Ark. Council on Human Relations

AGENDA

20th ANNUAL MEETING

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

NORTH LITTLE ROCK HOLIDAY INN

NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

FEBRUARY 17, 1973

Hot Springs

Met with Headstat Div re Program.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

20th Annual Meeting

February 17, 1973

North Little Rock Holiday Inn

PROGRAM

ACHR Executive Board Meeting . . . . . 10:30 - 12:00

Registration . . . . . 12:30 - 1:30

Annual Business Meeting . . . . . 1:30 - 2:45

- ✓ Presidents's annual report to the membership
- ✓ Executive Directors report
- ✓ Treasurers report
- Nominating committee report

$1569.91 - Balance in Bank
7436.60 - obligations

L not present & not given to anyone

Seminar on Revenue Sharing . . . . . 3:00 - 5:00

General Topic: A-95 Clearing House, Revenue Sharing and the Poor

1) A-95 Clearing House and Revenue Sharing
2) A-95 Clearing House and its relationship to the planning and development district.
3) A-95 Clearing House Revenue Sharing and the local community.

Panel Participants:

Mr. Harry Bowie, Associate Director, Southern Regional Council
Mr. Robert Whitfield, State Director, Office of Economic Opportunity
Mr. Walter Nunn, Governmental Affairs Consultant
Mr. Jerome Climer, Council for Social and Economic Development
Mr. Jerry Cronin, Independent Community Consultants
Mr. Robert Brown, Administrative Assistant, Governor's Office

Cocktail Hour, Holiday Inn Lounge . . . . . 5:00 - 7:00

MRS Murphy - Chm of Nom. Com., absent
4 names for new Bd-Members
Chas Keller - Student @ Central H.S.
Tom Slinkard - Conway
Allen Green - housing for Urban League
Lyle Thomason - Fayetteville

8 chapter offices
Slinkard, Pres

Pettigrew - NCCJ
Pres

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

20th Annual Meeting
February 17, 1973

BANQUET

7:30 PM

Presiding	Dr. W. H. Townsend
Invocation	Dr. Erwin McDonald
Introduction of Speaker	Brownie Ledbetter
Guest Speaker	Hodding Carter III Executive Editor Delta Democrat Times
Presentation of Awards	Dr. Margaret Scheer
Introduction of Board Members and Guest	Elijah Coleman
Closing	Dr. W. H. Townsend

Dr. Slavin —
(Baptist) College — Univ of Vert & of S Calif

Econ. Dev.

2-18-73

Revenue Sharing Called 'Threat And Opportunity'

Ark. Gaz.

By BOB STOVER
Of the Gazette Staff

Revenue sharing, the name given to billions of dollars the federal government is giving or plans to give to states, cities and counties, presents "both an opportunity and a threat" the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was told Saturday.

Speakers on revenue sharing addressed a public meeting of the Council at the North Little Rock Holiday Inn during the Council's 20th annual meeting. The speakers agreed that it was good to have all of that money close to home but that it may be difficult to get local governments to use it without discrimination and for the poor.

The speakers were Robert Whitfield, state director of the Office of Economic Opportunity; Walter Nunn, a governmental affairs consultant at Little Rock; Jerry Cronin of Hampton, who is with Independent Community Consultants, Inc., a research and training group, and Emory Vie, an employe of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta. They made brief comments and then answered questions about revenue sharing and its effects on the poor.

'Participation' Will Be Called For

Vie told the crowd of about 100 that local governments were going to be controlling much more money in the future and that "it may be the same old local governments that have always been there and are kind of crusty and never did anything, or it may be that it will include you. It is going to call for a lot of citizen participation."

He said that community groups like the Council should be "watchdogs" on issues such as civil rights because federal revenue sharing guidelines were not explicit about civil rights violations. He said that federally controlled programs for the poor were more detailed in what can and cannot be done with more and have built-in controls against discrimination. Revenue sharing has no such controls, he said.

"Who revenue sharing works for depends on who works at it," Vie said.

Nunn explained that the state would receive $18 to $20 million and the cities and counties would divide $55 million each year for last year and each of the next four years.

He said the cities were doing several things with their money — trying to prevent tax increases, wipe out budget deficits or make capital improvements. He said most were making capital improvements with the money "because there is a general feeling that what Uncle Sam has given, Uncle Sam can take away."

There are few restrictions on the ways general revenue sharing may be spent, Nunn said.

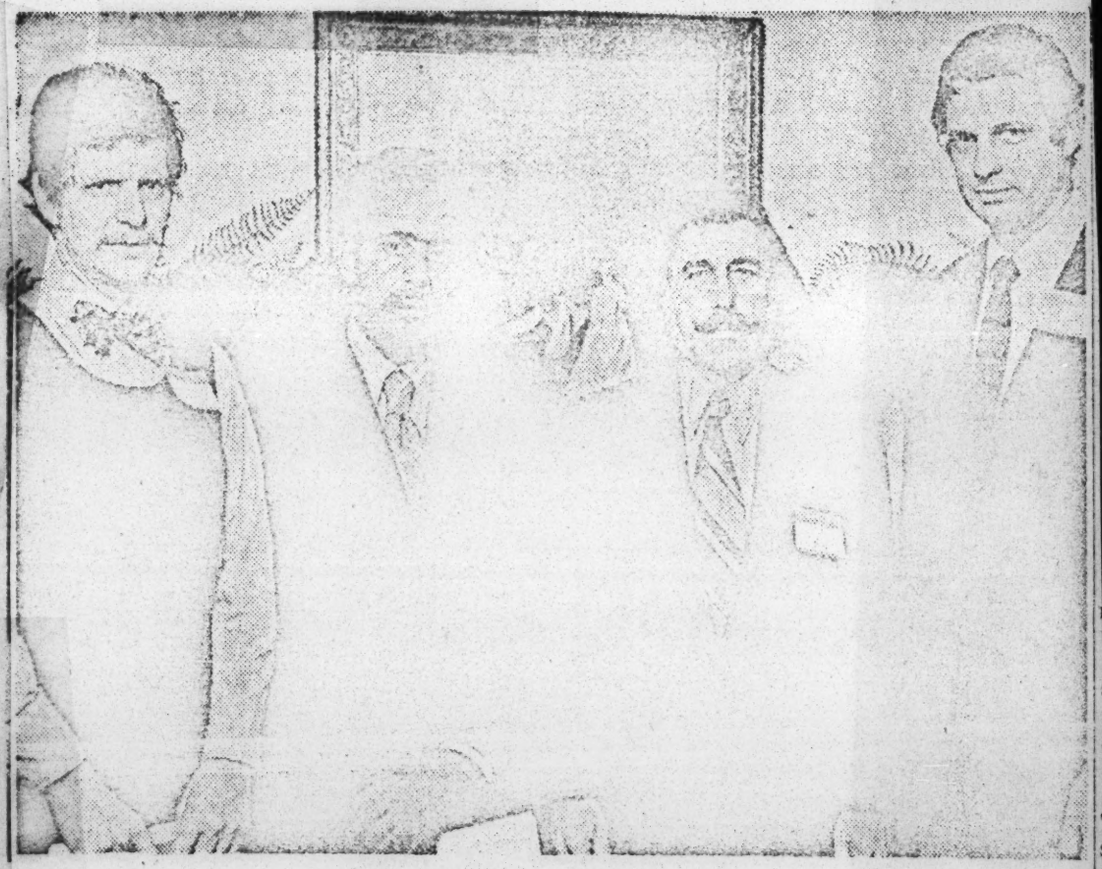
Cronin said he liked the concept of revenue sharing, but added, "I'm not all that convinced that the people who run the cities or the state have the best interest of poor people at heart."

Cronin explained "special revenue sharing," which has not been enacted by Congress, but merely proposed by President Nixon. He said it would provide broad categorical grants in areas including urban community development, rural community development, law enforcement, education and manpower and transportation.

The biggest problem behind special revenue sharing, he said is that it will be at least 18 months before the cities, counties and states will get any of it. During that time there will be some programs cut which special revenue sharing will be designed to replace — if the local governments use it for them.

Whitfield said that with the local governments gaining control over more money through revenue sharing, interested persons like members of the Council will have to "start participating in city council meetings and things."

"The federal government has sort of put the ball in your hands," he said.



—Staff Photo

Council Elects Officers

Tom Slinkard of Conway (second from right) Saturday was elected chairman of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Others (from left) are Lyell Thompson of Fayetteville, a new member of the Council's Board of Directors; Elijah Coleman, executive director of the Council, and Herbert C. Rule of Little Rock, the Council's new secretary. The officers were elected during the Council's 20th annual meeting at the North Little Rock Holiday Inn.

Governors Expected to Unite Against Nixon Budget Spending Cuts

Atl. Const. 2/22/73

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The nation's governors will meet here next week in hostility toward the Nixon administration and prospects of a united front to pressure the White House to realign its federal spending priorities.

Gov. Jimmy Carter, the first governor to speak out against the administration publicly, will not attend a White House conference for the governors or a dinner scheduled at the White House, it was learned Wednesday, but not as a protest.

The governor's office said Carter was already committed to attend a series of dinners in Atlanta for state legislators and had received word of the White House invitation too late to alter his schedule.

Carter will, however, testify Tuesday with four other governors before a Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations chaired by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine. The governors are expected to lay on a strong case for retention of many funding programs the administration plans to abolish.

Testifying with Carter will be Govs. Wendell Ford of Kentucky, Dan Evans of Washington, Dale Bumpers of Arkansas and Ken Curtis of Maine.

Carter has been strongly critical of Nixon's "cavalier" approach to budget cuts, and it was learned this week that the White House, apparently mad about it, is preparing a reply that will seek to disprove the governor's charges.

Bumpers, another of the southern governors, has criticized administration proposals to cut social programs and said the cuts will wipe out mental retardation and child day care center programs in Arkansas.

Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland, chairman of the National Governors Conference, will deliver a "State of the States" address as a keynote to next week's four-day meeting in which he is expected to take the administration to task.

A spokesman for the National Governors Conference said here Wednesday that the governors mostly are concerned over the administration's failure to provide "transition funds" as part of its move to turn social and welfare programs back over to states.

He said most of the governors are all for retrieving authority to run the programs as they see fit but agree that the transition is too sudden for states to assume the large financial burden. That is exected to be the general theme of Mandel's address which will be on behalf of all the governors.

Some of the chief executives might be partly mollified by a private meeting with White House officials Wednesday to talk over the administration's plans. Many governors have complained that they have been unable to get even basic answers from the executive department on how the cuts are going to affect their states, and next week could be their opportunity.

Later, the governors are to meet with congressional delegations, most likely to discuss strategy to head off some of the more severe administration cuts.

"They'll definitely be setting the tone of the future," a conference spokesman said. "This will be their first chance collectively to evaluate where they find themselves (as governors) in the federal structure."

Carter said in a speech here two weeks ago that the state-federal partnership was being "dissolved."

AFL-CIO News

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Congress Urged to Reject Slash in Social Programs

LW & EV

Important Follow

FOREIGN TRADE and economic controls were among subjects Pres. Nixon discussed at a meeting with the AFL-CIO Executive Council and other union leaders. Shown from left are: Labor Sec. Peter J. Brennan, AFL-CIO Vice Pres. Joseph Cu[illegible] Pres. George Meany, and Vice Pres. I. W. Abel.

Council Stresses Threat to Progress

By Saul Miller

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO called on Congress to reject Administration proposals to dismantle essential social programs, warning that the government's commitment to help solve domestic problems is "seriously endangered."

"Essential programs to strengthen American society and improve the quality of life are in jeopardy," the federation asserted, "through a combination of presidential vetoes, the impoundment of appropriated funds, program reductions and terminations and revenue sharing."

The Executive Council at its mid-winter sessions here reaffirmed labor's historic support of "essential national programs to build America" and said there is no justification for dismantling these programs "or an abdication of the federal government's key role in development, financing and guiding of public investments that are essential to the nation's well-being."

The council's detailed statement, highlighting the opening days of the meeting, reviewed community development and housing, education, manpower, health and environment as the areas endangered by the Administration's approach.

If the White House proposals are adopted, the council pointed out, many programs will be "totally dismantled," others will be "hamstrung" and others will "simply disappear," through special revenue-sharing plans.

The council's statement on social programs and others on education, health security, occupational health and safety were adopted the day after Pres. Nixon paid a personal visit to the sessions to discuss foreign trade, progress towards world peace, food prices and Phase 3.

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany commented that the President's broad outline of trade legislation to the council is an attractive, practical approach, but the federation will reserve judgment until detailed legislation is presented.

Talking to a jammed press conference an hour after Nixon had left the Americana Hotel and his meeting with the council, Meany stressed that the federation is "committed to the Burke-Hartke bill," but added that "we are very practical" and we know there has to be "some give and take" on legislation.

Discussing the President's trade proposals, Meany said: "From the point of view of a trade unionist who likes to go to the bargaining table with your options open and with authority to give and take, I think the idea itself is attractive."

He said the President described his approach as securing

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Congress Urged to Bar Program Cuts

Council Calls White House Move Threat to Vital Domestic Needs

(Continued from Page 1)

authority from Congress to bargain with other nations on trade matters, to "tell them that if they lock out American products that they are not going to be able to sell here in the United States."

The President spoke at the opening session of the council meeting. Present also were presidents of 25 international unions invited to sit in. Meany told reporters that the President did "very well" in his presentation and that he was very well received.

In other actions during the opening days of the meeting, the council adopted a series of statements dealing with federal aid-to-education programs, national health security, the Occupational Safety & Health Act, postal rate increases for nonprofit publications, the Oil Workers strike against Shell, welfare benefits for strikers' families, and the deaths of Presidents Harry S. Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson. **(Stories elsewhere in this issue.)**

A meeting of the COPE Administrative Committee, composed of council members, union leaders and the COPE Operating Committee, heard a detailed report on the highly successful 1972 operations. National COPE Director Al Barkan reported the best organizational effort COPE had ever fielded in carrying out the council's mandate on the congressional and state level.

Reports at the meeting indicated

cratic National Committee "in any shape, manner or form." There are many AFL-CIO members and leaders who are Democrats and involved themselves "but there is no official or semi-official or unofficial involvement of the AFL-CIO in the Democratic Party."

There was a message to politicians of all parties in the 1972 election, Meany said, "that the AFL-CIO is not in the pocket and is not to be had for the asking."

He said in reply to a number of queries that he had no fault to find with COPE, that COPE "did a very good job."

On the council's statement on dismantling social programs Meany told reporters, "We think if this program goes through it is a backwards step—a definite backwards step for America."

In reply to a reporter's query, the AFL-CIO president said that recent Teamsters' action in signing an agreement with California growers was "tantamount to strikebreaking," that the federation is very much in support of its affiliate, the United Farm Workers, and that he was "quite disappointed because the Teamsters after all represent American workers and I would like to feel that they were a good trade union. In fact, throughout the country, locally, I am quite sure that would be a proper assessment."

But the "back-door contract with the growers in California in order to destroy the Farm Work-

programs to upgrade skills, on-the-job and classroom training would in effect be ended by the special revenue-sharing proposal. The Economic Development Administration, creating jobs and public improvements, would be abolished as would the Office of Economic Opportunity which provided a mechanism for many of the nation's poor to enter the economic mainstream.

Health—Ten of the nation's 60 health programs would be eliminated including the Hill-Burton hospital and health facilities construction program and regional medical programs; maternal and child health programs would be phased out.

Environment — The Administration plans to spend only half the $10.1 billion allotted to the states by Congress for construction of waste treatment plants.

The council heard a report on labor relations developments in Britain from a British Trades Union Congress delegation led by TUC Gen. Sec. Victor Feather.

Queried at a press conference on differences between international policies of the TUC and the AFL-CIO, Meany said they were "absolutely, completely and diametrically" opposed.

He said the TUC is active in forming a new labor federation in Europe designed to completely and finally destroy the International

TV NEWS CAMERAS grind away as reporters question AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany during a news conference at the federation's Executive Council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla.

Labor Assails Scuttling Of Education Aid Plans

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO sharply assailed Administration proposals to "completely dismantle" basic education laws adopted in the 1960s and pledged to battle to preserve and strengthen the programs.

The federation also assailed the Administration for continuing to "convert school busing into an emotional issue" and reaffirmed the position it adopted a year ago

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Reports at the meeting indicated that the COPE goal of 75 percent of union members registered to vote was achieved last year and that this was a 10 percent improvement over the 1968 record. The session was also told that the AFL-CIO Data Processing Center had the names of 8.7 million members in 38 states in data processing banks and was ready to operate on registration and other pertinent political information.

At heavily attended and televised press conferences Meany was subjected to a number of questions concerning relations with the White House and labor's political role. Queried on whether he thought there has been an improvement in relations with the White House, he replied:

"Oh, yes, quite definitely. I think it is because he (Nixon) indicates that he wants to have contact, communication with the trade union movement—that he wants to talk to us about it. He has been talking to us about all these problems . . . this is something we don't always have. We don't always have the communication with the White House. He wants communication, he wants labor people in the Executive Branch of the government. . . . And I think that makes for a very improved relationship."

Meany said in reply to another question that the federation disagrees with the President on "a good many of his domestic policies," citing minimum wages, proposed budgetary cutbacks of poverty and manpower programs. "I don't agree with a lot of things he does," Meany added, but he is a good American and has "handled the Vietnam and Indo-China situation quite well."

On the 1972 election Meany said, "We won in the Congress. We set out to elect a friendly Congress and we succeeded. That is, friendly by comparison."

He commented that the AFL-CIO is not involved in the Demo- official or semi-official or unofficial involvement of the AFL-CIO in the Democratic Party."

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But the "back-door contract with the growers in California in order to destroy the Farm Workers Union was from a trade union point of view absolutely disgraceful."

He said the lettuce boycott had not been brought before the council, that the UFW had not applied to the federation for support of the boycott.

The council's statement on dismantling of social programs noted in the past 10 years federal grants-in-aid for basic social programs had increased fourfold from $10.1 billion in 1964 to an estimated $45 billion in fiscal 1973 and that the expansion had aroused unrealistic expectations. But the real problems arose in the last few years because:

- High interest rates, inflation, recession and lack of full funding hampered state and local governments.
- Presidential vetoes attempted to prevent enactment of new and essential programs and many on the books were shortchanged.
- The Administration impounded $12 billion that Congress had appropriated for housing, water and sewer projects, highways, etc.
- The fiscal 1974 budget proposes to halt the growth in federal aid to states and localities. For the year ending June 30, 1973 the Administration proposes to reduce or terminate $6.5 billion in programs. For the fiscal year 1974 the total will be $17 billion.

The council singled out the following areas for attention in its statement:

Community development and housing—Cuts in this area represent an end to a direct federal government role in revitalizing the nation's cities. Seven programs are to be completely eliminated.

Education—The prime target is the elimination of some 30 federal programs that provide aid to school districts for elementary and secondary education.

Manpower—The Public Employment Program would be scrapped, the Job Corps severely cut back and tion, creating [illegible] provements, would be abolished as would the Office of Economic Opportunity which provided a mechanism for many of the nation's poor to enter the economic mainstream.

Health—Ten of the nation's 60 health programs would be eliminated including the Hill-Burton hospital and health facilities construction program and regional medical programs; maternal and child health programs would be phased out.

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He said the TUC is active in forming a new labor federation in Europe designed to completely and finally destroy the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and has cooperated with the Soviets to the extent of voting against the word free in the name of the new federation. Meany said the British group is engaged in creating a new "Moscow-London labor axis and we just don't buy it, that's all."

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The federation also assailed the Administration for continuing to "convert school busing into an emotional issue" and reaffirmed the position it adopted a year ago at an Executive Council meeting here.

The resolution adopted in 1972 supported busing of children to improve educational opportunities, deplored the actions of those creating divisive political issues out of the need for quality, integrated education and opposed the constitutional amendment approach because it would do a disservice to quality integrated education.

Reviewing the Administration's proposal for a special educational revenue-sharing program, the council declared that federal support for education has never approached the levels truly necessary, "but those federal programs that now exist were too hard won to be thrown aside simply because the Administration has decided that they won't work."

The council cited the Elementary & Secondary Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Higher Education Act and the Library Services & Construction Act, declaring they "deserve a permanent place among the nation's laws."

They were enacted to meet critical needs largely ignored by state and local officials and putting them into a single blank-check approach would invite a return to past practices of allocating funds "on the basis of political power rather than demonstrable need."

Improvement of programs, the council stressed, is "quite different from dismantlement," and by loosening controls "the Administration would aggravate the problem rather than contribute to its solution."

The council resolution said: "We reject completely any Administration proposal for special educational revenue-sharing," which by diverting funds would "repeal many of the most progressive laws enacted in the 20th Century."

The answer, said the council, is full support for the five-year extension of the Elementary & Secondary Education Act and full funding at congressionally authorized levels of that act and other federal educational programs. "We will not abandon the educational programs we fought so long to achieve," the council said.

Oil Workers Supported In Shell Strike, Boycott

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO Executive Council gave its "wholehearted" support of a boycott of Shell Oil Co. products launched by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers in their strike over the company's refusal to negotiate on two key issues.

The council further urged union members and their friends "to return Shell credit cards to the company as a concrete demonstration of support for the strikers."

The strike of 4,000 OCAW members at six Shell plants and refineries began on Jan. 26 when the world's second largest oil firm refused to bargain with the union over a health and safety clause and pension plan improvements.

"The workers are asking for a contractual role in determining the healthfulness and safety of work assignments — a role the other companies have accepted," the council noted in a statement.

"Oil workers are exposed to toxic fumes, vapors, gases, liquids and acids which do insidious damage to the human body," the statement said. "It is obviously only right and just that the workers themselves have some control over their work environment. Shell alone among the major producers refuses this proposal.

"Additionally, the Shell workers are requesting basic improvements in the pension plan, including a broad labor-management review of the existing plan, a proposal agreed to by other companies," the council pointed out.

"By refusing to bargain on pensions, Shell is denying workers the protection of a stable and sound pension plan."

The union has signed agreements with all major companies with which it negotiates, except for Shell and Standard Oil of California (Chevron). OCAW Pres. A. F. Grospiron said the union will negotiate with Chevron after resolving the dispute with Shell.

The council, noting that the union workers "seek only justice," said the strike "deserves and has the full support and sympathy of trade union members across America."

On strike against Shell are 600 workers at Long Beach, Calif.; 600 at Martinez, Calif.; 250 at Anacortes, Wash.; 1,800 at Pasadena, Tex.; 500 at Norco, La., and 200 at Denver.

OCAW urged union members to send their credit cards back to Shell at Box 80, Tulsa, Okla., with the stipulation that they be returned when the dispute is settled.

EV file 3/14/73

CITY/MAYOR, GOVERNORS' CONFERENCES HIT REVENUE SHARING, BUDGET ISSUES

Both the National Governors' Conference (NGC) and the National League of Cities/U.S. Conference of Mayors (NLC/USCM) met in Washington recently to probe for more information about the Administration's budget and to lobby against reductions in domestic programs.

Comparative good will towards the Administration characterized the opening of the NLC/USCM's Congressional-City Conference where 1,400 city officials heard Detroit Mayor Roman Gribbs' keynote message that general revenue sharing is in no way a sham. Although noting that many city needs such as public and youth employment are not met in the proposed budget, Gribbs contended that cutbacks would have taken place even without the existence of general revenue sharing.

The next morning, however, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) wound up the annual conference by charging that revenue sharing is an excuse for "one of the most massive assaults on domestic programs ever waged by one President."

The pros and cons of revenue sharing also dominated the NGC plenary session. As chairman of the conference, Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel hailed the President's reaffirmation to the governors that revenue sharing funds are new money as "the most important product" of the three-day session. During the ensuing discussions of urban development, fiscal, and human resources questions, many governors nevertheless complained that they had been shortchanged on funding as well as brushed off by the Administration without adequate information.

Democratic governors in particular expressed their dissatisfaction over budget cuts, the character of proposed special revenue sharing, and the dearth of Administration explanations. Pennsylvania Governor Milton J. Shapp complained that the governors were given "a snow job," that budget summary charts prepared by the Administration do not tell the story, and that "job training and placement are cut at a time when our veterans are coming back from Vietnam."

To demonstrate their misgivings, about 20 Democratic governors vowed to oppose special revenue sharing until more information is forthcoming, either from the Administration or from their own fiscal experts.

Administration Flexibility

Other partially optimistic views voiced at the city conference besides that of NLC president Gribbs included Congressman Richard Bolling's (D.-Mo.) assertion of the President's "enormous flexibility." "If people want money for community development and public employment, then I believe the President will shift," he told the city officials in an otherwise critical speech.

After meeting with White House staffer Kenneth Cole, Los Angeles Councilman Thomas Bradley reported indications of the Administration's willingness to negotiate. He attributed this softening to the protests which have risen in many communities, but said he was told that the possibility of renegotiation did not extend to public employment or the summer youth program, where the Administration's decision is firm.

At a White House meeting following the conference, 12 mayors heard the President instruct his staff, including top budget and cabinet officials, to work closely with the mayors. In the words of Canton (Ohio) Mayor Stanley Cmich, the President said, "I don't want the cities to be in difficulties during these programs; make sure they are funded during this transition period."

While remaining silent on the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the President said that $250 million of the $1.25 billion provided by a continuing resolution for the Public Employment Program could be used for youth employment programs this summer. This is not new money, he stressed, since the 1973 authorization for PEP was made at $1.25 billion originally. A continuing resolution, however, usually provides for funding at the previous year's level, $1 billion in the case of PEP. According to John Gunther, USCM Executive Director who participated in the meeting, "It looks like we should have $250 million that we didn't expect for this summer." Although unable to say how this would compare with the previous summer's funding, Gunther estimated it at about $100 million less.

Mayor Cmich, a frequent lobbyist for PEP and comprehensive manpower legislation, called the two-hour meeting "fruitful and promising." He predicted closer relationships and more open communication between the mayors and the Administration from now on.

Manpower Workshop

Speakers at an NLC/USCM workshop on manpower discussed manpower reorganization, comprehensive legislation, summer youth employment, and PEP. William Hewitt, Associate Manpower Administrator for Policy, Evaluation, and Research of the Department of Labor, explained the Administration's plans for manpower revenue sharing based on the Economic Opportunity Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act. Repeating the President's contention that PEP was introduced to deal with an emergency situation that no longer exists, Hewitt said that final instructions for closing PEP programs will be out in several weeks. San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto responded by calling for continued public employment, denying that those now employed could be absorbed by private industry.

At the Governors' conference, a report by the Committee on Human Resources called for legislation that will provide a strong state role in manpower pro-

grams. New social service regulations proposed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were also attacked in the Human Resources report. The committee asked HEW to withdraw its proposal and develop new regulations in cooperation with the states to promote "economy and efficiency without the severe disruption in delivery of services." □

SEVERAL MAYORS DEFEND NIXON BUDGET, CALL FOR PASSAGE OF REVENUE SHARING

In sharp contrast to earlier witnesses, several mayors testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations last week spoke in support of the Nixon budget for fiscal 1974. One of these, Mayor Richard Luger of Indianapolis, countered earlier criticism of the President's domestic program with the words: "The President has not proposed a budget harmful to the cities." Another witness, Vernon Jordan, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, raised a new question, that of whether the federal government will guarantee that programs financed under revenue sharing will be carried out without discrimination against blacks and other minorities.

Lugar said that when Congress adopts special revenue sharing, his city would receive funds in excess of current amounts received for Model Cities, community action programs, and "miscellaneous categorical grants." He added that in addition to receiving more money under revenue sharing, Indianapolis would also have "more authority in designating priorities."

Pete Wilson, mayor of San Diego, also made refence to the expanding authority mayors hope to enjoy under the revenue sharing system. "We are eager for the independence, the new effectiveness that can be ours, with the realization of special revenue sharing," he told the subcommittee. Adding that congressional approval for special revenue sharing is uncertain, Wilson noted that mayors have asked for assurance from the Administration that cities will receive adequate federal funds in the interim. "The response of the Administration . . . has been encouraging," he said.

Early Enactment of Special Revenue Sharing

Wilson called upon Congress to enact special revenue sharing "at the earliest reasonable date," and not to allow disagreement with provisions in the Nixon budget to hamper this action. Some mayors "have been dismayed to find congressmen eager to confuse the merits of the decentralized authority of special revenue sharing with the level of funding for it," he said. But "we are not willing to see the real issue evaded by the Congress by a deliberate confusion of the two."

Mayor Jack Maltester of San Leandro, Calif., also identified as a matter of concern the transition from categorical to bloc grants. "The issue is how do we handle the transition period," he said. "There must be an adequately funded transition mechanism . . . I have high hopes that the mayors can negotiate on this subject with the President."

Urban League Director Jordan opened his testimony by questioning whether basic social needs will be met under revenue sharing. He contended that "local governments have not responded to the concerns of the less advantaged," and this was the primary reason for the federal government's stepping in to provide social services. Jordan acknowledged that "federal grant-in-aid programs have had serious defects," and that there is merit in bringing "government closer to the people," through the revenue sharing concept. But he reminded members of the subcommittee that their preliminary survey on the use of revenue sharing funds (See MIS, February 28, page 276) found "that few (cities) used the funds to support or improve basic social service programs." Until certain social benefits, such as a good job, a decent home, and adequate health care, are guaranteed "as a matter of right rather than as a benevolent dispensation of the state," he said, "revenue sharing poses a basic threat to minorities and the poor."

Jordan then charged that the Treasury Department's implementation of general revenue sharing so far does not indicate that discrimination will be prevented. Certain questions remain to be answered, he said, including: "Will the federal government prohibit discrimination not just in the specific use of revenue sharing funds, but in the programs to which they are applied?" "Will (the Treasury Department) require cities and states to submit detailed racial data to demonstrate that their programs and services are not operated in a discriminatory manner *before* receiving revenue sharing funds?" Jordan also questioned whether the department will have adequate procedures and personnel to determine compliance with non-discrimination rules, and whether it will impose effective sanctions if compliance is lacking. He concluded by saying that if the Treasury Department does not adopt procedures to enforce civil rights in revenue sharing programs, the Congress may have to provide for this through amendments to the legislation. □

CONGRESS CONSIDERS 'EEA' EXTENSION; FASSER SAYS PROGRAM NO LONGER NEEDED

Manpower Administrator Paul Fasser, Jr., spoke out against congressional efforts to extend the Emergency Employment Act's public job program in testimony before the House Select Subcommittee on Labor. The subcommittee has been holding hearings on extension of the EEA program, whose legislative authority expires June 30, 1973. Hearings focused on H.R. 4204, a bill introduced by Rep. Dominick Daniels (D.-N.J.), chairman of the Select Labor Subcommittee,

They are available at $7.50 each from the Manpower Press, c/o Consortium Press, 821 Fifteenth St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005. □

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON WORKING LIFE

The Quality of Working Life, An Annotated Bibliography, 1957-1972, is available from the Labor Department's Office of Research and Development Utilization, 1111 20th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. The purposes of the bibliography are to provide researchers and professionals with the data needed to create conditions for humane working life; and to compile and disseminate information on working life. It includes listings of published articles, published books and monographs, and unpublished books, articles, and case studies.

The bibliography was prepared under a Manpower Administration contract at the Center for Organizational Studies, Graduate School of Management, University of California, Los Angeles. □

MEMBERS NAMED TO VOC ED COUNCIL

President Nixon has appointed seven members to the 21-member National Advisory Council on Vocational Education. Five of the seven are new appointees, replacing members whose terms have expired, and two are being reappointed. They will serve until January 1976.

The President also named council member James Rhodes, former Ohio Governor, as chairman of the council. Lowell Burkett, a council member since 1968, will serve as vice chairman.

The new appointees are John Bustamante, attorney with a Cleveland law firm; George Cook, chairman of Bankers Life Insurance Company of Nebraska; Darious Keaton, Jr., chairman of Charter Oil Company; Arthur Lee, director of Project Baseline, a national study of career education; and John Thiele, a Whirlpool Corporation official. Reappointed are Donald McDowell, executive director of the National Future Farmers of America, and Thomas Pauken, a student at Southern Methodist University Law School, in Dallas, Tex. □

NEW MANPOWER APPOINTMENT

At the Department of Labor . . .

Donald F. Rodgers, as Counsellor to the Secretary, a new post created by Presidential Executive Order. Rodgers continues as Consultant to the President for Labor. At the Labor Department, he will perform special assignments dealing mainly with problems arising between the department and industry. In his White House post, Rodgers will act as ombudsman for labor in dealings with federal agencies, and he will provide a labor voice on policy matters. □

MIS Analysis

ABRUPT ACTIONS ON PROGRAM CUTS HAMPER LOCAL MANPOWER PLANNING

- Manpower revenue sharing needs orderly planning
- CAMPS system is readied for decentralization
- But fund cuts create problems at local level
- Confusion could jeopardize revenue sharing

The key ingredient necessary for an effective transition to localized decision-making with respect to manpower programming is the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS). Those who have observed the manpower scene for the past seven to eight years have watched CAMPS mature from a simple forum for exchanging incomplete information concerning on-going projects (with the pious hope that as a result "linkages" among such projects would be attained) to a body of knowledgeable people responsible for assisting in the design of a complete and integrated manpower program for their geographic area.

The degree of sophistication and competency which exists today in assessing manpower training needs and planning manpower programs which best address those needs with available resources was not in sight only a few short years ago. Yet, now that the twin thrusts of decentralization and decategorization are finally about to be realized, albeit in a very limited manner, the planning councils and the manpower advisers to mayors and governors, on which the success of this twofold effort depends, will be preoccupied with more immediate problems. These problems are brought on by the rescission of fiscal year 1973 Neighborhood Youth Corps summer funds, the proposed elimination of the Public Employment Program, the removal of national funding from national manpower agencies, and the likely termination of Community Action Agencies which operate so many manpower projects.

Faced with the pressures generated by reduced funding and a scramble for a piece of the smaller pie by agencies currently operating manpower programs, there will be a tendency for political considerations to be given more weight than actions based on bonafide assessment of needs and past performance. The extent to which local and state manpower decision-makers are able to overcome or compromise these obstacles will determine the mettle of the manpower planning process and, perhaps, the degree of decentralization and decategorization which will be permitted in the future.

Guidance on Planning Process

It is that time of the year when manpower planning begins its annual cycle. The Manpower Administration is currently in the process of providing guidance

HEW Urged to Rescind Cuts in Social Services

AFL-CIO News 3/17/73

AFL-CIO President George Meany has asked the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare to withdraw proposed regulations that would gut social services programs states have set up for the poor and near-poor.

Under the HEW proposals, federal aid for child day care centers would be drastically curtailed—and at the same time, federal standards intended to assure quality care for the children would be scrapped.

Programs to help the elderly, to deal with drug and alcohol abuse, to assist the mentally retarded would be starved for funds and, where continued, be limited in effect to serving persons on welfare rolls.

By law, Congress imposed a $2.5 billion ceiling on the otherwise automatic program under which the federal government puts up 75 percent of the cost of social services provided for low-income families and individuals.

In its budget estimates, the Administration has earmarked only $1.8 billion as the federal share. And the effect of its proposed regulations, informed critics charge, would be to limit federal aid to only about that amount.

In a letter to HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Meany declared:

"We are completely opposed to the proposed regulations which would deny all services to the working poor. The proposed regulations will severely limit the availability of day care and other services by sharply narrowing the eligibility requirements.

"The new level of income at which people will no longer be eligible for those services is, in most states, far lower than the poverty level. This will mean that large numbers of low-income families will be completely shut out from federally assisted day care and other programs."

Meany protested also a proposal to discontinue the present policy of allowing the use of private donations—such as United Givers Fund allocations—to represent the state share of the cost of the program.

He suggested that this proposed change "is certainly in conflict with the Administration's professed reliance on the voluntary sector."

If the HEW proposals become final, Meany charged, it would "reverse the congressional intent of over a decade to alleviate the social and physical ills which lead people into poverty."

A statement by the American Public Welfare Association attacking the proposed regulations said they would deprive more than 3.8 million people of social services.

Nationwide, a survey by the organization showed, "more than 196,000 children will be deprived of day care services, thus compelling thousands of parents to go back on welfare rolls, and over 176,000 mentally retarded persons will lose out on services essential to their well-being and improvement."

The proposed sharp reduction of services comes on top of other Administration actions curtailing social programs for the poor and elderly.

Labor Brands Sharing Plan 'Buck Passing'

(Continued from Page 1)

differences that exist in educational opportunity."

Biemiller charged that "by proposing to lump the categorical aid programs into a single blank check, the Administration would invite state and local officials to return to past practices of allocating funds on the basis of political power and whim rather than demonstrated need."

Manpower—The public service employment program, which the Administration seeks to scrap, represents "the only significant direct job-creation effort by the federal government."

Special revenue sharing would seriously endanger "programs which help workers upgrade their skills and focus on the specific job needs of minority-group youth and the elderly."

Health—"False economies" proposed by the Administration include ending hospital modernization funds, abandoning regional medical centers for heart and cancer treatment, and phasing out of maternal, child health and family planning programs.

The proposal to make Medicare patients pay more of the cost of their hospital and medical charges may make them more "cost conscious," as the Administration claims. But it is also likely to discourage them from seeking medical care until illness becomes more severe and more costly to treat.

Environment — "Some of the widest gaps between congressional intent and what the Administration plans to spend are to be found in programs enacted by Congress to protect America's environment."

Despite pledges of leadership by the federal government, the Administration plans to spend only half of the money Congress authorized for construction of waste treatment plants.

Biemiller acknowledged that the government has a revenue problem in financing the needed programs. But he said this can be overcome by "early enactment of a substanive tax reform program."

EV- Spec Rev

Revenue

Labor Bids Congress Block Plan

AFL-CIO News 3/17/73

The AFL-CIO asked Congress to block "the Administration's callous abandonment of social programs" and to refrain from "passing the buck" to the states through various forms of revenue sharing.

Problems of education, housing, environment, health, safety and manpower are "too big for any state or local governmental unit to handle alone," AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller testified. He appeared before a Senate Government Operations subcommittee exploring the "New Federalism" concept that the Administration has espoused.

Biemiller termed the concept a "thinly disguised" revival of the "let the states do it" philosophy. But, he stressed, "they haven't and they can't."

The most pressing domestic needs "do not adhere to the lines drawn to bound America's 50 states and 80,000 local government units. They require national leadership, federal programs and federal financial support," Biemiller said.

He acknowledged that the rapid growth of federal programs in the 1960s "inevitably created some administrative inefficiencies and overlapping." But improvements can be made "without undermining their purpose, goals and standards."

Biemiller urged Congress to retain federal grants to state and local governments for specific programs and not to replace them with "under-funded revenue sharing measures" that lack federal standards.

He illustrated his testimony with these examples:

Community development and housing — Administration budget slashes "would represent an end to a direct federal government role in revitalizing the nation's cities and increasing the availability of housing for low- and moderate-income Americans."

Biemiller warned that "the rot of the cities is spreading into suburban areas, and saying things are all right doesn't make them any better."

Education—"Behind its vaguely-formulated program of special revenue sharing, the Administration is proposing the severe under-funding or elimination of programs to improve the quality of education in America and to eliminate the great

(Continued on Page 8)

3/24/73

Reversal of Priorities:

Revenue Sharing Conceals Cutbacks in Vital Programs

The following is excerpted from testimony by AFL-CIO Legislative Director Andrew J. Biemiller before the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations.

THE SO-CALLED New Federalism is really nothing new. It is the thinly disguised "old futilism" of the states-righters with their rallying cry of "let the states do it." And that slogan means the same today as it meant 15 years ago: passing the buck to avoid federal responsibility for national problems.

We would not be here today—and, indeed, there would not be this controversy—if the states had "done it" or if the states could "do it." But they haven't, and they can't.

The broad problems of education, housing, environment, health, safety and manpower are really national in scope—too big for any state or local governmental unit to handle alone. Certainly, some states and some cities have tried their best, but they could not do what their neighbors would not do.

At this stage, when the country has identified the problems, begun to attack them and, indeed, made some progress, it makes no sense to turn the clock back.

America faces vast unmet public needs—from sewer, water and waste treatment systems to jobs, housing, urban mass transit, education, health-care, public safety, roads and recreation facilities.

Fulfillment of these needs requires the cooperation of all citizens and institutions. However, the nation's major domestic problems are still rooted in the shortages of services and facilities that are traditionally and appropriately the responsibility of government. Though much that is needed can and should be administered and financed at the state and local government level, it is the federal government—which represents all of the American people—that holds the key.

The most pressing domestic issues—such as unemployment, housing, crime, pollution and health care—are nationwide in scope and impact. They do not adhere to the lines drawn to bound America's 50 states and 80,000 local government units. They require national leadership, federal programs and federal financial support.

A federal effort to create jobs and the public investments needed to modernize and strengthen the underpinnings of American society began in the 1930s, only to be brought to a virtual standstill by the shortages of money, manpower and materials during World War II. Following the end of the war and through the 1950s, only slow progress was made.

In the 1960s, the long-delayed federal response came through enactment of numerous programs, which provide funds for state and local governments to use in meeting specific national priority needs, under federal performance standards. These programs created needed jobs and began to reduce the shortage in many public facilities and services.

Federal grants-in-aid for such programs as elementary and secondary school education, urban renewal, health care and housing underwent a more than fourfold increase in the past decade—rising from $10.1 billion in 1964 to an estimated $45 billion in fiscal year 1973, an average annual increase of 18 percent.

THIS LONG OVERDUE and badly needed expansion in national programs and federal funds aroused unrealistic expectations of quick and easy solutions to problems that had been amassing for decades. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, high interest rates, inflation, recession and lack of full-funding hampered the ability of state and local governments to finance their share of public investment—further increasing the gap between expectations and what could realistically be achieved.

In the last four years, presidential vetoes have attempted to prevent enactment of new and essential programs. Many programs already on the books have been short-changed.

In addition, the Administration has impounded $14.7 billion that Congress appropriated for such vital programs as housing for low- and middle-income families, community facilities, water and sewer projects, highway construction and the Appalachian Regional Commission.

Now, according to the policy set forth in the federal budget for fiscal year 1974 the growth in federal aid to the states and localities for such vital programs will come to a halt.

For the year ending June 30, 1973, the Administration proposes to reduce or terminate programs in the amount of $6.5 billion—for fiscal year 1974, the total will be $17 billion. The budget plan is for program terminations and reductions, which over the next five years, would result in a cumulative total of over $100 billion.

If the Congress were to be so short-sighted to adopt these proposals, many vital job-creating, public investment programs would be totally dismantled and others hamstrung. Many would simply disappear through general and so-called "special" revenue sharing consolidations which obscure the national purpose, limit the power of Congress to monitor or control the programs and make federal performance standards, civil rights guarantees and labor standards difficult to enforce.

The Administration's proposals would substitute concern for the corporate ledger sheet for the helping hand of government to people in need. These proposals constitute major surgery to remove compassion and heart from government along with the cancer of waste.

Statement of

William L. Taylor, Director

Center for National Policy Review, on
behalf of member organizations of the Federal Programs
Task Force of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
on

General Revenue Sharing Regulations

before

A Panel of the Office of
Revenue Sharing of the U.S.
Department of the Treasury

March 26, 1973

Budget Priorities

SUMMARY OF NEW REVENUE SHARING BILL, "BETTER SCHOOLS ACT OF '73"

The following brief summary of the major provisions of the administration's new education special revenue sharing bill, the "Better Schools Act of 1973," was sent to the House March 19 by HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger along with the draft bill:

"Appropriations for carrying out the bill would remain available for obligation and expenditure at the State and local levels for two years (Sec. 3).

"The bill provides for allotment among the States of the funds appropriated (and for the uses which may be made of those funds) (Sec. 4). Appropriated funds are to be used for 5 purposes: education of the disadvantaged; education of the handicapped; vocational education; assistance for schools enrolling children who live on Federal property; and supporting materials and services. Any of the funds may be used for construction.

"Funds allotted among the States are to be distributed within the State under Section 5. The entire amount allotted to the State on the basis of children living on Federal property must be "passed through" to the local educational agencies in which those children live. The amount allotted to the state for the education of the disadvantaged must be distributed among local educational agencies by first paying to those agencies with 15% or 5,000 of their children from low-income families an amount equal to an expenditure index for the State multiplied by the number of such children. The remaining funds for the disadvantaged would be distributed among the other local educational agencies with the largest numbers or percentages of children from low-income families.

"Thirty percent of each of the amounts allotted to any State for vocational education and education of the handicapped may be made available for other educational purposes (Sec. 7). The State may exceed these 30 percent limitations if it demonstrates to the satisfaction of the Secretary that doing so would further the purpose of the Act. The funds allotted to a State for supporting materials and services may be used also for vocational education and for education of the handicapped and the disadvantaged.

"With respect to amounts allotted for the disadvantaged, each State and each local educational agency would be "held harmless" for fiscal year 1974 at 100 percent of the amount allotted to it for fiscal year 1973 under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

"States are required to provide equitable treatment of private school children in the activities carried out under the bill, but if they are unable to do so because of limitations of State law the Secretary is required to provide services to such children, paying the cost thereof out of the State's allotment (Sec. 8).

"Amounts for the disadvantaged will be paid to any local educational agency only if that agency meets a "comparability" requirement -- i.e., if the services provided in each of its schools with funds other than funds under this bill are determined by the State administering agency to be comparable to the services so provided in its other schools.

"The Governor of each State would be the agency for administering the program within the State unless State law provides for a specified single State agency to administer the program. The State agency will develop a plan for the distribution of funds not

(more)

SUMMARY OF NEW REVENUE SHARING BILL, "BETTER SCHOOLS ACT OF '73" (Cont.)

"passed through" to local educational agencies, and for the expenditure of those funds. The distribution must be made on a basis which takes into account the relative needs of the local educational agencies in the State for the types of assistance for which the funds may be used, but in doing so the amount paid to local educational agencies for education of the disadvantaged may not be taken into consideration. In developing the plan the agency must give an opportunity for comment thereon to interested persons, but there is no requirement of Federal review or approval of the plan (Sec. 9).

"Each State must provide education on a nondiscriminatory basis for children who live on Federal property (Sec. 10).

"Revenues shared under the bill are subject to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (relating to discrimination on the basis of sex) (Sec. 13).

"There is an advance funding provision (Sec. 14) and a provision for an annual report by the Secretary to the President and the Congress (Sec. 16).

"There is also a provision permitting interstate agreement (Sec. 18), a provision concerning records, audits, and reports (Sec. 17), and a provision concerning remedies for noncompliance (Sec. 12)."

ALBERT GIVES IMPOUNDMENT PREVENTION PRIORITY House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.) March 22 ordered priority treatment for a bill that would give Congress veto power over Presidential impoundment of Congressionally appropriated funds. Albert, terming President Nixon's impoundment actions "arbitrary one-man, Presidential rule," told a news conference the Rules Committee would start hearings on the bill March 28 and would try to complete Committee action before the Easter recess, April 19.

Under the bill, Congress would have 60 days to disapprove any impoundment of money. A similar Senate bill would require Congressional approval before impoundments could be effected.

URBAN LEAGUE DIRECTOR SAYS CUTBACKS DOOM CITIES Vernon Jordan, Executive Director of the National Urban League, said last week that the proposed cutbacks in social programs will make urban America "a free fire zone doomed to destruction by the very forces it looks to for salvation." In a speech to the National Press Club, Jordan said the proposed budget "is the blueprint for the conversion of a national policy of 'benign neglect' into a policy of active hostility to the hopes, dreams and aspirations of black America." Jordan said, "The gut issues of today -- better schools, jobs and housing for all, personal safety and decent health care -- are issues that transcend race. So long as they are falsely perceived as 'black issues,' nothing constructive will be done to deal with them."

On revenue sharing, Jordon said: "To black Americans, who historically had no choice but to look to the Federal government to correct the abuses of state and local governments, that is very much like hiring the wolf to guard the sheep."

E14

COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

• 1717 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 462-8000
Barbara Williams, Executive Director

Mr. Emery Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, NW
Atlanta, Ga.

April 9, 1973

Dear Mr. Via:

In his State of the Union message the President declared that the relationship between the individual and the government was at an historic crossroads. He was right. The administration budget and program proposals have indeed caused an historic conflict between those who believe government must vigorously promote programs that would help people as opposed to those who would now abandon these responsibilities.

It is time for the people to speak. It is time for Congress to act in accordance with the people's wishes. But, the people must make their Representatives hear them.

The Coalition for Human Needs and Budget Priorities is a vehicle through which the people can be heard. The Coalition has been established to facilitate cooperation and the exchange of information among a broad spectrum of citizens and groups concerned about the implications of the proposed budget with its drastic cuts and distorted priorities.

Over 100 concerned national organizations and individuals met in Washington on March 5, 1973 and authorized an organizing committee of 21 persons to extend invitations to people to cooperate with the Coalition. At present there is a Board of over 40 persons representing a broad cross sector of the American public. On March 21, Barbara Williams, previously Administrative Assistant to Congressman Ronald Dellums, was chosen as Executive Director. A core staff has been selected.

The Coalition's primary objective is:

> To organize broad-based coalitions in communities throughout the nation to fight for additional resources for domestic programs and to support Congress in its struggle to maintain the balance of power between the Executive and Legislative branches. This will be done in two ways:
>
> (a) through clearing-house functions at the national level which will provide current information and direction, as well as encouragement, to its counterparts at the local level,

(b) by formulating a national legislative strategy promoting the Coalition's goal and mobilizing support throughout the country for such legislation.

The Coalition is focussing initial efforts on encouraging budget impact hearings in Congressional Districts throughout the nation. It is also working in support of Congressional efforts to restore some domestic programs and, most importantly, to urge Congress to establish its own national priorities and a fiscally responsible budget. The enclosed materials include information on both these activities.

The purpose of this letter is to make a formal request for your organization's cooperation or affiliation. You can work with the Coalition in two ways.

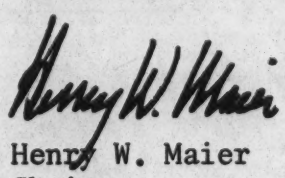
(1) through participation in its legislative activities; and/or

(2) by participating in national and local programs for the dissemination of research and education materials.

Information gathered by the Coalition's clearing-house will also be made available to your organization and affiliates.

Cooperation in the Coalition means that your organization will work with a wide variety of other organizations on common issues. It also means that we will be rallying around a unified goal and that we will share a common concern and commitment to work for a national budget in balance with this country's pressing domestic needs.

Sincerely,



Henry W. Maier
Chairman

DIRECTORS

COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

HENRY W. MAIER, Chairman
Mayor of Milwaukee
Past President, U.S. Conference of Mayors

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STEWART BRAMBORG
Wilderness Society*

LUCY WILSON BENSON
League of Women Voters*

DAVID BROWER
Friends of the Earth

HODDING CARTER, Jr.
Delta Democrat Times

REV. W. STERLING CARY
National Council of Churches

GAIL CINCOTTA
National Peoples Action on Housing

BRONSON CLARK
American Friends Service Committee

WILBUR COHEN

ROBERT COLES

JACK CONWAY
Common Cause

MSGR. LAWRENCE CORCORAN
National Conference of Catholic Charities

SR. CAROL COSTON
Network

BERNICE CRAWLEY
National Tenants Organization

NELSON CRUIKSHANK
National Council of Senior Citizens, Inc.

TONY DECHANT
National Farmers Union

MARIAN EDELMAN
Washington Research Project

FRANCES T. FARENTHOLD
National Women's Political Caucus*

IRWIN FRANCE
Model Cities Directors Association

ELIZABETH S. GENNE
Young Women's Christian Association of America

MAYOR KENNETH GIBSON
Mayor of Newark, N.J.

FANNIE LOU HAMER
Freedom Fund Foundation

CLAIRIE HARVEY
Church Women United

FR. THEODORE HESBURGH
Notre Dame University

REV. JESSE JACKSON
Operation PUSH

VERNON JORDAN
National Urban League

REAR ADM. GENE LAROCQUE USN (Ret.)
Center for Defense Information

ALLARD LOWENSTEIN
Americans for Democratic Action

* Organization listed for identification purposes only

Directors: Coalition for Human Needs and Budget Priorities

BILL LUCY
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees

BURKE MARSHALL
Yale Law School

FR. ALBERT McKNIGHT
Southern Cooperative Development Fund

GENERAL JOHN F. McMAHON
Volunteers of America

ARNOLD MILLER
United Mine Workers of America

RT. REV. PAUL MOORE, Jr.
Episcopal Diocese of New York

LAYTON OLSON
National Student Lobby

TERRY SANFORD
Duke University

DAVID SELDON
American Federation Teachers

RABBI HENRY SIEGMAN
Synagogue Council of America

JOHN SILARD, ESQ.
Project on Budget Priorities

FLOYD SMITH
International Association of Machinists

MARGERY TABANKIN
Youth Project

FRANCISCO TRILLA
Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs

PAUL WARNKE

ROBERT C. WEAVER

LEON WEINER

RAYMOND WHEELER
Southern Regional Council

MAYOR KEVIN WHITE
Mayor of Boston, Mass.

GEORGE WILEY
Movement for Economic Justice

LEONARD WOODCOCK
United Automobile Workers

VICENTE XIMENES

WHAT ARE THE FIRST STEPS IN PLANNING A FACT FINDING HEARING?

One Contact the COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES at 1717 Massachusetts Avenue N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 Phone: (202) 462-8000. Let them know what you are planning -- they can help you get started!

Two Find out if your Congressperson has held a hearing or is planning to hold a hearing.

Three Start documenting the impact of the budget cuts on your community. The COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES will tell you how.

Four Start building a local coalition against the budget cuts to work with the COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES in a nationwide legislative and local action plan. Contact all the local chapters of the national organizations who are part of the COALITION and other church, community, and labor groups who might be interested in getting involved.

IF OUR CONGRESSPERSON IS PLANNING TO HOLD A HEARING WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

One Contact his/her local Congressional office to let them know you want to be involved in the hearing.

Two Find out who has been invited to testify. Are they representative of the whole district?

Three Request to testify. Request that others be allowed to testify too to make the testimony as representative as possible.

Four Publicize the hearing. Encourage attendance at the hearing.

Five Work with other testifiers to make sure the testimony is not repetitive and includes all of the important issues.

IF OUR CONGRESSPERSON IS NOT PLANNING TO HOLD A HEARING WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

Build local support for a fact finding hearing. Have the local coalition call, write, telegram, and petition your Congressperson's local office to force him/her to convene a hearing.

IF OUR CONGRESSPERSON REFUSES TO HOLD A HEARING WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

If after petition drives, letter writing campaigns, etc. your Congressperson still refuses to hold a hearing, convene your own hearing! Try to get your Senator, Governor, Mayor or State Legislators to convene the hearing. Be sure the press knows that your Congressperson refused. You will obviously need a strong local coalition to plan and carry out your own hearing, The COALITION will help you!

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE COALITION?

Fact finding hearings will have a much greater impact on the public, the media, and the Congress if we are all working together. The COALITION will help you plan and carry out the hearing, put you in touch with other groups in your areas, and coordinate the next step in the plan to stop the cuts!

WHAT IS THE COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES?

It is a coalition of more than one hundred diverse national organizations and special interest groups who have decided to work together on a plan of legislative and local community action against the proposed budget and for a budget committed to human needs.

WHAT IS A FACT FINDING HEARING?

It is the first step of the plan to stop the budget cuts. It is a public forum for demonstrating the adverse effects the cuts would have on your community to the general public, the media, and particularly your Congressperson. Your Congressperson is most important because Congress has the power to restore the programs that have been cut and set the budget priorities. Fact Finding Hearings should be convened by every Congressperson in every Congressional District across the country.

WHAT ARE THE GOALS OF A FACT FINDING HEARING?

- o to arouse public interest in and awareness of the effects of the budget cuts.
- o to get the local media involved in informing the public of the adverse effects the budget would have on your community.
- o to let your Congressperson know how you feel about the budget cuts -- to convince your Congressperson to stop the cuts!
- o to begin building a broad based local coalition to fight the budget cuts.

WHEN SHOULD THE FACT FINDING HEARINGS BE HELD?

During the Easter Congressional recess -- April 19 through 30.

WHAT ARE THE COMPONENTS OF A GOOD FACT FINDING HEARING?

- o your Congressperson convenes the hearing.
- o testimony presented at the hearing is representative of the entire community -- including a broad spectrum of political viewpoints -- including the providers of the services that are being cut as well as the beneficiaries -- including all racial, ethnic, age, and economic groups.
- o testimony highlights as many of the adverse effects of the cuts as possible.
- o the hearing is well covered by the local media.
- o there is strong public support of and attendence at the hearing.

ORGANIZATIONS WHO HAVE SHOWN INTEREST IN WORKING WITH THE

COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

Amalgamated Clothing Workers
American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees
American Federation of Teachers
American Friends Service Committee
American Jewish Committee
Americans for Democratic Action
Black Child Development Institute
Center for Defense Information
Center for Responsive Law
Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs
Church of the Brethren
Church Women United
Common Cause
Communities in Action Together
Congress Watch
Consumer Action for Improved Food & Drugs
Children's Foundation
Delta Democratic Times
D. C. Catholic Inner City School Commission
Episcopal Diocese of New York
Friends of the Earth
Holy Comforter-St. Cyprian Church
International Association of Machinists
Movement for Economic Justice
Medical Committee on Human Rights
National Assembly for Social Policy & Development
National Association of Social Workers
National Model Cities Dir.
National Organization of Women
National Council of Churches
National Peoples Action in Housing
Northeast Citizens Union
National Association of Home Builders
National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights
National Conference of Catholic Charities
National Council of Senior Citizens
National Farmers Union
National Health Association
National Rural Housing Coalition
National Student Lobby
National Tenants Organization
National Urban League
National Women's Political Caucus
NETWORK
OEO Employees
Office of Social Ministries
OMEN Club
Operation Push
Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs
Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice
RFK Memorial Foundation
Rural Action
SANE
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Sisters of Charity
Southern Regional Council
Synagogue Council of America
UCC Board of Homeland Ministries
United Auto Workers
UCC Council for Christian Social Action
United Methodist Board of General Social Concerns
United Methodist Church Women's Division
United Mine Workers of America
United Presbyterian Church of the USA
Washington Research Project
Young Women's Christian Association
Youth Organizations United
Youth Project

4/10/73

Congress persons and Senators who have had/will have local fact finding hearings

Shirley Chisholm (NY) - 3/26-27/73 (With Hawkins)
Ronald Dellums (California) - 3/23, 4/6-7, 4/2_(?)/73
Donald Fraser (Minnesota) - 3/19/73
Michael Harrington (Massachusetts) - 3/23/73 Continuing on in state
Augustus F. Hawkins (California) - 3/29 - 3/30/73
Barbara Jordan (Texas) - 3/31/73 (With Eckhardt and Casey)
Joseph E. Karth (Minnesota) - 3/10/73
Peter Kyros (Maine) - 3/19/73
Torbert H. Macdonald (Massachusetts) - 3/31, 4/7, 4/14/73
Spark Matsunaya (Hawaii) - in process of planning, no definite dates yet
John Moakley (Massachusetts) - 3/23-24/73 (With Hawkins), May__ (With Harrington)
Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (Massachusetts) - 3/23 (With Harrington)
Edward R. Roybal (California) - 3/28-30/73 (With Hawkins)
John F. Seiberling (Ohio) - 3/23/73
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio) - 4/6/73
Louis B. Stokes (Ohio) - 4/6/73

Senators

Edmund Muskie (Maine) - 3/19/73 (With entire Maine delegation)
Gaylord Nelson (Wisconsin) - 3/2, 3/5, 3/9, 3/16/73
Adlai Stevenson III (Illinois) - 3/30, 3/31/73
Hubert H. Humphrey (Minnesota) - 3/18-19/73 (With Mondale and Fraser)

COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

Phone 202 - 462 - 8000

A SAMPLE LETTER TO YOUR LOCAL GROUPS

Dear Friends,

The scope of the proposed budget cuts and impoundments is massive. This is true not only interms of the numbers of dollars cut from existing programs, but also in terms of the numbers and types of people affected. The budget, despite much of the rhetoric from both the Administration and its opponents, is not only an anti-poor, anti-minority budget, it is an anti-majority budget -- a budget that adversely affects the needs and interests of the majority of Americans.

In view of the massive nature of the cuts, what is essential is a massive popular groundswell across the country calling for a reordering of Federal budget priorities. The groundswell must be focused, atriculate, and informed if it is to be successful in moving Congress to reverse the budget and replace it with a budget committed to human needs.

In order to focus, inform and coordinate the necessary popular groundswell of opposition to the cuts, more than one hundred diverse national organizations and special interest groups have formed a COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES. Our organization is part of this coalition.

The real success of the coalition however depends on the involvement of local groups. It depends on local coalitions being formed and working together on the COALITION's plan of action to stop the cuts. We urge you to start building a local coalition and to start working on the first step of the Coalition's strategy: Congressional Fact Finding Hearings. The hearings are to be held during the Easter Congressional recess -- April 19 through 30 -- so there isn't much time to lose. The enclosed flyer describes what a Fact Finding Hearing is and how to start organizing one.

The next step in the local action plan is Town Meetings to be held the last week in May or the first week in June. These meetings will be sponsored by the local coalitions against the budget cuts and will be designed to rally the broadest public support for a Congressional initiative to stop the cuts and reorder budget priorities. Then, on the symbolic date of the end of the fiscal year,June 30 or July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year there will be rallies or vigils to either celebrate our victories or if the cuts and impoundments are still in force, to continue the struggle against them.

The COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES has an office at 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone: (202) 462-8000. Get in touch with the coalition office. They will help you with information, literature, ideas, and coordination with other groups in your area.

THE WASHINGTON POST

A 4 Friday, April 6, 1973

Coalition Set to Support Effort For Arms Cut, Social Fund Rise

A new "citizens coalition" entered the budget battle yesterday, with plans to build grass roots support for congressional efforts to cut defense spending and boost the social programs' share of federal spending.

Milwaukee Mayor Henry W. Maier, past president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and chairman of the newly formed Coalition for Human Needs and Budget Priorities, told a press conference that "reduction in unnecessary military and space expenditures can yield billions desperately needed for our human programs at home."

Barbara Williams, who left the staff of Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) to become executive director of the new group, said it would launch an information program designed to show the Nixon budget "is not only anti-minority and anti-poor but is anti-the-majority of the American people."

She said the group hoped to raise $100,000 to finance a direct-mail campaign and would organize local coalitions to protest budget cuts in as many congressional districts as possible.

The coalition is the outgrowth of a meeting a month ago at Georgetown University, attended by representatives of more than 100 labor, business, civic and citizen groups. Officials said "more than 60 groups" are currently "cooperating in one way or another" with the coalition, but declined to provide a list, on the grounds that many of the organizations had not formally affiliated with the effort.

Among the organizations with officials on either the board of directors or the coordinating committee of the new coalition are the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, National Conference of Catholic Charities, National Council of Senior Citizens, Inc., National Farmers Union, National Women's Political Caucus, Young Women's Christian Association, National Urban League, Americans for Democratic Action, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the United Mine Workers.

Also, the American Federation of Teachers, the Synagogue Council of America, the United Auto Workers, the National Association of Social Workers, the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the American Jewish Committee, the National Association of Home Builders, the National Urban Coalition, the National Council of Churches and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Maier said the coalition "does not quarrel" with Mr. Nixon's insistence on holding down spending, but "we do quarrel with him on where he thinks budget cuts should be made . . . What should be the No. 1 priority in urban and rural America becomes the lowest priority in the President's budget."

COALITION ON HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES ANNOUNCES SUPPORT OF HUMPHREY NATIONAL PRIORITIES RESOLUTION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on March 6, 1973, I introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 14—the resolution on national priorities.

This resolution expresses the sense of the Congress that $5 to $7 billion can be pared from the military budget and another $5 to $7 billion raised from tax reform to be utilized to promote full employment, quality education, and health care, and improved living conditions in our urban and rural areas.

Today, April 5, 1973, a new coalition—the coalition for human needs and budget priorities—was formed to support this resolution in particular and to actively organize at the local level in support of programs dedicated to improving the lives of our people.

I am proud that Senate Concurrent Resolution 14 has the support of the various groups that make up the coalition for human needs and budget priorities.

The coalition represents a diverse constituency—representatives and individuals from the League of Women Voters to the Friends of the Earth to the National Conference of Catholic Charities, the National Farmers Union, the National Council of Senior Citizens, the National Urban League, the Americans for Democratic Action, the United Mine Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the homebuilders and others. This resolution will permit the Congress to establish priorities within the budget ceiling. These priorities are essential to the well-being of our Nation. The issue is not merely how much money Congress shall appropriate, but more significantly for what purposes. That is the issue.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a listing of the board of directors of the coalition for human needs and budget priorities and the resolution on national priorities, Senate Concurrent Resolution 14, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the list and the resolution were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRECTORS—COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

Chairman: Mayor Henry Maier, Mayor of Milwaukee (Former President, U.S. Conference of Mayors), 200 West Wells, Milwaukee, Wisc.; (414) 278-2201.

Vice Chairperson: The Rev. Sterling Cary, President, National Council of Churches, 297 Park Avenue, South, New York, N.Y.; (212) 475-2121.

Albert E. Arent, Esq., 1815 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; 347-8500.

Lucy Benson, President, League of Women Voters of the U.S., 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; 296-1770.

Robert Brauer, Friends of the Earth, 529 Commercial Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94111 (620 C St. SE, Wash. DC 20003); (415) 391-4270.

Hodding Carter, Jr., Publisher, Delta Democratic Times, Greenville, Miss.; (601) 335-1155, (601) 335-4561—newsroom.

Gail Cincotta, National Peoples Action on Housing, 1109 North Ashland, Chicago, Ill.; (312) 486-4111; (312) AR6-0211.

Jack Conway, Common Cause, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.; 833-1200.

Bronson Clark, Exec. Sec'y American Friends Service Committee, 112 South 16th; Philadelphia, Pa.; (215) LO3-9372.

Wilbur Cohen, Former Sec'y, Dept. H.E.W., c/o School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 41802 (313) 764-1817.

Robert Coles, 816 Mullen Road, N.W., Albuquerque, N. Mex. 87107 (505) 344-1313.

Msgr. Laurence Corcoran, President, National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1346 Conn. Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 785-2757.

Sr. Carol Coston, Exec. Dir. Network, 224 D Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 832-1914.

Bernice Crawley, National Tenants Organization, 437 Rosedale Street, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15221 (425 13th St. NW, Wash., D.C.) (412) 243-5138.

Nelson Cruikshank, President, National Council of Senior Citizens, Inc., 1511 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 783-6850.

Tony Dechant, President, National Farmers Union, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 638-9774.

Mrs. Frances T. Farenthold, National Women's Political Caucus, 1302 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 785-2911.

Marian Edelman, President, Washington Research Project, 1763 R Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 483-1479.

Elizabeth S. Ginne, President, Young Women's Christian Association of the USA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 753-4700 ext. 216.

Mayor Kenneth Gibson, Mayor of Newark, Newark, N.J. (201) 733-6400.

Fannie Lou Hamer, National Conference of Negro Women, 721 James Street, Ruleville, Miss. 38771 (601) 756-4619.

Clairie Harvey, President, Church Women United, 415 N. Parish Street, Jackson, Miss. 39201 (601) 353-2621.

Fr. Theodore Hesburgh, Chancellor, University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana (219) 283-6011.

Rev. Jesse Jackson, Chairman, Operation Push, 7941 S. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill. (312) 373-3366.

Vernon Jordan, President, National Urban League, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. (212) 751-0300.

Rr. Admiral Gene LaRocque, Ret., Center for Defense Information, 201 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 543-0400.

Allard Lowenstein, Chairman, Americans for Democratic Action, 383 Pearl Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201, (212) 852-8117.

Bill Lucy, Sec'y/Treas. American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, 1155 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, 223-4460.

Burke Marshall, Deputy Dean, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn. 06500, (203) 436-1191.

Fr. Albert J. McKnight, President, Southern Cooperative Development Fund, Inc., P.O. Box 3005, Lafayette, La. 70501, (318) 232-9206.

Arnold Miller, President, United Mine Workers, 900 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 638-0530.

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Episcopal Diocese of New York, 1047 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, N.Y., (212) 749-1100.

Layton Olson, Exec. Dir. National Student Lobby, 413 East Capitol Street, Washington, D.C., 547-5500.

Terry Sanford, President, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, (919) 684-8111.

David Seldon, American Federation of Teachers, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 737-6141.

Rabbi Henry Siegman, Exec. Vice Pres. Synagogue Council of America, 432 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10016.

John Silard, Rauh & Silard, 1001 Conn. Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 737-7795.

Floyd Smith, President, International Association of Machinists (AFL-CIO), 1300 Conn. Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 785-2525.

Margery Tabankin, Youth Project, 1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007, 338-5721.

Dr. Francisco Trilla, Chairman, Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs, 2121 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Paul Warnke, 815 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 298-8686.

Leon Weiner, Former Chairman, National Home Builders Association, % Leon Weiner & Associates, Inc., 4 Denny Road, Wilmington, Del. 19809, (302) 764-9430.

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chairman, Southern Regional Council, 52 Fairlie Street, Atlanta, Ga., (404) 522-8764.

Mayor Kevin White, Mayor of Boston, (Contact is Ira Jackson's office, sec'y is Barbara Weiss with direct and night number 617+722-4555), (617) 722-4100.

George Wiley, National Coordinator, Movement for Economic Justice, 1609 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., 462-4200.

Leonard Woodcock, President, United Auto Workers, 8000 E. Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48214, (313) 926-5201.

Vicente Ximenes, 304 Monroe Street, N.E., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87108, (505) 265-2183.

General John F. McMahon, Director, Volunteers of America, 340 West 85th Street, New York, N.Y., (212).

Stewart M. Brandborg, Exec. Dir. Wilderness Society, 729 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20-05, 347-4132.

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*Juvenile matters for Alaska, Arizona, California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah and Washington are handled by the Youth Law Center. The National Juvenile Law Center serves the remaining states.

Contact the COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS & BUDGET PRIORITIES at 1717 Massachusetts Ave NW Washington, D.C. 20036 Phone (202) 462-8000

A Clear, Simple Choice

THE VOTER REGISTRATION bill that has been before the Senate since April 10 presents a clear, simple choice.

Do we want to make it as easy as possible for Americans to register to vote?

Or do we want to continue the practice of many states and communities of making voter registration an obstacle course that only the determined can surmount?

"Nowhere in the free world is voter registration at a lower level than it is in the United States. . . . Nine out of 10 registered Americans vote, but fewer than six out of 10 voting-age Americans vote. . . . It is the committee's conviction that our disquieting record of voter participation is in large part due to the hodgepodge of registration barriers put in the way of the voter."

So reported the Senate committee that, with only one dissenting vote, recommended passage of the voter registration bill sponsored by Sen. Gale W. McGee (D-Wyo.).

The McGee bill is simplicity itself. Under the direction of the Census Bureau, postcard registration forms would be sent to every address and otherwise made available. The returned forms would be processed through the regular state voter registration machinery. There would be both safeguards and stringent penalties against fraud.

It would no longer be necessary to go to inconvenient locations at inconvenient times in order to register.

The AFL-CIO supports this legislation because, as the federation testified at Senate hearings, we believe that "citizens of every state should have equal and easy access to the voting booth."

A clear majority of the Senate likewise supports the bill. A minority of the Senate opposes it, and has filibustered to keep the bill from coming to a vote.

THE REAL REASON for much of the opposition has remained unspoken in the Senate debate. But supporters of the McGee bill are convinced that behind the states' rights argument is a practical concern that an enlarged electorate might endanger the political future of some incumbents.

Even though the Administration is opposed to the bill, it is not in fact a partisan issue. Its supporters include the former chairman of the Republican National Committee who, last year, found out for himself some of the difficulties of registering voters.

The Senate has come so close to the two-thirds vote needed to curb the filibuster that the effort to pass the bill should continue. It is time that a determined majority demonstrated the perseverance needed to overcome the delaying tactics of a relatively small minority.

A Word Edgewise:

Nation Slowly Growing Aware Of What Nixon's Budget Means

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The Senate has come so close to the two-thirds vote needed to curb the filibuster that the effort to pass the bill should continue. It is time that a determined majority demonstrated the perseverance needed to overcome the delaying tactics of a relatively small minority.

There is justification for extended debate in the Senate, for the thorough airing of all viewpoints and exploration of alternatives.

But there comes a time, and surely this is the time, when issues must be faced on their merits and the machinery of representative government allowed to function.

No one can or should make Americans vote. But there is no excuse for not providing every American with "equal and easy access to the voting booth."

AFL-CIO News

Official Weekly Publication of the
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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LANE KIRKLAND, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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AFL-CIO Headquarters: 815 Sixteenth St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Telephone: 293-5032

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A Word Edgewise:

Nation Slowly Growing Aware Of What Nixon's Budget Means

By Gus Tyler

ONLY SLOWLY IS THE NATION becoming aware of what the new Nixon budget really means. Originally, it looked like a prudent paring of welfare frills. But with each passing day, what some thought was a sophisticated "operation" on the poor comes through as mayhem on Mr. Middle America, who is discovering that you don't have to be poor, black and on welfare to develop a distaste for the bitter bread of this budget.

The businesslike Wall Street Journal was among the first to note that the Administration was not going at the budget with a scalpel but with an ax. "What's shaping up," reported the Journal on Feb. 26, "is a substantial—in some cases, perhaps even massive—withdrawal of federal funds from a wide variety of programs," such as subsidized housing, hospital construction, and manpower training—to name a few.

On Mar. 5, the New York Times extended the list: Nixon plans to "withdraw federal money for neighborhood mental clinics and regional medical programs." When then White House Domestic Affairs Adviser John D. Ehrlichman announced that the President would veto a variety of proposed congressional bills, the Times reported on Mar. 10 that the assault was directed against a wide range of subjects "from flood control and rural electrification to airport security and veterans' burial benefits."

Some of the programs under the ax pre-date Johnson and Kennedy and go all the way back to the early days of Roosevelt such as the Soil Conservation Act (now called the Rural Environmental Assistance Program) and the Rural Electrification Administration, which were set up in the 1930s.

The Monthly Economic Letter, put out by the First National City Bank, reported in March that the Administration is "impounding some $15 billion—the biggest chunk of which was for water pollution control."

Changes in Medicare regulations will cost the elderly an added $750 million to a billion in 1974.

Day care regulations have been rewritten so that a working parent who is a bit above the poverty level (up to $5,400) can no longer have her child in a federally aided day care center.

Focusing on housing, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing notes that the Administration moratorium on new housing will immediately halt "such programs as public housing (conventional, turnkey, leasing); Section 235 (moderate income home ownership); Section 236 (moderate income rental). . . . Also halted were commitments for water and sewer grants, open space grants, and public facility loans."

THE LAST WEEK in March, the National Cancer Advisory Board appointed by Nixon protested the elimination of research training grants to find a cure for cancer.

On Mar. 27, President Nixon vetoed a congressional bill to aid the physically handicapped and to create new programs to help those with serious spinal injuries and severe kidney diseases.

Early in March, an official publication of the Republican National Committee, First Monday, carried two pages of favorable editorial reaction to the Administration budget. Astride the center-page spread was the reproduction of a Richmond News Leader cartoon, showing Nixon, with budget in hand, reading from it as if from a bible, officiating over the grave of "New Deal, Fair Deal, New Frontier, Great Society—1933-1973—I.O.U."

At last, this Administration has its special name too: The Big Burial.

(Gus Tyler, assistant president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, appears in this space as a guest columnist for John P. Roche.)

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Union Services

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPT., AFL-CIO

DECIDE '74

Citizens' Conference on Budget Priorities

And Spending Tax Money To Meet Human Needs

They're talking a new language at city hall, the court house, the legislature, and even in Congress. Some folks call it returning tax dollars to local government -- others say it's putting federal dollars into local political hands. There's talk about everybody trying to get part of the revenue sharing money, but there's not enough to go around.

There are cutbacks in more than 70 major government programs; jobs are being phased out; guidelines are being tightened. They're using words like "new federalism", proposed special revenue sharing, 18-month adjustments, new HEW guidelines, and one-time capital expenditures.

What does it all mean? How bad are the cutbacks? Will new programs be better than the old or worse? Who's going to set local priorities? What are the legal and political problems involved? Will there be any real tax reform? How can we "help decide" about tax dollars, revenue funds, budgets, and human services? Where do we go from here with the federal budget?

On Saturday and Sunday, June 2-3, 1973, there will be a bipartisan, mid-South regional Citizens' Conference on Budget Priorities and Spending Tax Money For Human Needs in Nashville, Tennessee, at the Center For Continuing Education, Scarritt College.

The conference is planned with the joint sponsorship and cooperation of more than 85 different national and local organizations. It will be the first such conference in the country!

Focus will be on information, education, and political strategies about funding cutbacks, revenue sharing, new HEW guidelines and welfare changes, future federal funding patterns, the national budget, and how to affect the spending of funds at the local level.

As a key leader in the mid-South, you are invited to participate. The complete details on workshops, speakers, and panels are enclosed.

DECIDE '74 will gather experts on every phase of this year's funding and tax problems. Among the speakers and leaders will be Congressman Richard Fulton (D-Tenn), House Ways and Means Committee; Frances Tarlton (Cissy) Farenthold, vice-chairperson, Coalition For Human Needs and Budget Priorities; Dr. Mel Powell, Appalachian Regional Commission; Gordon Manser, Executive Director, National Assembly For Social Policy and Development; Mildred Jeffrey, UAW; Dr. George Wiley, Movement For Economic Justice;

Richard Hayes, San Francisco Study Center; Lt. Colonel (Ret.) Ed King, Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy; Barbara Williams, Coalition For Human Needs; Gordon Mellancamp, Chattanooga Mayor's Office; and more than twenty other panelists and speakers, including members of citizens' groups, representatives of HEW and the revenue sharing offices, and public officials from state and local levels.

The spending of tax money to meet human needs and the participation of average citizens in making those decisions is an issue that cuts across every phase of American life. It's a children's issue, an urban issue, a rural issue, a minorities issue, a middle-America issue, a women's issue, a political issue, and an issue that touches us all. The Citizen's Conference has been called and planned quickly because of the kind of emergency planning, crisis and decisions that have enveloped us all in the past weeks.

The Conference holds the promise that the average citizen can have a voice and "help decide" these critical tax dollar issues that affect the very future of our country. It will be a unique opportunity for first-hand help to take back to our organizations, groups and communities as well as the opportunity to strategize concerning future funding plans.

SPONSORING GROUPS

Coalition For Human Needs and Budget Priorities, Washington, D.C., a group including more than 70 different national organizations such as Common Cause, Urban League, National Council of Senior Citizens, National Association of Social Workers, American Jewish Committee, National Association of Home Builders, Urban Coalition, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Mine Workers, National Council of Churches, National Conference of Catholic Charities, League of Women Voters, National Farmers Union and others.

National Sponsors: Women's Division, United Methodist Church; IMPACT; Presbyterian Church in the U.S.--Office of Church and Society; NETWORK; Church Women United; Young Women's Christian Association; National Council of Negro Women; Board of Church and Society, United Methodist Church; CORA (Commission on Religion in Appalachia); United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.; Unitarian Universalist Association, Department of Education and Social Concerns; Friends Committee on National Legislation; and the American Library Association. Local Sponsors: HELP DECIDE!, a citizens' groups, and many local units of the above named organizations.

DECIDE '74 Citizens' Conference on Budget Priorities

FACT SHEET

REGISTRATION -- Saturday, June 2, 1973, 8 to 10 a.m. Opening Session will be at 10 a.m. and the closing session on Sunday, June 3, 1973, will be from 9:00 a.m. through 12:30 p.m. Registration sheets should be mailed by May 25th; no refunds after May 28th. Accommodations are all dormitory; three meals, including Saturday lunch and dinner and Sunday breakfast, are included in the room and board fee. Friday night early arrivals must be noted on the registration blank, and an extra $5.00 payment for that night's room must be included.

WORKSHOPS -- Workshops will include: (1) Your Fair Share of Revenue Sharing, Urban Models For Action; (2) Your Fair Share of Revenue Sharing, Rural Models For Action; (3) Human Needs -- A Forgotten Priority?; (4) What's Ahead For Your Community -- The Impact of Budget Cuts; and (5) Monitoring Local Budgets -- What the Average Citizen Can Do.

SPEAKERS, WORKSHOP LEADERS, PANEL MEMBERS (Partial Listing): Congressman Richard Fulton (D-Tenn), Member House Ways and Means Committee; Frances Tarlton (Sissy) Farenthold, Vice-Chairperson, Coalition For Human Needs and Budget Priorities and Chairperson, National Women's Political Caucus; Gordon Manser, Executive Director, National Association For Social Policy and Development; Lt. Colonel (Ret.) Ed King, Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy; Barbara Williams, Coalition For Human Needs; Dr. Mel Powell, Appalachian Regional Commission; Mildred Jeffrey, U.A.W.; Dr. George Wiley, Movement For Economic Justice; Gordon Mellencamp, Special Assistant, Federal Programs, Mayor of Chattanooga; Rick Henderlight, State of Tennessee Office of Urban and Federal Affairs; Art Jefferson, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; Jerry Cohen, Atlanta Counsel, first legal decision on general revenue sharing; Robert Horton, Special Assistant, Mayor of Nashville; Richard Hayes, San Francisco Study Center; Marie Cirillo, Clairfield Economic Development Project; Earline Kendall, TACUS; Marshall Stewart, Mid-Cumberland Council of Governments; representatives of both rural and urban citizens' groups and economic development groups, and more than a dozen more resource persons.

NOTE: A special video tape will be filmed during the conference for later use with local groups and organizations.

R E G I S T R A T I O N

Mail to: DECIDE '74 -- Citizens' Conference on Budget Priorities
Box 1669
Nashville, Tennessee 37202

Name _____ Organization _____

Address _____

_____ Telephone _____

Please register me for the Citizens' Conference on June 2-3, 1973, at the Center For Continuing Education, Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee. I am enclosing the following fees:

Registration Fee (Includes packet, fees, coffee breaks)	$5.00	_____
Room And Board (Dormitory room, 3 meals)	$10.00	_____
Room (No meals)	$5.00	_____
Meal Ticket (3 meals)	$5.00	_____
Room, Friday night early arrival	$5.00	_____
Total Amount Enclosed		_____

Meals are lunch and dinner on June 2, breakfast June 3. Checks should be made payable to Decide '74. Please mail registration by May 25th. No refunds will be made after May 28th.

Arrival Time _____ Departure _____

Workshops (Please check first and second choice):

_____ Your Fair Share of Revenue Sharing--Urban Models For Action

_____ Your Fair Share of Revenue Sharing--Rural Models For Action

_____ Human Needs -- A Forgotten Priority?

_____ What's Ahead -- Impacts of Budget Cuts

_____ Monitoring Local Budgets -- What Citizens Can Do

NATIONAL PRIORITIES ALERT

COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES

1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Room 403
Washington, D. C. 20036
202/462-8000

SPECIAL ALERT

July 12, 1973 Vol. 1 No. 7

REVENUE SHARING--POWER TO THE PEOPLE?

On October 20, 1972, the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972, more commonly known as General Revenue Sharing (GRS), became law. The Act provided that a total of $30.2 billion be divided automatically among state and local governments over the next five years. For the fiscal year July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973, $5.3 billion has been authorized and checks have been mailed.

General Revenue Sharing Legislation was eagerly supported by state and local officials who felt it provided a much needed buffer against rising local taxes. But the glow of revenue sharing has been tarnished by Mr. Nixon's 1974 Budget request with its accompanying cutbacks, program terminations and 'stretch-outs'. Local governments found that the limited gains derived from revenue sharing may very well have to be directed to assisting programs crippled by FY 74 Federal funding cutbacks.

> "..It is evident that General Revenue Sharing offers less 'new money' than advertised, and it is being financed, in part, through cessation of existing categorical commitments. Had I been aware last year that Congress was being 'led down the primrose path', I would have voted against HR 14370."
>
> Congressman Charles W. Whalen (R-Ohio)

> "I can assure you there is no General Revenue Sharing available in Detroit to cover any of the expected cutbacks in categorical programs as has been suggested nationally by several key administrative officials and agencies.... Here it is not a case of how much was gained, but rather how much was not lost."
>
> Mayor Roman S. Gribbs, Detroit

While local officials across the country are busy trying to decipher whether GRS is a BOON OR A BUST, citizens have expressed growing concerns about the Act's inadequate provisions for community participation. The Act contains no language which explicitly enables communities to make input on determining priorities for GRS money. In lieu of consistent community pressure, decisions on how GRS money will be spent may rest solely with governors, state legislatures, mayors, county executives and city councilmen. The general public is just awakening to the awesome implications of revenue sharing. Billions of dollars in no-string federal funds will be placed at the disposal of states and local governments.

Boon or Boondoggle, revenue sharing is here for the next five years and it appears that the best citizen defense against unfair distribution of these funds will be a thorough understanding of HOW REVENUE SHARING OPERATES.

CONGRESS CONSIDERS MILITARY CUTS.....SEE BACK PAGE

'Sharing' To Be Topic Of Council

HODDING CARTER III

The subject of revenue sharing and how it will affect the poor in Arkansas and the rest of the nation will be the topic of a discussion Saturday at the annual meeting of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations at the North Little Rock Holiday Inn.

The discussion, open to the public at no charge, will be from 3 to 5 p.m. The speakers will be Harry Bowie of Atlanta, associate director of the Southern Regional Council; Robert Whitfield, state director of the Office of Economic Opportunity; Walter Nunn, a governmental affairs consultant at Little Rock; Jerome Climer, former Pulaski County clerk who is now director of marketing for the Council for Economic and Social Development; Jerry Cronin of Hampton, who is with Independent Community Consultants, Inc., a research and training group, and Robert L. Brown, an administrative aide to Governor Bumpers.

The meeting will include a banquet at 7 p.m. at which Hodding Carter III, executive editor of the Delta Democrat Times at Greenville, Miss., will speak. Tickets are $6 and may be purchased from the Council office at 376-3541.

There will be an Executive Board meeting at 10:30 a.m. and a business meeting from 1:30 to 2:45 p.m. at which officers will be elected. The office of president of the Council is vacant since Dr. William H. Townsend resigned. He was elected a state representative last November

E. Via
from Ginsburg

IMPOUNDMENT OF FUNDS FOR RURAL PROGRAMS --
AUTHORIZATION DATE --
APPROPRIATION DATE AND EXTENT OF IMPOUNDMENT

L 1.656 Billion total

I. R.E.A.

A. Electric loan authority
Enacted May 20, 1936 (7 U.S.C. 901-950(c))

1. 2% loan authority
Enacted September 21, 1944

2. Latest appropriation - $595 million
Enacted August 22, 1972 (P.L. 92-399)
H.R. 15690

Impoundment - $367 million
2% loans terminated

B. Telephone loan authority
Enacted October 28, 1949 (63 Stat. 948)

1. Latest appropriation - $145 million
Enacted August 22, 1972 (P.L. 92-399)

Impoundment - $89 million
2% loans terminated

II. R.E.A. P. (formerly A.C.P.)

1. Enacted February 29, 1936
(16 U.S.C. 590g to 590o, 590p(a), 590q)

2. Latest appropriation - $225 million
Enacted August 22, 1972 (P.L. 92-399)

Impoundment - $210 million
Program terminated

III. Water Bank Program

1. Enacted December 19, 1970
(16 U.S.C. 1301-1311)

2. Latest appropriation - $10 million
Enacted August 22, 1972 (P.L. 92-399)

Impoundment - $10 million
Program terminated

IV. Farmers Home Administration Disaster and Emergency Loan Programs.

When this program was initiated by an Executive Order during the drought and depression of the early thirities, it included both loans and grants. Subsequent legislation authorizing the Farmers Home Administration Emergency Loan Program included:

a. The Disaster Relief Act of 1969 (which superseded earlier emergency loan legislation), 42 U.S.C. 1855aaa and 1855fff signed by President Nixon on October 1, 1969.

b. Disaster Relief Act of 1970 which is Public Law 91-606 signed by President Nixon on December 31, 1970.

c. The Disaster Relief Act of 1972 which is Public Law 92-385 signed by President Nixon on August 16, 1972.

Appropriations - Loans for this program are made from an open-ended authorization under the Agricultural Credit Insurance fund. The program was terminated on January 11, 1973.

not true

V. Subsidized Housing Programs

Section 517(m) of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, and Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended (42 U.S.C. 1483, 1487e, 1490a(c).

Amendment providing interest supplement enacted December 31, 1970 (P. L. 91-609)

Latest appropriation - Loan level for low income housing $1,684,000,000 was contemplated.
Enacted August 22, 1972 (P. L. 92-399)

V. (Continued from page 2)

Impoundment - $842,000,000

VI. Farmers Home Administration Water and Waste Disposal Grants

Enacted October 7, 1965 (P. L. 89-240)

Latest Appropriation - $150 million

Enacted August 22, 1972

Impoundment - $108 million

VI. Water and Disposal Planning Grants

Same as above, appropriations included in item VI.

VII. PL 566 Small Watershed Program and Resource Conservation and Development Program (RC & D)

Small Watershed Program:

Enacted August 4, 1954
(16 U.S.C. 1001-1008 (P.L. 83-566) and there are many amendments which were subsequently added.

RC&D Program:

Enacted September 27, 1962 (P.L. 87-703)

Latest Appropriation - $150,000,000 for small watersheds and $26,000,000 for RC &D

Enacted August 22, 1972 (P.L. 92-399)

Impoundment - $24,000,000 for small watersheds and $6,000,000 for RC & D.

30,000,000

(1)

Analysis of 4 Fed Prog. (CCC)

Difficulty of tracking — who will spend? Econ Recap-
e.g. transfer from ~~OEO~~ - to OMBE

Budget says transferred $39M, but OMBE argument up $30M

Now that on "Unified" basis
combines general & trust funds (now running at $15B surplus)
e.g. Soc. Sec, Hgw.

$27B deficit minus 15B leaves $12B deficit by this kind of totalization
and this justifies no tax increase —

Proposed 4 large areas of new sharing funds—
Ed, M.P., Law Enforcement, (?)

70 categorical funds under ~~$4~~ 14 ~~$4B~~ $1B (p.3)

Substantive Points

* p. 7 re Emergency Empl. Act
Claim about the same level of funding for 10 prog.
But losing $1B under EEA which was essentially
a new sharing prog

Subs
* Impact of ~~Fr HA~~ impoundment on non-Profit Sponsors

(?)* Nat'l Conference of Mayors — Said Pubs — has hard analysis —

Despite ~~whether~~ model cities has a backlog available to
? * pick up some of cut off

Loss of jobs
EOA - 54,000 delegated
? 85,000 other agencies

Emergency Empl. 140,000 jobs
Housing — over ½ M jobs

Totals (OEO alone?) around 300,000

HyB — Continued against accepting premise that the heritage of 10 years is one of failure —
* EV but balance against hard-headed eval.
Should raise question of criteria —

Peg. Seely — what is biggest impact, jobs, funds, etc.

Rumage — Freedom Helpers, Law Enf. (esp. Drug), Environment
L Law deal with this w/o getting out at cases

Alan Ferguson Budget is
Political doc., not economic
Budget early idea needs attach (including Tax reform)
L can this now be forced —

Programs that should be cut
Highway — Aviation
L Transit L beyond SST
is to be looked into

John Hampton, Nat'l Tenants Org.
Crisis is Pres. Pol. purpose, strategy, etc.

Rumage — grant of, for, by Corp.

* HyB — Admits both causes & reflects the discontent over programs —
how push to overcome

John Dixon, Center for Voluntary Society —
Need focus — basically analysis of power in Society
our strategies are inadequate
lack of ~~moral~~ ~~length~~ causal link between analysis & moral focus.
how reach media —
Elliot Richardson — reduced asst'l life to mid-level w/o a link

Fred Harris –
Failed to appeal to self-interest of broad groups –
Allowed Pres. put Corp. & workers together –
broaden the have-not lists (working class to be added)
to include

John Hampton –

* (Jim Turner – Consumer Action — from Columbia, Ohio & orig. & works with community groups.
Pres. argues de-concentration
but lessens individual control over selves –
Pres "do for yourselves" aimed @ poor & bl.
not @ Ray Ash, Litton, & others –

(Pos) ✓ Form a "Counter-budget group" – weekly monitoring.

Bill Taylor – Ctr for Nat'l Policy Rev.
Some of dilemmas –
Do have to face problems
e.g. housing has not reached poor & has tended to perpetuate problems –
Where are potential allies in each area, as well as an overall strategy
terms & conditions of a broader alliance

* Ramsey – Impact on Fed. Empl. itself (quality)
✓ Even with Soc. Sec. increase — services (e.g. OEO) will be reduced — to aged as a group — how eval, how reach opinion

✓ (Pos) Jerry Berman – CCC —
Contrapuntal John W II con NSF
OEO is ~~dis~~ mantle – do we remantle under Phillips
Rather deal with Walsh in Mics. Hath Phillips in Wash

(4)

Name?
S.W. Council of La Raza

Jim Pratt

① Budget of US Govt 1974
② ~~Analysis~~ Speech of Analysis Budget

~~Blas~~

Hampton
also on Housing Coalition
$45T, 90 day program, to resist
3 offices to head ~~move~~ + 1 staff Coord. + PR assistance
afraid to make coalition with anyone else —
(e.g. OEO groups) but are considering with Environmental

Clay Cochran - Rural Housing Alliance -
we are locked in for 4 yrs —
reforming taxes — could be issue to divert some of popular support

Blumstein —
hatchet man over every agency straight from WH staff
we're at war, this group meeting diverse, must have trade offs
C.G.'s, Assn of Govts, etc — delicate how to put together -
work with libs. in H.R. & Sen
~~Counter budget~~ — accept some cuts
Medical effort
Legal effort (litigation)

Ellen Allison
Nat'l Assn of Soc. Wkrs.

John Wilson - NSF
④ Anti-nev. shortg — wants centralized bureaucracy regardless of who heads it — can bring pressure —

Hy B — can't stop specific efforts of single interest group —
need efforts of LWV, Urban Coalition & Common Cause
appeal to self-interest of the 4/5th well off

Flavor

Harris — I'm for the decency vote, but I don't want to count on it approval!
Forces: Distributive effect of power & money
& if old programs didn't do it, let's look @ it & come up w/ new

John Dixon —
never said credibility gap & perhaps new phrase is needed.
Look @ Versailles — e.g. Pres. rhetoric & what's in budget
a Center for varying analyses —

(B)
Arthur Fraser — CCC
may as well forbidden to work in pol. arena —
Self-interest, but must organize —
What happens to local group facing local gov't power —
if specific project e.g. a housing project, then that
group will do anything to get its project (compete.

Andy Bennett
If Counter budget — must supply specific congressmen
with info to counter

Seely —
open, interested
Need: Facts, determine constituencies
Rev. Sharing is only 5% of local
Identify what we can agree on (e.g. she has to go with hwy,
but can also go for CAPs, etc.

~~Hayfac~~
~~4 Coalitions~~
Further report on this
Housing Coalition
Rural Hsg. Coalition
CAP Directors Coalition
Model Cities
Health Hsg.
Elderly

Rec: find an org, raise 50T

Colosky —

2 weeks going to coalitions — tactics to talk with each other

made specific — Can we go to Urban Coalition c/o Common Cause

Coming "Turned" Down — embargo on K he is told to them because they speak up —

Nixon has stolen "power to the people"

PR Part of PR problem —

Harris —

Can't be coordinator, agrees with Colosky,

hands full with tax reform

* Ramage — no AFL-CIO or affiliates despite invites

[one UAW] Ken Young Shaky we invite [Brennan]

Phil Pomerack — CCC

Recently in Ky — Thinks more popular understanding of what is happening —

Tom Wahman — RBF

~~RBF~~

Joseph Robertson

Pres. Model Cities Area III, UAW Rep (Salary)

Thinks Harris should head up and Unions would support —

Harris again declined —

Jack Conway — Common Cause —

Don't have a program (all groups together) and that needs to be done before strategies can be ~~developed~~ requires sorting out — pol whether to go for life-saving efforts or go for a political program —

* Harris is on major effort re tax reform

Common Cause can't be coordinator because does not have its own agenda in hand — don't try to organize today but set targets & keep meeting

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(4)

Proposed focuses

Pablo — let Rummage set a Committee, work intensely —

Taylor — support Conway position —

Variety of interest

dismantling, ~~top~~ reform, govt's reallocation — of authority, power, $
(fighting)

those interests will come into conflict in some cases —

Dorothy Stimpson — Nat'l Assn of Counties

* Each group submit what will happen to them under budget & Rev. Sharing — (EU some groups in process)

(*) Conway — ~~Take Ginsburg material on the $70+ B w/o defense, Trent funds, make pit that & give public exposure~~ — WSJ (SRC)

SRC

PR

GE, CARTER, Perod & Bl. Spokesmen Mayor D.O.

Tim — Committee on Urban Ministry

(*) ~~Must push~~ that it is a terrible budget for middle-Americans —

Rummage — agree with Conway — wary of Fragmentation — win some skirmishes with war waging elsewhere

Pos

Probably LWV Church

Rummage
Conway
Taylor
Bookbinder

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* There is a litigation approach including John Kramer & other
Bill Taylor skeptical of the ACLU Eq. Prot. approach —

(8)

off shoot of Presly Nat'l Rural Housing Coalition

Bob Jackson ~~chm~~ Interagency Housing — —

Housing hearings next week (?) which committee (?)

Steering Committee (appointed later, open ended (self appoint) through Rammage)

(1) analysis (2) clearing house (3) agenda for new meeting including fleshing out & fleshing out differences

Seed stuff in

(4) Action Strategies

Approaches to pol. repz.

John Kramer —

Litigation Strategies — monthly ~~meets~~ before really going

Don't waste time on Senate but on HR

EV

Question

who invited

Unions, Ed.,

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Pablo Eisenberg
Natl Urban Coalition

Andy _____ Hearing for CCC (?)

Blauestein - Nat'l Housing & Econ Develp. Law Proj.

Peggy Seeley - Nat'l Assn of Counties -
OEO & Rural programs main interest

Allan Feagans - Pub Interest Economic Council?

John Kramer

Summary

Fred & Mrs. Harris attended
What is his current position
re taxes -

Wahman concern about SRC
Tax classification -
remarks of

* Cooperative Assistance Fund
Put. Fd. pass through has
been classified as "public charity"

Ginsburg has "reservation" re kind
of monitoring - EO didn't discuss just
what - but was familiar with
SRC - CCC discussions

Wahman
Cooperative Assistance Fund
Ford
Pat Faundadring - Pub Charity
Clay Cochran
John Kramer
Andy Bennet
Bill Taylor
John Hampton
Jerry Berman
Fred & Mrs. Harris
Tom Wahman
Hy Bookbinder
Leonard Lesser
Dave Rommanoff
Wendy Ginsburg

"Case Studies"
re impact in Community on
Agencies — e.g. Employment
Pub Serv, Model Cities, OEO

Jim Bogle - NACAO
Cap type people

Jim Hastings —
HR - Leaving (?) to start
way of Paying into fam
locals —

~~Feb 20th — Massive Mobilization~~
~~Nat'l CAP agencies, Alternatives?~~

Summary
Uncertainty
re Precise focus
Rev. Shaing a given but
still "Arguing" over
Life saving vs. longer strategy —
Limited range of interest of
Some groups.
Conflicting interest e.g.
Nat'l Assn. re highways
Further Analyses & Info Sharing
Information to Public
Select groups
Media
Congress

Given, with main
Challenge, Continue programs
being cut off
Disputes, though, re better Central

NETWORK — Ollie Singletar address to Wooday
group of politically oriented
Nuns —

John Carling CCC
~~Cooley (?)~~
Clergy Leaders fundamen

PR How to get pressure on local
officials so Pres. doesn't get his
support

Jim Hamilton —
could lobby my against w can be
made available —

Nat attendy
Unions except are deep
role Model Cities - UAW

Urban League
LDF, NAACP
WRP
Gunting Said:
HCF had "convened" a group
around Civ Rts Issues

500T to Brookings for 5 yr

Meyers @ Commission
on Inter-govt'l Relations
Impact on Units of
Govt, Fed'l Sys, and
especially FIS and
Policies (?)

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Assn of State & Local Officials

Tax Reform

Church

Nat'l Groups

Nat'l Council on Hunger

Association of Counties

Leonard Lesser TCE

Anthony Blaustein (Calif 7)

Housing & Nat'l Econ Develop

Joe Walsh (Coth)

Glenn Allison

Cozsley —

Council of Agin

Hey Beckbender

E.V. CNI Newsletter Feb. 1, 1973 From B.A. Budget

New Budget Would Dismantle OEO Programs

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), symbol of the Johnson Administration's ill-fated war on poverty, would be abolished and its key programs scattered or destroyed under the fiscal 1974 budget proposed by the Nixon Administration.

Emergency food and medical services (EFMS) would cease altogether except for programs to improve nutrition among migrants and Indians; these would be transferred to the Labor Department and HEW, respectively.

Community action agencies would no longer qualify for federal funds because the Administration says "evidence is lacking that (they) are moving substantial numbers of people out of poverty on a self-sustaining basis."

The agencies are told to look to their communities for further funds: "If the constituencies of individual communities desire to continue providing financial support to local community action agencies, general and special revenue sharing funds could be used."

Forcing community action agencies to depend for survival on the goodwill of local politicians is consistent with the Nixon Administration's broad-scale attack on "paragovernments" -- federally-funded social programs that operate outside the direct control of state and local elected officials (see CNI Vol. III:4).

The Administration's budget request for OEO amounts to a plan for phaseout of the agency. Programs with a spending level of $790 million in fiscal 1973 would be reduced to about $281 million, as the accompanying "OEO Program and Financing Table" shows.

Program and Financing

(in thousands of dollars)

Identification code 04-37-0500-0-1-999	1972 actual	1973 est.	1974 est.
Program by activities:			
Direct program:			
1. Research, development, and evaluation	51,643	61,500	30,000
2. Community action operations	381,741	317,560	105,980
3. Health and nutrition	154,256	175,700	70,000
4. Community economic development	22,498	30,000	18,000
5. Migrants and seasonal farm workers	36,608	36,300	20,500
6. Legal services program	65,826	71,500	36,500
7. Rural economic opportunity loan program	2,500	.....	.....
8. General support	18,175	18,700	.....
9. Head Start	219,511	22,000	.....
10. Follow Through	34,800	3,000	.....
11. Work and training programs	32,115	30,000	.....
Total direct programs	1,019,673	766,260	280,980

These fiscal '74 funds would be transferred among various federal agencies according to the proposed schedule in the chart of "Obligations by Programs."

The budget data presented in the 1974 proposals also show that of the $790 million authorized for spending in the current year, only $676 million will be spent. The remaining $130 million will be kept by the Administration and allowed to lapse.

Obligations by Program

[In millions of dollars]

Program by activities:	1972 actual	1973 estimate	Responsible agency 1974
1. Research, development, and evaluation.	45.0	66.7	Various agencies.
2. Community action operations	351.0	285.3	Local option.
3. Health and nutrition	157.2	[1] 165.2	HEW.
4. Community economic development.	26.8	30.7	OMBE.
5. Migrants and seasonal farmworkers.	36.5	36.3	DOL.
6. Legal services program	67.7	73.8	Independent corporation.
7. General support	18.2	18.5	GSA.
Total obligations, net	702.4	[1] 676.5	
8. Transfers to other accounts	38.3	.2	
Total	740.7	676.7	

[1] Includes $20 million multiple-year funds appropriated in 1972 for emergency food and medical services.

Under the proposal, research programs would be scattered among the Departments of Labor, HEW and HUD. An educational voucher demonstration would be funded at $23.9 million through the National Institute of Education. Studies for alternatives to day care would be funded at $12.6 million in HEW's Office of Child Development, and research into the causes of poverty would be carried out by the HEW Secretary through a $22.7 million budget that includes funds for a health insurance experiment.

Also included in the HUD budget is a $13 million program to continue testing ways to provide housing for the poor.

Indian community action agency grants are proposed for phase-out, with subsequent grants from a $32.1 million fund in fiscal 1974 to be made directly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to tribal councils.

Older Americans programs also would be phased out, and all programs for the elderly would be financed out of $200 million requested for HEW's Administration on Aging (see page 8).

Funding for OEO's comprehensive health projects and family planning services would be included in HEW's health service delivery budget, which the Administration proposes as a means of centralizing administrative control.

OEO's legal services program would be placed in an independent corporation, and funds would be cut in half from the $74 million level of expenditures for the current fiscal year.

File

COALITION FOR HUMAN NEEDS AND BUDGET PRIORITIES
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

462-8000

Barbara Williams
Executive Director

Legislative Clearinghouse

During the March 21st meeting of citizens groups at the Cannon House Office Building to form the Coalition on Human Needs and Budget Priorities, it was announced that a legislative clearinghouse would be established. Lobbyists are to meet on a periodic basis to coordinate legislative efforts with regard to national priorities issues.

The first meeting of the Legislative Clearinghouse will be:

2:00 p.m.
Friday, March 30, 1973
Conference Room
National Urban Coalition
2100 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dick Warden of the United Auto Workers will chair the meeting. The proposed agenda will be:

1. Background at the current legislative situation.
2. Functions of a Legislative Clearinghouse.
3. Humphrey Budget Priorities Resolution (S. Con. Res. 14).
4. Anti-impoundment bills.
5. Veto overrides for FY 1973 measures.
6. FY 1974 appropriations
7. Political action needed

Materials relevant to the agenda items above will be available.

For additional information, contact -

Reuben McCornack
293-9114

Legal Defense Fund

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019 • JUdson 6-8397

MEMORANDUM

October 21, 1969

TO: Vivian Henderson
Allen Black, Jr.
Emory Via

FROM: Jean Fairfax

RE: OUR SAWMILL PROJECT

After several months of inactivity (largely due to waiting around for a response from the Ford Foundation and to our inability to get a reading on EDA under the new Administration), I have some developments to report. Tom Karter sent a man into the field who has produced the enclosed report. Apparently, he has found a possible Mississippi site. Jack Greenberg has had a letter from Ford stating that staff members are willing to talk with us. Also, I have established a weak link at EDA.

Would you be available for a meeting to discuss next steps on Thursday, November 6, 1969, 2:00-5:00 p.m. in Atlanta. We can set the place after I have heard from you.

Any white legal

Feasibility — Carter

Ill & Clear — Miss
Greene Co.

Crosby Co —
already owns land
not operation
own some chemical firm

JF/11

Ford

EDA + Urban Coalition —
L 3 black guys — but were entrenched —

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Fairfax Saw Mill Project

Industries

The boom in wood that busted

Like a horse player with a sure thing, the lumber and plywood industry put its money on a 1969 housing boom. Over-optimism plus sharply rising prices led to overproduction. But strong demand for wood products was expected to solve all problems before yearend.

The boom never came. The first rude awakening came last spring when tight money and high interest rates clobbered homebuilding. Wood prices plummeted at an alarming rate. Even though consumption continued to run roughly the same, lumber mills promptly shaved output below last year's level. Plywood producers started to get the message in June.

"Frankly, there was too bloody much talk about the 1.9-million [housing] units expected this year and the 2.5-million we think we need," explains William Dean, editor of Random Lengths, an authoritative industry newsletter. "Nobody stopped to figure whether these were attainable."

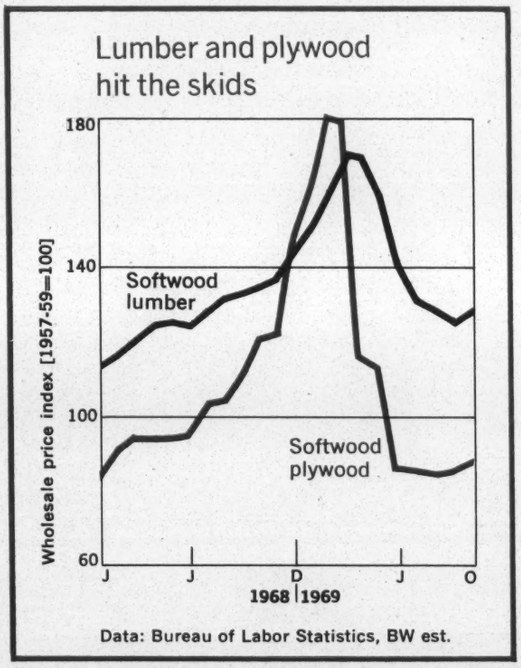
Off the floor. In recent weeks, wood prices have started to turn up slightly. However, the improvement is credited more to summer building which helped clear stocks in the pipeline than to any real increase in demand. Few observers expect that the miniature rally will last long.

Housing starts, too, perked up a little in September, but most housing economists write this off as a statistical fluke. They are sticking with the growing consensus of an annual rate of barely 1-million homes started by yearend; a pattern distressingly similar to 1966—the housing industry's worst year in two decades.

Among lumber and plywood men, the contrast between the bubbling optimism of January and the grim reality of October is striking. Old hands in the industry are unable to recall another such sharp drop in the market. Probably no other major commodity now is priced as much below year-ago levels, let alone the peak of last February.

- Sanded plywood panels, ¼-in. thick, the index grade, hit a record high in February of $144 per thousand sq. ft. By mid-September the price had dropped to $62. It now stands at $70, and a year ago sold for $88.
- In sheathing, widely used ½-in. 5-ply exterior panels touched $142 in February, sank to $78 in August, and now are $85. A year ago, they brought $122.
- In lumber, the bellwether green fir 2x4, 25% standard or better, which peaked in February at $133 per thousand bd. ft., fell to $72 in August and now is $80. A year ago it was priced at $97.

So far, the actual decline in production has been modest. Lumber output in the first seven months is down 6% from a year earlier, the Western Wood Products Assn. reports. The American Plywood Assn. shows only 6% of that industry not operating, and production at 86% of capacity. However, mills have been hurt more than these figures indicate, and the pinch is greater in plywood—where just over half of all production goes into residential construction—than in lumber.



The worst is yet to come in consumption, however. Based on housing starts and average consumption per unit, Random Lengths calculates that actual consumption in the first eight months this year was down only 1.6% in lumber and 0.9% in plywood. As the publication sees it: "The decline in lumber and plywood prices and the decline in volume of mill sales appear to have been more a product of the earlier price fluctuations and buildup of inventory . . . than on any major change as yet in actual consumption of wood products by the housing industry."

Types of housing being built make a great deal of difference to the wood products industry. Revised estimates by the U. S. Forest Service show that single-family homes use an average of 12,900 bd. ft. of lumber and 4,450 sq. ft. of plywood. By comparison, garden apartments on average consume 5,800 bd. ft. of lumber and 2,370 sq. ft. of plywood, while high-rise apartments take 1,340 bd. ft. of lumber and 910 sq. ft. of plywood.

Until midyear, single-family homes were hit hardest by the slowdown. Apartments, where lenders could demand some equity in return for a mortgage or interim financing, accounted for an increasingly large share of total starts. Recently, however, even apartments have been suffering from slower starts.

Out in the woods. Hurting mills as much as the change in the housing mix and the tumble in prices are steep increases in costs of logs and labor. In June, a new three-year union contract lifted labor rates by just over 10%. The cost of raw materials also climbed sharply.

A study by Greenacres, Inc., a Seattle natural resources concern, shows the average price of U. S. Forest Service timber in the Douglas fir area of Oregon and Washington rose from $61.51 per thousand bd. ft. in the third quarter last year to $126.21 in the first quarter of 1969 and then dropped to $93.85 in the second quarter. However, 11% of the timber offered for sale in the second quarter received no bids, meaning that the Forest Service minimum was higher than mills would pay. This keeps supplies abnormally tight.

Some mills have closed or dropped a shift, but it is normal to keep operating in the red until costs of closing exceed losses. One plywood industry veteran comments: "Plywood mills are all losing money." As the year runs out, mills are seeing fat profits they built up early in 1969 disappear. Interestingly, troubles are most severe in the West. Southern mills—newer and more efficient—are generally in strong financial hands and closer to their markets.

Bystander. One curious side effect of of the industry curtailment is a shortage of wood chips. Pulp mills in Washington and Oregon get 70% of their wood fiber as purchased chips, and Japanese pulp mills also are big buyers.

Now, pulp and paper mills, running at capacity and with strong markets, are scrambling for chips. The shortage is greatest on Puget Sound, where mills normally draw heavily from British Columbia. There, the same factors are curtailing lumber, and Canadian exports of chips and logs to Puget Sound mills have been trimmed.

St. Regis Paper Co. reports its big Tacoma mill, which normally gets 25% of its chips from Canada, is operating hand-to-mouth with only a two-day inventory. Japanese mills, in turn, complain that their supply has been curtailed, and tankers which carry chips across the Pacific sometimes have to put into two ports to get a full load. **End**

Fairfax - Saw Mill Project

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: MISS JEAN FAIRFAX
EMORY VIA

FROM: ALLEN BLACK, JR. Allen

RE: THE SAWMILL

DATE: DECEMBER 1, 1969

I had an opportunity to visit the proposed site for the sawmill in Green County Mississippi. One of the things which struck me forcibly during my cursory examination was the fact that timber apparently plays a large part in the economy of the area. As a matter of fact, the only industry I could see from the highway was a huge lumber yard managed by Magnolia Wood Company. For miles (or what appeared to be miles) I saw railroad cars stacked high with all sorts of saw timber. I was unable to determine either the source of the use to which the timber was being put.

I strongly suggest another trip to the area by someone to determine the availability of local labor, the attitudes a predominately Black business is likely to face along with more conclusive facts about Magnolia Wood Company.

I have also had a conversation with Bill Eisenhauer of AFSC, who is well along toward the organization of a pallet-making corporation in Lowndes County, Alabama. The proximity of this business along with the fact that it is related very closely to our own proposed operation, indicates to me the possibility of integration of activities.

I have also done a little thinking about the composition of the board. I list for your consideration the following names:

Dr. Vivian Henderson	Atlanta
Mr. Butler Henderson	Atlanta
Julius Chambers, Esq.	Charlotte
John Walker, Esq.	Little Rock
Mr. State Stallworth	Pascagoula, Miss.
Mr. T. L. Wells	Three Rivers, Miss.
Dr. Herman Long	Talladega, Alabama
Rev. Francis Walter	Selma, Alabama

Accounting
Marketing
Personnel
Business law

This is too long a list and is perhaps full of the wrong names. They should, however, be considered along with those each of you might suggest so that this show can get off the ground.

My final suggestion is for a meeting among the three of us, Tom Karter and Tom's associate in Washington on the evening of December 17. I would appreciate your reactions.

ABJ:hb

Fairfax - Sawmill Project

J. Fairfax Sawmill Project

Legal Defense Fund

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019 • JUdson 6-8397

December 22, 1969

Mr. Thomas Karter
The Multi-Racial Corporation
1826 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Suite 301
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Tom:

Enclosed is our check for three thousand dollars which is your fee for services rendered during the second phase of the development of our integrated woods products industry.

You will note that we have been holding the check. Very frankly, we have been disappointed with the technical assistance which we have received during this second phase of our project. It was our understanding that you would accomplish three things during this phase: (1) locate a viable site; (2) establish top level contacts for us at the Economic Development Administration; (3) discover possibilities for foundation support for our feasibility study.

That these three goals have not been accomplished is not entirely your fault, I am sure. We are all aware of the uncertainties created by the changeover in administrations and by the evidence of caution in foundations. Also, it is probably much easier to be creative in developing a proposal than in the "nuts and bolts" phase of making it operational. However, we were so thrilled with what you did for us last year that this year has been a letdown. We were particularly uneasy when Allen Black reported to us after his recent trip to Mississippi. The kinds of questions he raised really made us wonder how carefully your man had researched the site he proposed to us.

Anyway, it is my understanding from the meeting last Friday that you are going to continue to work with us until we finish phase two. It is with this understanding that I am releasing the check. We really need you and have deeply appreciated your personal commitment as well as the resources which you bring to our venture. We are clear that we must either bring this effort to fruition

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soon or abandon it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax, Director
Division of Legal Information
and Community Service

JF/gj
Enc.
cc: Mr. Allen Black, Jr.
Mr. Emory Via
Mr. Robert Valder

EV

April 11, 1966

EVIa from EStanfield

The remainder of the schedule of school desegregation conferences is as follows:

Mississippi, April 16, Heidelberg Hotel, Jackson

North Florida, April 23, Bethel Baptist Church, 224 North Boulevard, Tallahassee. (This one is for community organization only; there is no Civil Rights Commission conference.)

North Carolina, April 30, University of North Carolina at Greensboro. (Civil Rights Commission conference only -- no community organization session.)

Arkansas, May 7, Philander-Smith College, Little Rock

Georgia, May 14, Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta.

Alabama, May 28, Jeff Davis Hotel, Montgomery.

Com. Hand there

EV & A.K. re Miss. & Lder

See Ed.S. next week on remainder

or Connie Curry in meantime.

Also in town through —

Wed. Lunch?

File

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CONFERENCES

	April 16	Mississippi, Heidelberg Hotel, Jackson.
? - Jacksonville	April 23	North Florida, Bethel Baptist Church, 224 North Boulevard, Tallahassee (for community organization only; this is no Civil Rights Commission conference)
John Jennings Jim Price Bill Holden Willard Barbee	April 30	North Carolina, University of North Carolina-Greensboro (CRCommission meeting only, no community organization session)
Bill Becker (invite a group)	May 7	Arkansas, Philander-Smith College, Little Rock.
	May 14	Georgia, Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta.
Benny Weeks (Select) Send list to Womack	May 28	Alabama, Jeff Davis Hotel, Montgomery.

Support Guidelines

Church — Southern - San Antonio
Math
United Presby —

Faculty —
Send Every Statement to other places —

Union — Southern Ad. Com.

Intergency —

EVALUATION REPORT:

THE TASK FORCE FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

State Department of Public Instruction

Raleigh, North Carolina

Submitted by

Sarah A. Vernon
1 June 1970

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PREFACE

The creation of the Task Force for Student Involvement is an attempt of State Department of Public Instruction of North Carolina to directly involve the youth of the state in the educational process outside the classroom. In its present form the Task Force has been operational only six months, but it has already had observable impact upon the educational system and is firmly established as a permanent part of the State Department. This report will attempt to outline exactly what the Task Force is, its philosophy and goals, its origin and development, specific programs it has implemented, problems of organization and operation, and its future plans.

Due to the experimental nature and short history of the program, little written material exists about the Task Force for Student Involvement. The bulk of the information in this report was gathered through interviews, both in person and by telephone, of students, educators, administrators, and other people either connected with or affected by the program. When appropriate, their comments will be identified within the text. However, several local administrators requested that their remarks remain anonymous, and generally the text is a compilation of information and opinions provided by many people rather than single individuals. A complete list of those interviewed is included at the end of the report.

I would like to express my appreciation to all those people interviewed for their time, thoughtfulness, and cooperation in my research. Special thanks are deserved by the State Department of Public Instruction and especially the office

of the Task Force for Student Involvement, which opened its files to me and provided office space and telephone services when needed.

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THE TASK FORCE FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

Philosophy

The Task Force for Student Involvement is a committee of high school students designed to promote the positive involvement of students in the educational system of North Carolina. Sponsored and supported by the State Department of Public Instruction, this committee draws its members from all areas of the state. However, it is a unique organization in that its power and the impetus for its programs come from the state level and are then transmitted to the local school systems. The focus is not only upon providing a forum for students' opinions and criticisms of the educational system but also upon directly involving them constructively in the total educational process. The basic philosophy of the Task Force is that students can offer important insights into many problems confronting high schools today and that students, working with faculty members and administrators, can design effective, practical solutions.

Objectives.

Although the Task Force attempts to remain flexible enough to respond to the changing needs of students and the educational system, it has focused upon several key areas. The primary goals in the 1969-1970 year have been:

1) to open channels within school systems to promote communication between students and administrators,

2) to involve students directly in the educational process outside the classroom (in such areas as curriculum evaluation and school accreditation),

3) to advise the State Department of Public Instruction of current student concerns,

4) to act as spokesmen for youth opinions and ideas to any organization which requests student participation,

5) to define recurring problems in North Carolina high schools, explore them, and propose solutions,

6) to act as a central "clearing house" for the exchange of ideas among high schools, such as innovative academic programs or successful methods of handling problems.

The key to all these aims is responsible student participation and initiative. The Task Force has already established many specific methods and concrete programs to achieve these long-range objectives.

Method

"Be a spoon. Stir 'em up!" is the way one Task Force member describes her role in relation to other North Carolina students. The object is not to agitate for violent reform or to encourage unrest but to direct criticism into constructive channels and to encourage students to become involved in the educational process at their own high schools. The Task Force does not set up specific programs with local systems and only visits them by invitation. However, by providing inspiration, information, consultants, and an example of involvement at the state level, they hope to spur others to initiate progressive projects and work for improved attitudes and communications within their local systems.

II. HISTORY: THE SUMMER TASK FORCE

Conception

The Task Force for Student Involvement originally began as a terminal summer program. High school unrest had disrupted several North Carolina areas during the 1968-1969 school year. The situation had become critical in a few areas where school-related problems resulted in placing law enforcement officers on special alert or in activating the National Guard and establishing city-wide curfews. Roger Carrick, out-going president of the Youth Council of North Carolina (YCNC)[1], an independent state-wide organization oriented toward positive youth involvement, and Dr. H. T. Conner, former advisor of YCNC and present Assistant Superintendent for Research and Planning for the State Department of Public Instruction, decided that the problem of high school unrest deserved special attention and that the youth of the state should be consulted directly. With the advice and support of Dr. Conner, Carrick developed the idea of a summer Task Force to involve high school students directly in solving human relations problems and to give students greater voice and responsibility in the administrative processes of education. His plan was adopted and jointly sponsored by the State Department of Public Instruction, the Learning Institute of North Carolina, and the State Planning Task Force, an agency of the Department of Administration.

Organization and Aims

Roger Carrick, the originator of the Task Force idea and a 1969 high school graduate, was hired as a summer intern to explore high school unrest. The State

[1]There is no direct connection between the Task Force and YCNC. The relationship of the Task Force and other youth groups will be discussed later in the report.

Department of Public Instruction sponsored an ad hoc committee of ten high school students from across the state to aid his study. The purpose of this committee was to research the opinion of North Carolina youth on several key issues, to identify the major problems in the state's high schools, and to gather student ideas and suggestions for possible solutions. All articulate on the issue of student involvement, the group represented different racial and socio-economic backgrounds. In cooperation with the Human Relations Division of the State Department of Public Instruction, they chose five representative school systems as "targets" for their study. Working primarily in these five areas, the committee approached the two general problems of relationships between students and administrators and between students and students. A three-step plan was formulated to deal with these two problems:

1) Gather information and opinions from as many students as possible.

2) Compile and interpret this information and propose a concrete plan for positive student involvement.

3) Distribute this plan to superintendents, principals, and other people in secondary education.

Implementation (no)

By talking to many other students, they hoped not only to help achieve a broader understanding of high school unrest but also to gain greater credibility for their plan as representative of the ideas of many rather than the personal opinions of a few students. In late July and August they met with the State's superintendents and principals to explain the rationale behind their plan and to promote its adoption.

Booklet

Compiling information gathered during the summer's research, Carrick prepared a thirty-page bookelt entitled "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total

Education."[1] One-third of the booklet, published in August, 1969, is devoted to recommendations of the Summer Task Force to superintendents, principals, assistant principals, and deans of students in the area of high school unrest. Also included are reprints of two articles on student unrest, "Editor's Dispatch: The Letter for Administrators" (Vol. 24, No. 24, September, 1969) and "Student Discipline and Student Rights" by Robert L. Hinson (Popular Government, May, 1969), and a bibliography on student unrest compiled by Mrs. Gladys Ingle, Education Information Library, State Department of Public Instruction.

The heart of the booklet and the section having the greatest impact is the list of student recommendations. The suggestions range from basic attitudinal ones such as "Be honest, straight-forward, and frank with students. Do not treat them as less than adults until some action gives you cause to do so." to specific guidelines for voting procedures. Aimed at overcoming difficulties in achieving representation for all racial and economic groups, the voting suggestions focus on the most sensitive areas of student councils, cheerleaders, beauty queens, senior superlatives, and marshals for graduation exercises.

The specific recommendations are too numerous to be discussed in detail, but the general focus is upon greater student involvement and more direct communication between students, faculty, and administrators. Greater student responsibility is suggested in areas such as advisory committees for academic departments, for guidance departments, and on student discipline and student-administered tutorial programs, study halls, and monitor systems when needed. To obtain "optimum positive student involvement" the Task Force urged such actions as reduction of economic restrictions on participation in extra-curricular ac-

[1]A copy of this booklet may be obtained free of charge by writing to Task Force for Student Involvement, State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602.

tivities and the creation of more service-oriented clubs and interest clubs. For greater communication and understanding, they encourage ten specific actions for the administrator, among them to establish a "Principal's Column" in the school newspaper, to avoid placing the Student Council "in such a perspective as to render it an 'arm' of the administration," and to "establish and disseminate to all students the ground on which a student will be disciplined, suspended, or expelled." All the recommendations are presented as suggestions rather than demands and are aimed at forestalling unrest.

The points outlined were used as the basis for discussion at the superintendents' and principals' conferences in the late summer. Since then, approximately nine thousand of these booklets have been distributed. Although a few local administrators interviewed were not familiar with the booklet or found the ideas "old hat", most found it helpful. Several principals used the suggestions as the basis for changing their election procedures or setting up advisory committees, and others ordered copies for every faculty member. Due to its sucessful reception and the demands for more copies, "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education" is presently being expanded and revised, hopefully for distribution in the fall.

Superintendents and Principals Conferences

The 1969 Superintendents Conference was held June 22-25 at Mars Hill, North Carolina, and for the first time there were student participants. The Summer Task Force and other invited students took part in discussion groups on Program Relevancy and Human Relations. As the superintendents rotated among the four main topics, all came in contact with student opinion. The format was round table discussion open to all, and students presented and defended the conclusions and suggestions reached after the summer's study.

Student Involvement

Reactions to the role of the students was quite mixed. Some felt that the youth participation was "worthwhile" and "the most constructive part of the entire conference." However, others felt that the students were "arrogant" and misunderstood the role of the superintendent. These negative administrators believed that student power was unduly stressed and that they should have been consulted about Task Force activities in advance. Nonetheless, many who disagreed with some of the attitudes and opinions expressed found the exposure to the students' viewpoint was valuable. Future relationships between the Task Force and local school systems were greatly influenced by the impression formed at the summer conference. Superintendents who were disappointed or antagonized have been reluctant to cooperate with their local Task Force member. On the other hand, several superintendents were so impressed with the "enthusiasm and concern" of the students that they invited the Task Force to their area to talk with students, administrators, and school boards, and many others have been receptive to Task Force operations in their districts.

In August the Summer Task Force attended the eight regional Principals' Conferences in a role similar to that at the Superintendents' Conference. Many of the specific suggestions in "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education" were discussed. Although not all the recommendations were immediately adopted, the general response to the student participation was favorable, and both students and administrators felt that the dialogue was valuable.

III. BACKGROUND: THE PRESENT TASK FORCE

Transition

Once the summer program was completed, state education leaders began discussing its success and potential. The students had proven themselves both interested and responsible. Although local superintendents had mixed feelings about student involvement at their conference, many were excited about increased student unrest within their systems. At the state level, educators were interested in incorporating a student viewpoint and in tapping the resources of youth's energy and initiative to handle problems within the State's schools. The constructive proposals by the Summer Task Force and its basic structure and philosophy seemed to be an appropriate base from which to develop greater student involvement. Despite the fact that no funds had been budgeted for such a program for the 1969-1970 fiscal year, the State Department of Public Instruction decided in the fall to establish a permanent Task Force and channeled uncommitted federal funds from other departments to this project. In October Miss Deborah Sweet, a recent college graduate and a summer intern with the Department of Public Instruction, was hired as Adult Director. State Superintendent, Dr. A. Craig Phillips, presented the idea to the Council of State, a committee of the top elected officials in North Carolina. They appropriated additional money from their Contingengy Fund. Then in late November the first meeting of the new committee was held.

Organization

The present Task Force for Student Involvement is a sixteen-man committee[1] with two members coming from each of the eight educational districts in North Carolina. A conscious effort was made to represent both urban and rural areas,

[1]At the time of this report, two positions were unfilled.

large and small high schools and different socio-economic groups as well as to maintain an approximate black-white, male-female balance on the committee. This group is headed by a Student Director, Mr. Walker Reagan, who is a senior at Enloe High School in Raleigh and a part-time employee of the State Department of Public Instruction, and an Adult Director, Miss Deborah Sweet, a full-time employee of the State Department. Originally a part of the Division of Planning and Research, the Task Force was transferred in April, 1970, to the Division of Program Services under the supervision of Mrs. Thelma Lennon, Director of Pupil Personnel Services.

Duties and Responsibilities

All Task Force members are expected to attend a monthly meeting in Raleigh. They are reimbursed for their travel and subsistence expenses for the two-day conferences and receive a seven dollar per diem payment. They also must be available for participation in conferences, committee work, and visits to other school systems. In addition they have contacted all the superintendents in their districts by letter and have visited personally with many to explain the purposes and activities of the Task Force. Within their own high schools they promote positive student involvement by sharing their ideas and experiences and by developing specific programs such as human relations week or student-faculty committees. All the policies and projects of the Task Force originate with the students, and they often submit written proposals and reports.

The Student Director is responsible for organizing Task Force activities, contacting members when requests for student participation are received, and providing them with background information for their visits to conferences or school systems. He also organizes the monthly meetings and plans the agenda. The Adult Director handles the administrative duties within the State Department. She plans the budget, represents the Task Force at out-of-state meetings, speaks to in-state groups,

handles correspondence, and keeps other top administrators informed of Task Force activities. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction usually attends a session of the Raleigh meetings to exchange ideas and keep up-to-date on their program.

Budget

For the 1969-1970 fiscal year the Task Force operated on a budget of $15,673 in federal funds and $6,400 from the Council of State's Contingency Fund. For the 1970-1971 fiscal year they have proposed a budget of $40,000 to the State Department of Public Instruction. They are also seeking additional funds from the federal government under Title V-505. Presently the Task Force is working on a change in its reimbursement policies so that students will be paid for their travel expenses before rather than after each trip in order to eliminate any financial difficulty for the individual member.

The $22,073 budget for November, 1969-June, 1970 was allotted as follows:

Salaries	
Adult and Student Directors	$ 7,608
Secretary (part-time)	750
Expenses - Raleigh Meetings ($15 per day, 16 students, 16 days)	3,840
Per diem ($7 per day, 16 students, 16 days)	1,792
Travel	
Adult and Student Directors	1,000
Task Force Members to Raleigh (Average of 268 miles for 15 students, 9¢ per mile, 8 trips)	2,894
Task Force Members within Districts ($15 per month, 7 months, 10 students)	1,050
Retirement and Social Security	1,001
Supplies	912
Projects and Activities	1,226
Total	$22.973

IV. SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Human Relations

From its beginning as a summer program the Task Force has been concerned with the issue of human relations in North Carolina. Guidelines for establishing Human Relations Councils and for policies regarding minority groups have been suggested to local high schools. The committee has also worked closely with the Human Relations Division of the State Department of Public Instruction, participating in conferences, visiting troubled areas, and providing a student viewpoint on particular situations. One Task Force member, Wilson Cherry, organized a Human Relations Week for his hometown of Salisbury. Townspeople, educators, and students worked together to make the project a total success. Other specific programs on the local level have also been successfully implemented. In Greenville, N. C., another Task Force member, Eric Vernon, organized a conference for area schools faced with the problems of integration and consolidation in the coming year. Next year there will be a booklet published and available to the public dealing entirely with the philosophy, problems and procedures of good human relations.

School Accreditation

Periodically North Carolina schools are evaluated by state and/or regional accreditation teams. In the past students have been involved in preparing their own high schools for the visits of such groups, but they have never participated in the accreditation process itself. Believing that a student's viewpoint would be valuable in an accreditation report, the Task Force, working with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, has arranged for the inclusion of a Task Force member on several evaluating committees. So far the reception has been positive at all the schools visited. The members never evaluate their own high schools

and are briefed beforehand on the purposes of the visit. The student tours the school with the committee and participates in the standard observation methods of the team. He also talks with random samplings of students and interviews the faculty and administration about student involvement and relevancy in education. A report is then submitted to the committee chairmen.

At present the student works in conjunction with an adult on the topic of Student Activities. However, in the future Mrs. Thelma Lennon, Director of Pupil Personnel Services, foresees sole responsibility for this area of evaluation lying with the student. Next year inclusion of a student, not necessarily a Task Force member, is planned for every accreditation team, for both the State and the Southern Association.

Curriculum Evaluation

One area in which increased student participation is both valuable and immediately possible is curriculum evaluation. The Task Force has recommended that high schools set up student advisory committees to work in cooperation with faculty and administrators on curriculum revision. At the state level the ten divisions for curriculum development, such as language arts, cultural arts, and mathematics, are preparing for the inclusion of youth on their committees. Dr. Jerome Melton, Assistant Superintendent for Program Services, envisions seventy-five to one hundred high school students working with the state administrators on curriculum planning in the fall. This summer a booklet will be prepared about innovative academic programs and possible curriculum improvements.

Mini-Courses

One of the innovative academic programs which the Task Force has been investigating is the organizing of "mini-courses." The idea was first introduced in North Carolina by Mrs. Nancy Gamewell, an English teacher at Albemarle High School,

Albemarle, N. C.[1] Mrs. Gamewell was inspired by an article in Today's Education entitled "Maximum Results from Mini-Courses" which describes a similar experiment in Hamilton, Massachusetts, in 1968. According to her, she "challenged" her Advanced English IV class with the idea, and they organized the program with a minimum of guidance. Classes for seniors were suspended for a week while they participated in courses of their own design with instructors recruited from the local community and nearby Pheiffer College as well as from the school's own faculty and student body. Thirty-six subjects outside the regular curriculum, such as self-defense, law enforcement, drugs, and extrasensory perception, were offerred.

Mini-courses

The enthusiastic response to the program came to the attention of Suzanne Allen, a Task Force member from Concord, N. C. She decided to apply the idea in her own high school. Here again the program was entirely organized and administered by students with the approval of both faculty and administration. The idea was presented to the student body in assembly and each student checked two of fifty-six suggested courses in which he was most interested. From this, the twenty-six most popular were chosen and appropriate instructors were sought. The subjects of the courses varied widely, touching many skills and interests generally untouched in the normal classroom situation--for example, knitting, archery, guitar, astronomy, and sex education (with parental permission) taught by local doctors. The faculty agreed to suspend homework assignments for the week of April 13-17. The courses were held at night and opened to the entire student body. Each student could enroll for two one-hour courses, but the program was completely optional. More than sixty per cent of the student body returned to the school at night to participate. The students themselves recommended that the program be continued as a night-time

[1]For more information on this experiment, see "Students Organize Mini-Courses," North Carolina Public Schools, XXXIV (May, 1970), 3.

project.

The Task Force is presently preparing a report for inclusion in the curriculum revision booklet, outlining the basic concept of mini-courses and alternative plans for its application in different school systems. They hope that the success of the program in Albemarle and Concord can be repeated and perhaps expanded in other areas.

Conferences and Consultations

Many times during the six months of operation Task Force representatives have been invited to attend conferences or visit in school districts. Sometimes they represent the student outlook on particular topics such as drugs or juvenile delinquency, and often they explain the purposes and organization of the Task Force itself. On March 7, 1970, the entire Task Force attended a workshop in Winston-Salem, N. C. for three hundred teachers. The workshop concentrated on problems stemming from the faculty integration move in that city. The program was handled completely by Task Force members who made brief presentations and participated in small discussion groups. The Task Force has also attended meetings of the Good Neighbor Council, the Association for Supervision & Curriculum Development, and the North Carolina Student Council Congress, among many others.

In individual high schools the Task Force has been invited to meet with student councils and human relations councils to discuss problems and procedures. Mr. Bruce Tharington, superintendent of the Mr. Airy City Schools, requested that the Adult Director and the District VII representative, Wilson Cherry, attend the February meeting of the school board there. Two student leaders from a local high school were also present. There was a frank exchange of ideas and Mr. Tharington reports that the school board gained a better understanding of student attitudes. Impressed by the contribution of the Summer Task Force at the Superintendents Conference, Mr. V. Mayo Bundy invited representatives to visit Madison-Mayodan High

School in Madison, N. C. They met with random samplings of students to explore the lack of student involvement there and to discuss possibilities for improvement. The principal, Mr. Darwin Sowers, was skeptical about the visit at first but was pleased with the outcome. After the visit Superintendent Bundy says that he "has nothing but praise and enthusiastic support for the Task Force." There are just two representative examples of successful Task Force experiences with local school systems.

Other Youth Organizations

Since its inception, the Task Force has recognized other youth groups which are already organized and established as good examples of student involvement and potential vehicles for achieving the objectives of the Task Force. The North Carolina Student Council Congress (NCSCC) and the Youth Council of North Carolina (YCNC) are perhaps the two most influential groups. Most of the Task Force members are or have been involved with student councils or youth councils at the local and/or State level. Because many objectives are shared with these two organizations, the Task Force hopes to work with them 1) to achieve more input of student ideas and more manpower for positive student involvement and 2) to help them become more representative and more relevant to student needs.

North Carolina Student Council Congress:

The NCSCC has member organizations in approximately two-hundred seventy-five high schools, more than half the North Carolina total. Many Task Force members see the student councils' broad base in the educational system as a vital key to achieving positive student involvement. Some student council leaders feared that the Task Force would become a competitive organization, draining leadership from local high schools. One advisor from Greensboro termed the Raleigh activities as "outside interference" which has "confused and divided" students. However, in general the reaction

to cooperation with the Task Force has been quite good, and many areas have expressed the desire to know more about the committee's activities. The NCSCC Executive Director, Miss Frances Bounds, stressed more future cooperation and exchange of ideas to avoid overlapping programs. Representatives of the Task Force have attended the state convention and the three regional conventions to explain exactly what the Task Force is and to explore jointly held goals. The NCSCC has also invited the Task Force to attend a session of their summer leadership workshop.

With the permission of the head of State Student Councils, the Task Force is presently sponsoring two independently initiated surveys of student councils. Miss Carol Wilkinson, a student at Broughton High School in Raleigh, has contacted all student council advisors in the State for information on representation, projects, committees, elections, and general effectiveness of their respective councils. A separate group in Greensboro, N. C., has distributed questionnaires to students at randomly selected schools for their own ideas and opinions on student councils. This research was initiated, written, and will be compiled by the Greensboro students with the financial backing and advice of the Task Force. A statistician has been advising the group to insure accuracy. The results of these two projects will be presented in a composite booklet designed to inform and assist North Carolina students and teachers in their efforts to have a representative, active, relative, student council.

Youth Council of North Carolina:

YCNC is a separate State agency established by the General Assembly in May, 1969. First organized in Greensboro in 1962, local youth councils now operate in six North Carolina cities. On the local level they sponsor many activities for high school students and try to unite and coordinate different high schools and youth groups in an area. The goals of YCNC and the Task Force are very similar although the approach to positive student involvement is through the political system for the former and

and the educational system for the latter. There has been little coordination between the two groups so far. According to YCNC President Bob Suttles, YCNC felt that the antagonism of some superintendents toward the Task Force might hurt YCNC's effectiveness. He added that this difficulty was being overcome and, as both programs expand, there will probably be greater communication and cooperation between the two organizations. Copies of "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education" have been sent to the Board of Directors of YCNC to clear up any misunderstanding about the methods and goals of the Task Force and to stress the desire to work with YCNC in promoting greater student involvement.

Other Youth Organizations:

Many interest and career oriented clubs such as the Future Teachers of America and the Distributive Education Clubs of America have widespread student membership in North Carolina. No specific programs have been set up with such groups yet, but Task Force is aware of their potential influence and hopes to work more closely with them to promote positive student involvement in their respective areas of interest.

V. PROBLEMS

Over-extension of Students

Membership in the Task Force for Student Involvement places great demands upon students carrying full academic loads. Each member must attend monthly meetings in Raleigh, be available for participation in conferences and visits to other school systems, and maintain communication with students and administrators within his own district, usually comprising many counties. They also undertake individual research and projects. Although as many activities as possible are scheduled for weekends, some school time must be missed. All the Task Force are expected to meet all their academic responsibilities, and generally individual high schools have been most cooperative in helping them to make up lost work.

Students working with the Task Force admit that they are often frustrated by the lack of time to accomplish all their goals but feel that they can handle their obligations. Members agree that participants in the Task Force should avoid holding major offices in their local areas due to the lack of time. However, in order to be in touch with student opinion and to promote student involvement, it is necessary that they themselves be actively involved in affairs at their own high schools. Administrators and students agree that over-extension is a "necessary evil" associated not merely with Task Force but with any student involved in extra-curricular activities. In order to ease the burden placed on individual members, the Task Force will make an effort this summer to recruit more students to work in association with them in the 1970-1971 academic year as representatives of youth opinion at conferences and on accreditation teams.

Selection Process

Since the school year was well underway when the Task Force was organized in

November, 1969, members were largely drawn by invitation from students having experience with the Summer Task Force, the Human Realtions Staff, YCNC, and NCSCC. Most of them are high school seniors, but in the interest of self-perpetuation and a broader base of representation, future committees will include more juniors and possibly sophomores. The lack of a concrete selection process has created skepticism among many local administrators who regard it as a "hand-picked" group. One member of the Task Force, Barton Sudderth of Hickory, found that his black militant point of view made it difficult for him to communicate with his superintendent, and he eventually resigned. Hickory Superintendent Dr. Joseph Wishon felt that Sudderth and his association with the Task Force had negative effects at the local high school. However, all the Task Force members agree that his ideas, though often different from theirs, represented a sizable group of North Carolina students and provided valuable insights into many of the problems they were dealing with. The Task Force is presently considering methods of selection that will create local trust in the activities of the group without sacrificing their objective of having students, responsible only to the State organization, from different social backgrounds with different points of view on student involvement. Suggestions are:

1) Recruitment by Task Force members, encouraging promising students in their districts to apply,

2) Choosing conservative and liberal students from school systems of corresponding orientation,

3) Screening applications through local administrators to determine whether there would be any potential conflict,

4) Rotation of membership among schools in a district to attain wider exposure,

5) Nomination of representatives by other organized youth groups as well as local systems.

Two new Task Force members as well as next year's Student Director have been chosen by an application and interview process which will probably be continued. Final selection is largely influenced by the interview with the Adult and Student Directors and, when possible, the district Task Force member.

Local Acceptance

Although the Task Force has been enthusiastically received at the State level, there are many local areas which have been unreceptive to its activities. Being an advisory board for the State Department of Public Instruction is only one of the committee's many objectives. To promote widespread student involvement, it is necessary to become involved with students across the state. At one of their early meetings the group decided that they would only work within a school district with the approval and support of the superintendent so as to avoid any implication that they are working against rather than within the established system. Many local superintendents responded favorably to the idea of a Student Task Force. However, there were others, with widely varying reasons, who did not want to work with them. Some had been unfavorably impressed by the Summer Task Force at the Superintendents Conference in July, 1969. Others felt that "outsiders" could not be of any help with the problems faced in their systems. Still others resented the fact that they had not been consulted or adequately informed about the group's formation and activities. Administrators having Task Force members within their systems agree that their attitudes about it, both positive and negative, have been influenced primarily by their contact with the individual representative. They suggest that a Task Force member from every school would improve understanding.

Convincing the skeptical superintendents that the Task Force does have valuable services to offer will be one of the main objectives for next year's committee. During the coming summer and fall, the Task Force plans personal visits

to all superintendents in the state, including those who did not respond to the introductory letters. Newsletters keeping them up-to-date are also being considered. The fall publicity campaign will be aimed at creating a greater understanding by all concerned of the basic philosophy of the organization. Otherwise, the Task Force hopes the continuing support of the State Department of Public Instruction and the numerous examples of its successful activities in many school systems will convince other areas to seek its services.

Administrative Expansion

As the Task Force has adopted more projects and been invited to more and more local school systems, the problem of organization and coordination have grown. Already there is not enough time for the staff to follow up properly many of the Task Force visits. Next year a part-time assistant Student Director will be added to the Raleigh staff and, if funds become available, a full-time secretary will be hired. However, if the present expansion rate continues and all the innovations proposed for next year go into effect, more full-time staff members must be added to coordinate activities across the State.

VI. FUTURE PLANS

Appalachian Regional Commission

The Task Force has received a grant of $4,305 from the Appalachian Regional Commission (A.R.C.) for use in promoting positive student involvement in western North Carolina. A proposal has been drafted to use these funds to establish an eight-county regional Task Force for the summer of 1970. The group will be organized in the same manner as the state committee and will work closely with Raleigh. Miss Ann Martin, a rising senior at Asheville High School and a present Task Force member, will be director of the regional committee. Most of the A. R. C. money will be spent for conferences and workshops for western North Carolina students and to finance student-initiated projects. Student groups planning to establish day-care centers and concerned with environmental study have already expressed interest. The regional Task Force will concentrate on increased student involvement not only in the general educational system but also in the problems unique in western North Carolina.

Conferences and Workshops

Miss Jennie Baird, a Task Force representative from Camden County, is organizing a workshop for her district to be held in Elizabeth City in August. All but one of the superintendents in the area have lent their support to the proposal. Students from each high school, teachers, administrators, and State human relations officials will be invited. The main problem to be dealt with is the inactivity and non-participation in State organizations and in the educational process by many northeastern North Carolina student bodies. Representatives from the Eastern District of the North Carolina Student Council Congress will attend to promote greater involvement in their activities. Constructive methods of approaching

the consolidation and integration processes going on this summer will be explored. Similar workshops dealing with regional problems are being considered for other areas of the State.

During the summer the State Department of Public Instruction sponsors many conferences and workshops for administrators and faculty across the State. The Task Force will send representatives to many of these with special focus on greater faculty-student cooperation. They have been invited to attend a drug forum in Chapel Hill and a conference on occupational education at Western Carolina University. They will also be accepting invitations from other organizations such as NCSCC and individual school systems. Task Force members will concentrate on making contacts during the summer with other students who can be available to represent youth at future conferences. Hopefully this would spread out student responsibility and ease the time and travel burden upon individual Task Force members.

Publicity Campaign

The Task Force has touched many school districts and hundreds of students in its six months of operation. However, many areas which have had little or no direct contact with the Task Force have only vague concepts of its purposes and the services it has to offer. In the fall the Task Force will attempt to introduce itself to the State at large, including areas in which it has no specific programs. Posters and brochures explaining the organization, purposes, and services of the Task Force will be distributed. As in the past, Task Force members will be available for conferences or assemblies upon invitation. Articles for student and community newspapers and newsletters for superintendents are also being considered.

Summer Intern Program

A plan for a summer internship program for Task Force members has been devised to fully utilize the experience they have gained throughout the year and to enlarge

the spectrum of activities pursued by the Task Force. Presently the estimated $16,000 that would be necessary to implement the program is not available for the summer of 1970. However, the concepts of the proposal are being retained for future consideration.

According to the plan, five Task Force members would be employed as full-time summer interns to reside in Raleigh. Selection would be based upon judgment of written proposals for summer activities submitted by the students. These students would work on a project of their own design and also be available to work with the Human Relations Division and to participate in summer conferences and teacher workshops. Eight other members, one from each of the educational districts, would also have the status of state-employed summer interns working in their local areas and maintaining contact with the Raleigh office. Hopefully this program would afford the individual student the time, mobility, financial backing, and status to apply his ideas and, as the proposal states, to "practice what we preach. . . . . student involvement."

Expansion into Other States

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has shown great interest in the unique experiment of the Task Force for Student Involvement. The Adult Director, Miss Deborah Sweet, has met in Washington with several of their representatives to discuss the possibility of establishing similar programs in other states. To be funded under Title V-505, the proposed plan calls for the creation of student task forces in four other states with the total program being organized, guided, nd coordinated by North Carolina. The final proposal will be submitted in early June, 1970, and a decision should be made during the summer as to whether the plan will go into effect.

What happened

Proposed Publications

1) Extensive revision and expansion of the booklet, "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education," first published by the Summer Task Force in August, 1969, is underway and present plans call for distribution in the fall.

2) A brochure on the organization of the Task Force itself is planned as part of the fall publicity campaign. This illustrated brochure will tell exactly what the Task Force is, outline the services it has to offer, and report on some of its recent activities.

3) A booklet on educational reforms and revisions will be prepared this summer. A summer intern, Miss Marilyn Martin, a rising junior at Shaw University in Raleigh, has been assigned to the Task Force and will be in charge of the project. She will investigate specific programs such as mini-courses, independent study programs, and the Parkway System presently operating in Philadelphia. She will also explore the possibilities for seminar groups drawing teachers from outside the regular school system and methods for experimental classes, breaking the present structure of six or seven periods per day.

4) Two Task members, Valerie Maye and Wilson Cherry, are composing a pamphlet on election procedures, concentrating on specific methods rather than philosophy. Their primary goal is to reconcile the one-man, one-vote philosophy with the need for more adequate minority group representation. They will outline several different procedures that have proved successful in North Carolina high schools such as the precinct and petition methods.

5) The results of the Student Council evaluations will be compiled and evaluated over the summer. A booklet reporting the results and suggesting guidelines for greater effectiveness will be published and distributed in cooperation with the North Carolina Student Council Congress.

VII. CONCLUSION

First formed in November, 1969, the Task Force is still an extremely young organization. Most of its early months have been spent defining and redefining its goals--then searching for practical ways to apply them. Although many of the members are frustrated at the number of areas that remain untouched and the number of students still unstimulated, this year's Task Force has laid an extensive groundwork for future action across the state. There is also much tangible evidence of increased student involvement as a direct result of Task Force activities--students on accreditation teams, students on curriculum evaluation committees, successful mini-course programs, students and administrators working together to solve human relations problems, and more. Despite the fact that many local administrators have been reluctant to cooperate with the Task Force's programs, the demand for its services has grown steadily with increased exposure.

Not only is the Task Force for Student Involvement an innovative program for the state of North Carolina, but for the nation as well. As the Adult Director, Debbie Sweet says, "The important thing is that Task Force is." Students have been recognized as a vital key to the problems facing the State's schools, and they have been offered, and willingly accepted, the responsibility for finding constructive solutions. They also are aiming toward positive involvement in the administrative processes of the educational system. State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. A. Craig Phillips, sums up the attitude of state educators toward the Task Force in his introductory letter to "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education."

> "These students are attempting to shoulder some of the responsibilities of gaining positive student involvement in our educational process. In a day of negative disruptions and misunderstanding, these and students like them throughout the State can be our most valuable allies in meeting tomorrow's pressing problems."

North Carolina has committed itself to the concept of positive student involvement. One of the most striking examples of this fact is the establishment of the Task Force for Student Involvement--now a permanent and expanding agency with ambitious plans for the future.

APPENDIX

The following people were formally interviewed as part of the research for this report, During informal discussion, many students other than those listed below also contributed their ideas and opinions on the Task Force and student involvement in general.

State Department of Public Instruction

Mr. Gene Causby
Associate Director
Human Relations Division

Dr. H. T. Conner
Assistant Superintendent
Planning and Research Division

Mr. Thelma Lennon
Director
Pupil Personnel Services

Dr. Jerome Melton
Assistant Superintendent
Program Services Division

Dr. A. Craig Phillips
Superintendent
State Department of Public Instruction

Mr. Walker Reagan
Student Director
Task Force

Miss Deborah Sweet
Adult Director
Task Force

Superintendents

Mr. Arthur Alford
Pitt County Schools
Greenville, N. C.

Dr. H. C. Bellamy
New Hanover County Schools
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. V. Mayo Bundy
Madison-Mayodan Schools
Madison, N. C.

Mr. D. B. Burgess
Camden County Schools
Camden, N. C.

Dr. C. C. Cleetwood
Greenville City Schools
Greenville, N. C.

Mr. W. P. Griffin
Asheville City Schools
Asheville, N. C.

Mr. Conrad Hooper
Raleigh City Schools
Raleigh, N. C.

Dr. W. J. House
Greensboro City Schools
Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. W. M. Irvin
Concord City Schools
Concord, N. C.

Mr. Harold Isenburg
Salisbury City Schools
Salisbury, N. C.

Mr. Fred Martin
Buncombe County Schools
Asheville, N. C.

Dr. Ken Newbold
Scotland County Schools
Laurinburg, N. C.

Dr. Dean B. Pruette
High Point City Schools
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Swanson Richards
Watauga County Schools
Boone, N. C.

Dr. William C. Self
Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools
Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. Bruce Tharrington
Mt. Airy City Schools
Mt. Airy, N. C.

Dr. Joseph Wishon
Hickory City Schools
Hickory, N. C.

Principals

Mr. Samuel Burford
Andrews High School
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Gary Clark
Enloe High School
Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Glen Cox
J. H. Rose Senior High School
Greenville, N. C.

Mr. Robert Glenn
Grimsley High School
Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. W. A. Hough
North Mecklenburg High School
Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. W. E. McElrath
Enka High School
Enka, N. C.

Mr. Dent Miller
Boyden High School
Salisbury, N. C.

Mr. Eugene Miller
Claremont Central High School
Hickory, N. C.

Mr. N. A. Miller, Jr.
Watauga High School
Boone, N. C.

Mr. Clark Pennell
Asheville High School
Asheville, N. C.

Mr. Charles E. Rimer
Concord Senior High School
Concord, N. C.

Mr. John Scott
New Hanover High School
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. Darwin Sowers
Madison-Mayodan High School
Madison, N. C.

Mr. Jimmie Warner
Camden County High School
Camden, N. C.

Mr. Douglas Youngue
Scotland High School
Laurinburg, N. C.

Task Force Members

Miss Suzanne Allen
Concord Senior High School
Concord, N. C.

Miss Jennie Baird
Camden County High School
Camden, N. C.

Miss Lyn Bundy
Andrews High School
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Wilson Cherry
Boyden High School
Salisbury, N. C.

Mr. Danny Fisher
Enka High School
Enka, N. C.

Miss Nancy Greene
Watauga High School
Boone, N. C.

Mr. Bertram Hogue
North Mecklenburg High School
Charlotte, N. C.

Mr. DeWitt McCarley
Grimsley High School
Greensboro, N. C.

Miss Ann Martin
Asheville High School
Asheville, N. C.

Miss Valerie Maye
Enloe High School
Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Lonnie Merrick
New Hanover High School
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. Jeff Plummer
New Hanover High School
Wilmington, N. C.

Mr. John Speller
Scotland High School
Laurinburg, N. C.

Mr. Eric Vernon
J. H. Rose High School
Greenville, N. C.

Others

Miss Frances Bounds
Advisor, NCSCC
A. L. Brown High School
Kannapolis, N. C.

Mr. Roger Carrick
Director, Summer Task Force
High Point, N. C.

Miss Joanne Dwiggins
Executive Director
Greensboro Youth Council
Greensboro, N. C.

Mrs. Nancy Gamewell
English Faculty
Albemarle High School
Albemarle, N. C.

Miss Jane McCorkle
Student Council Advisor
Scotland High School
Laurinburg, N. C.

Mr. Barton Sudderth
Former Task Force Member
Claremont Central High School
Hickory, N. C.

Mr. Bob Suttles
President, YCNC
Fayetteville, N. C.

Mr. William C. Thomas
Assistant Principal
Scotland High School
Laurinburg, N. C.

Mr. Robert Twilley
Student Council President
Ayden High School
Ayden, N. C.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT UNREST

An Overview of Pertinent Reading

Prepared by:
Mrs. Susan Wellborn

Task Force on Student Involvement
State Department of Public Instruction

December 1970

Research & Information Center
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Educators' Bookshelf
November 1970

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT UNREST

An Overview of Pertinent Reading

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1968.

This pamphlet is one of a series adopted by ACLU. The policies are recommended as guidelines and encompass the rights of students and teachers.

Ackerly, Robert L. THE REASONABLE EXERCISE OF AUTHORITY. Washington, D. C.: National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1969.

Highlighted in this booklet are cases involving both state and federal jurisdictions dealing with students and the assoicated issues of behavior codes, appearance, freedom of expression, right of petition, and similar sensitive areas in these increasingly turbulent times.

"Allen Looks at High School Unrest," COMPACT 3:45, October 1969

U. S. Commissioner, James E. Allen, Jr., spells out specific steps that can be taken to prevent school disturbances.

"And Now the High Schools," TIME 93:68, February 7, 1969

Having learned the art of confrontation from their college brethren, high school students throughout the country are in revolt. This article spotlights a few of the more serious disruptions in the nation's schools.

Anrig, Gregory R. "Those High School Protestors: Can Boards Put Up With Much More?" AMERICAN SCHOOL BOARD JOURNAL 157:20+, October 1969.

Six realistic and educationally sound suggestions are offered to board members in an effort to motivate them to devise constructive plans to combat student unrest. The author feels that the repressive strategy invoked by most boards is archaic and boards must face the fact that justifiable widespread discontent does exist.

Anrig, Gregory R. "Trouble in the High Schools," AMERICAN EDUCATION 5:2-4, October 1969.

The main theme of this article is that student unrest, if viewed with understanding, can help bring about much needed educational change. Dr. Anrig, leader of a USOE study group to probe into the problem of student unrest in our colleges and secondary schools, shares some of the group's findings about high school protest and suggests what can be done about the problems involved.

Ashbaugh, Carl R. "High School Student Activism: Nine Tested Approaches for Coping with Conflict Situations," NATION'S SCHOOLS 83:94-95, February 1969.

The prime focus of this article is to recommend some ways of coping with the exigency posed when student demonstrations do occur. The author presents nine approaches, most of which have been tested in actual conflict situations, and suggests that by more careful planning, school people can assure themselves that student involvement will be through evolutionary rather than revolutionary means.

"Behind the Unrest in High Schools," U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT 66:12, June 2, 1969.

Reported is the result of the Urban Research Corporation's inquiry into the chief cause of student unrest. The URC found racial conflict to be the cause of the rapid rise of unrest in high schools and in junior high schools but offers no recommendations for the solution of the conflict.

Boyd, William B. "Student Unrest in the University: Implications for the Secondary School," NASSP BULLETIN 53:19-34, May 1969.

Boyd, President of Central Michigan University, submits that the secondary schools have a better opportunity to be more adaptive than the university has been in coping with student unrest and "more flexible and creative in altering brittle institutions which seem more apt to shatter than to bend." He challenges both the university and the secondary school to devise new methods of inducing educational change.

Boykin, Arsene O. "Student Activism Drama: Roles for the Principal," CLEARINGHOUSE 44:145-148, November 1969.

In this article, the author theorizes about the various responses open to the principal when faced with student activism in his school.

Braun, Robert J. "Consider the Student Ombudsman," SCHOOL MANAGEMENT 13:71, June 1969.

Borrowing the idea of an ombudsman from Sweden, a New Jersey district found a way to close the gap between students and administrators. The student ombudsman stands as a bridge between students and the school's administration, guidance counselors, teachers, coaches,--and even parents.

Bridges, Edwin M. "Subjective and Objective Aspects of Demands for Involvement," ADMINISTRATOR'S NOTEBOOK, Volume 17, February 1969.

Demands for involvement in the decision-making processes often constitute the central issue of student unrest and institutional upheaval. The author provides a cogent analysis of one incident to emphasize the need for administrators to consider both objective and subjective definitions of involvement.

Brodbelt, Samuel S. "The Problem of Growing Dissent in the High Schools," HIGH SCHOOL JOURNAL 53:363-371, March 1970.

The author discusses the problem of student unrest, identifies the protestors and the causes of unrest, notes what is wrong with the secondary school curriculum, and presents some guidelines for school administrators to follow for increasing student freedom, involvement, and responsibility.

Browden, Leslie H., Jr. "What To Do Before Students Demonstrate," NATION'S SCHOOLS 85:86-87, April 1970.

Precautions, procedures, and punishments for student disorders cannot be defined under an across-the-board set of regulations. However, this analysis of an administrative "battle plan" in one large U. S. county may provide insights into how many superintendents feel student disruptions should be handled.

Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services. STUDENT UNREST. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Department of Education, August 1969.

This publication will be valuable in providing public school administrators with a source of material on the subject of student unrest and heightening awareness of the seriousness of the problem. The booklet begins with a general discussion and definition of the problem of student unrest followed by three sets of guidelines directed toward the recognition of the problem, the prevention of the problem, and the implementation of a course of action to be put into effect if an emergency situation should suddenly arise.

Bureau of Educational Research and Service. ACTIVISM IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. Eugene: University of Oregon, College of Education, 1969.

An informative booklet directed toward school administrators and others who seek a better understanding of the activist forces now appearing in the high schools and jeopardizing student-staff relationships.

Chesler, Mark A. "Student and Administrative Crises," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 26:34+, October 1969.

Some creative responses to pressures experienced by students and resultant administrative crises are cited in this article. The author feels that if educational change is going to occur young people and adults must learn to trust one another. The combined issues of trust and power represent themes that cut across grievances and can suggest other strategies for responding to school crises.

Clute, Morrel J. "Rights and Responsibilities of Students," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 26:240-242, December 1968.

Emphasis is placed on the fundamental fact that students are citizens and as citizens have constitutional rights. The author urges educators to accept the challenge and treat students as citizens with rights in order that they may learn to be citizens with responsibility.

College Entrance Examination Board and others. STUDENT ACTIVISM AND THE RELEVANCY OF SCHOOLING, Evanston, Illinois: The Board, 1969.

"Be prepared for student disruptions!" is the advice given in this publication prepared by the College Entrance Examination Board, the Danforth Foundation, and the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. (I/D/E/A). The three organizations sponsored a seminar attended by teachers, administrators, and students who were veterans of the current wave of educational discord which exists between the schools and their students. The recommendations made by the seminar group are presented in this booklet.

"Confrontation on Campus," COMPACT 3:3-44, October 1969.

The entire issue is designed to indicate what states are already doing in meeting the problem of student unrest, both on the college and university campuses and at the secondary level, and to offer alternative responses as suggested by widespresd experience. This issue should prove particularly helpful to those in administrative positions.

"Crisis in the High Schools," LIFE 66:22-43, May 16, 1969.

A recent LIFE poll by Louis Harris presents another resounding cry for relevant changes in the educational system. Six conclusions reiterate and reinforce demands by youth.

Divoky, Diane. "Revolt in the High Schools," SATURDAY REVIEW 52:83-84+, February 15, 1969.

Subtitled "The Way It's Going to Be," this article directs attention to the "new breed" of students assuming leadership roles in their drive for civil rights and involvement in school affairs. The author warns that school systems throughout America will be affected. Administrators are urged to react positively--to listen--to understand or the subsequent confrontations will play havoc with the public school system.

Eiseman, Seymour. "An Approach for Student Involvement in Health Education Classes," JOURNAL OF SCHOOL HEALTH 39:408-411, June 1969.

To achieve meaning in his school work, the student must become involved or committed to the learning process through research, analysis, and decision making. The author discusses an example of how to get students involved which proved successful in his health education classes.

Fearon, Christopher P. "Campus Protest and the Administrator," NASSP BULLETIN 53:28-35, September 1969.

This account of the 1968 White Plains incident suggests that a flexible administration able to identify and utilize the help of responsible people, to isolate and control the fighters, and willing at all times to negotiate resonably with excited students may prevent or minimize actual violence and facilitate lasting settlements.

Ferber, Ellen. "It's Y.O.U.," AMERICAN EDUCATION 5:17-21, August-September 1969.
Youth Organizations United (Y.O.U.) gets inner-city ghetto gang members across the country involved in their communities' problems and has them working together as a constructive alternative to revolution.

Fielder, Marie. "A Diversified Team Approach to Conflict Intervention," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:15-18, October 1969.
Public school education can only lose if racial, cultural, social class, and age groups have no means to resolve problems. This article describes the diversified team approach used in Palm Springs where students and teachers worked with one another to keep the school operational.

Fine, Jerry and James E. Bemis. "They Read Yours; Now You Read Theirs," AMERICAN SCHOOL BOARD JOURNAL 158:2, August 1970.
The authors review the book, OUR TIME IS NOW: NOTES FROM THE HIGH SCHOOL UNDERGROUND, edited by John Birmingham. Although the colorful vocabulary includes many four-letter Anglo-Saxon words, this book brings the students' view of his needs and expectations to the surface, establishes his ideas on what he considers to be hypocrisy, and seeks recognition for his feelings on social values, justice, and democracy. You may be offended by OUR TIME IS NOW, but you won't be bored.

Fink, Newton W. and Benjamin Cullers. "Student Unrest: Structure of the Public Schools a Major Factor?" CLEARINGHOUSE 44:415-419, March 1970.
Feeling that the existance of a "binary character" in the public schools is one of the major causes of student unrest, the authors call for a careful analysis of the present structure of the public school system.

Fish, Kenneth L. "Coping with Student Activism in Secondary Schools," EDUCATION DIGEST 35:8-11, October 1969.
After listing five sources of student activism, the author makes some recommendations for avoiding conflict by involving students in their education and suggests what to do if these efforts fail.

Frank, Peter R. A SEARCH FOR THE MEANING OF THE GENERATION GAP. San Diego: Department of Education, San Diego County, October 1969.
The symposium reported on in this booklet was an attempt to bring about relevant dialogue between the two generations, involving a wide spectrum of community participation. This is good source material for those interested in stimulating change and better understanding between youth and adults.

Gelber, Leonard. "Understanding Student Power," HIGH POINTS 3-5+, Winter 1969.
A lucid account of techniques used to replace ad hoc responses with long-term objectives to assure disruptive young people that not only would they be listened to but they would be heard and understood and that they would be involved.

Gorton, Richard A. "Militant Student Activism in the High Schools: Analysis and Recommendations," PHI DELTA KAPPAN 5:545-549, June 1970.
Mr. Gorton discusses the practical problems and strategies of administering secondary schools in the grip of revolution.

Gorton, Richard A. "Student Activism in the High School: The Underground Newspaper and Student Dress and Appearance," HIGH SCHOOL JOURNAL 53:411-16, April 1970.
Since it appears likely that student activism at the secondary level will spread, the author examines present forms of student unrest in high schools such as underground newspapers and student dress codes and offers recommendations that may effectively direct student unrest into constructive channels for orderly change.

Graves, Samuel M. "A Description of Student Unrest," NASSP BULLETIN 53:191-197, May 1969.
The author who is principal at Wellesley Senior High candidly discusses student unrest at the school. His belief that schools cannot ignore our changing world reiterates the importance of expounding all aspects of school and public issues in coping with critical problems. With all alternatives clearly stated, Graves insists that young people are capable of sound independent decision making.

Griffiths, William E. "Student Constitutional Rights: The Role of the Principal," NASSP BULLETIN 52:30-37, September 1968.
The principal is described as the man in the middle between individual student demands for constitutional rights and the demands of the institution. Instances of judicial action in favor of the students are quoted and implications for student rights are discussed in detail.

Hall, John S. SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON STUDENT ACTIVISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Eugene, Oregon: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Administration, April 1969.
The fast-growing body of literature dealing with student activism is the subject of this bibliography. The 86 books, pamphlets, and articles cited provide a variety of views and possible solutions to the problem. The citations should serve as a valuable resource to school administrators, teachers, and citizens alike in their attempts to understand and cope with student activism.

Harris, Louis. "The LIFE Poll: Crisis in the High Schools," LIFE 66:22-35+. May 16, 1969.

Because of the growing concern over the issues of student dissent and racial tension, this LIFE Poll surveyed the U.S. high school in depth. The pollsters conducted 2,500 exhaustive interviews with students, parents, teachers, and principals of 100 schools in representative big cities, suburbs, small towns, and rural areas. The results of the investigation and an assessment of the role of American secondary education in these rapidly changing times is presented in this article.

Hesburgh, Theodore M. "A Suggested Four-Point Program for Student Involvement," ILLINOIS JOURNAL OF EDUCATION 60:20-24, December 1969.

Delivered as a commencement address at St. Louis University by Rev. Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame, this article presents a four-point program for student involvement. While admitting that his program is not a panacea for all the malaise that America and its educational institutions suffer, it does provide new options that could channel the present discontent into constructive change.

"High Schools: Next Target for Unrest," U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, September 22, 1969.

School officials are braced for widespread unrest. This article identifies four major threats to orderly schools, namely, racial flare-ups, criminal activity, the drive to politicalize and radicalize high schools, and the "youth rebellion" type of activity, and relates many instances of student disruption across the country.

Honn, Floyd R. "What's Happening?" JOURNAL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 44:237-240, May 1969.

A description of the California Association of Student Councils (CASC) and the impact it has had on education are presented. The author insists that a truly representative council, given legitimate authority, and an open channel of communication to the administration, may be the answer to keeping student protests at a minimum and giving students an involvement in their educational process.

House, James E. "Can the Student Participate in His Own Destiny?" EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:442-446, February 1970.

House is a firm believer in the ability of students to participate in educational decision making. Citing several examples of districts where students are being involved in their education with positive results, he makes recommendations as to how it can be accomplished.

"How Student Involvement Pays Off," SCHOOL MANAGEMENT 14:29-32, March 1970.
School administrators across the land are finding new ways to meet student demands for greater involvement--ways which strengthen the administration's hand and improve communications with boards and community. This article demonstrates how "participatory democracy" abruptly reversed an antagonistic situation in the Niles Township, Illinois, high school.

Hunt, Jane. "Principals Report on Student Protest," EDUCATION DIGEST 35:49-51, December 1969.
Three out of five respondents reported some form of protest in their schools in this survey on student unrest in the senior high. Dress, behavior, and the type of education students are receiving appear to be the main focus of the protest movement. The respondents submit some thoughtful advice for coping with the problem of student unrest.

Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc. DISSENT AND DISRUPTION IN THE SCHOOLS: A HANDBOOK FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS. Melbourne, Florida: I/D/E/A, 1969.
This handbook consists of what practicing educators have proposed and implemented in dealing with student dissension. The key to a permanent solution to civil disorder in academic communities lies in, "establishing and maintaining trust and mutual respect between the proctors and the clientele of the academic community," says the publication. The position statements and emergency procedures included in this volume serve only as starting points from which the school can develop a policy.

Jarolimek, John. "That Lean and Hungry Look--He Thinks Too Much," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 26:7-10, October 1969.
Noting that student dissatisfaction and unrest is not going to be remedied by hardline Establishment policies, or by token student involvement, or by capitulation to the demands of militants or malcontents, the author believes the solution lies in an extensive rethinking of the role of the young people in our society.

Kaye, Michael S. "Student Freedom and Power as Instruments," EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 27:462-464, February 1970.
Pacific High School is an educational community in which students have all the freedom and power they choose to exercise. No domain is protected from student control although this atmosphere has not created an educational utopia. The author tries to explain why student power and freedom are worthwhile, despite the problems they raise.

Landazuri, Margarita. "Young Voices on Advisory Committees," AMERICAN EDUCATION 5:26, August-September 1969.

Many government agencies are becoming convinced of the wisdom of including young people on public advisory committees. The reason is summed up by Oscar Sykes, a new member of OE's Advisory Council on Financial Aid, when introducing himself to the Council. "Most of you here can sympathize. I can empathize. That's why I'm here."

Levine, Steven. "Making the Vision Work: A Student View," COMPACT 3:20-21, October 1969.

Viewing student unrest as a rebellion by young people against the frigid cruelty of their parents lives and the violent-competitive spirit of past generations, the author optimistically predicts that society will witness a turning from indiscriminate confrontation to a tough minded determinism to make the "love ethic" a working reality--that contact will replace confrontation as a method of change.

Marburger, Carl L. "Trouble in High Schools: New Jersey Responds," COMPACT 3:36-38, October 1969.

An analysis of school disruptions in New Jersey leads to the conclusion that they are invariably symptoms, rather than causes, of deeper troubles in the community. If knowledgeable of all the diverse factors involved in student unrest, Marburger believes that local administrators will be better prepared to cope with them.

McGowan, William N. "About Student Unrest," JOURNAL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 43:255-259, October 1968.

Examined here is the unrest that "permeates the teenage sub-culture." Seemingly the main course of action is to help young people find some creativity in their restlessness and channel their rebellion with the best interests of society. Four tasks for public schools to undertake to stymie impending rebellion are outlined. The responsibilities involved are difficult to fulfill but should be given priority in coping with the restlessness of students.

McGrew, Jean B. "Student Participation in Decision-Making," NASSP BULLETIN 54:124-134, March 1970.

It appears that a type of militancy and group polarization is something to be lived with for the foreseeable future. Educational change to be effective will require a lot of talking and planning. The McRel conference on "Student Participation in Decision-Making" discussed in this article is a positive step in that direction.

"More Disruptions Expected Unless Schools Relate to Student Needs," SCHOOL & SOCIETY 97:456-457, November 1969.

Whether students are right or wrong, dupes or perceptive dissenters, one thing seems clear: the unrest and turmoil which the nation's colleges and universities have experienced has been and is likely to be repeated in most secondary schools across the nation. The question facing educators, parents, and citizens alike are "Why?" and "What do we do about it?"

National School Public Relations Association. HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT UNREST. Washington, D. C.: The Association, 1969.

This special report does most of the work for the administrator. It tells where and why high school students are protesting, pinpoints the demands growing out of student discontent, and suggests preventive steps. The report shows the groundwork laid by recent court decisions on student rights, spells out desirable limitations on both student and faculty, and describes emergency plans to cope with student disruption if all else fails.

North Carolina Board of Higher Education and the Institute of Government. THE CAMPUS CRISIS: DOCUMENTS FOR PUBLIC LAW CONFERENCE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATORS. Chapel Hill: Institute of Government, July 1969.

This set of documents was prepared for administrators of public senior institutions of higher education who attended the conference on "The Campus Crisis." Document No. 2 is of particular interest to public school personnel as it sets out the legal provisions available to public schools in dealing with school disturbances.

Nottingham, Marvin A. "Conflict Intervention in Palm Springs," JOURNAL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 44:147-149, April 1969.

A Conflict Intervention Project was developed in Palm Springs which brought students and teachers together to study the causes of conflict and ways to intervene short of violence. It was concluded that conflict is inevitable; violence is not. The author recommends that the lines of communications at all times be kept open so that conflict situations can be negotiated before violence results. Although to some, negotiation sounds like appeasement, it may well be the only alternative to chaos.

"Now It's High School Students on a Rampage," U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT 66:8+, March 24, 1969.

This article briefly reviews various incidents of student disruption and violence in the high schools of our land.

O'Brien, Dean W. NOW I KNOW WHY. Madison, Wisconsin: Project Public Information, May 1968.

Four Project Public Information pilot programs aimed at developing student involvement in the process of public education are spotlighted in this publication. It is hoped that the experiences and expertise gained in these programs will guide educators who may be interested in starting similar programs to involve students in learning about education.

Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. REPORT: SUBCOMMITTEE ON EASING TENSIONS IN EDUCATION. Washington, D. C.: The Department, 1969.

Is a board inviting trouble when it tries to define the limits of acceptable student expression? The Evanston, Illinois, District 202 says "No," as long as the rules apply to both students and administrators alike. This article shows how the rules apply limits to both.

Ornstein, Allan C. "On High School Violence: The Teacher-Student Role," JOURNAL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 45:99-105, March 1970.

The author feels that students lack any control over their own destiny in the authoritarian, bureaucratic educational structure as it now exists and sees the current student ferment as a backlash against their powerless and ineffective status. Although highly critical of the present educational system, this article well expresses student attitudes.

Osterman, Paul. "In High Schools Too," NEW REPUBLIC 160:13-14, April 5, 1969.

Discussing student unrest at Montgomery County, Maryland, schools, the author praises the students for calling for more participation in their own education. However, the article ends on a pessimistic note by calling attention to the fact that moderate protest has not been successful on the college campus. Osterman foresees high school protest taking a less orderly tack unless officials show more vision and less condescension.

Palmer, Charles F. "College Student Unrest," TODAY'S EDUCATION 58:23-25, November 1969.

This article attempts to bring the reader a representative sampling of the kinds of thinking encountered in discussion with students, educators, and parents, along with specially prepared statements reflecting the diverse sentiments of a retired dean of students and three students from campuses where unrest has been a critical issue.

Peterman, Lloyd E. "A Place of Responsibility: Where It Worked Both Ways," NASSP BULLETIN 53:1-22, September 1969.

Oak Park High School was fortunate in having an administration that recognized its reponsibilities to education and was knowledgeable enough in the ways of human nature to deal wisely with student dissidents. Though not necessarily a blueprint for dealing with student protestors, administrators will find this article valuable.

"Rights Statement Studied: Student Advisory Council Starts," FAIRFAX COUNTY VIRGINIA SCHOOLS BULLETIN, March 1970.

One way to get students involved in their own education is to form a student advisory council and Fairfax County, Virginia, did just that. The council will be asked to sit at the county school board meetings and to make reports and recommendations to the Board as needed. In this way, it is hoped that students will not only be involved in the decision-making process, but will be assuming more responsibility in policy-making activities.

Rogers, John G. "Student Power Can Work," PARADE, May 3, 1970.

Democracy in high school? Impossible say many schoolmen. But this is not the case in Ramapo Senior High in New York. At this school, the majority rules through a Student-Faculty-Administration Council, and the principal has voluntarily surrendered his veto power and has but one vote.

Ruth, Richard. "Student to Schoolmen: Let's Work Together," SCHOOL MANAGEMENT 14:24-28, March 1970.

A 16-year-old high school activist interested in educational reform examines the problems which hamper communications between students and schoolmen and suggests some ways for administrators to develop a better relationship with student activists.

Sapone, Carmelo V. "Education or Revolution?" NASSP BULLETIN 43:76-80, December 1969.

A high school principal, by committing himself to an "open door" philosophy that was compatible with student involvement and the improvement of the total teaching-learning process, avoided a major confrontation with students over an out-dated dress code.

"Secondary Education in an Environment of Change," Entire issue. NASSP BULLETIN 53:1-208, May 1969.

Annual convention issue which includes provocative, pertinent talks on the black revolution and education, student unrest in the university and its implications for the secondary school, social change, activism, and new directions in secondary education.

"Secondary Rights," NEWSWEEK 74:69, November 10, 1969.

Until recently the rights of high school students have been undefined or vague at best. However, a new trend is emerging with the New York City Board of Education's approval of a resolution on the "Rights and Responsibilities for Senior High School Students," which clearly spells out the student's personal and political freedom.

"Student Involvement: Channeling Activism into Accomplishment," NATION'S SCHOOLS 84:39-50, September 1969.

In this issue, a special report demonstrates eight ways in which students have been given a greater say. The significance of these projects is that they focus on how administrators are granting the necessary leeway for accomplishments, acknowledging that the ideas, interests, and experiences of a new involvement are relevant to a growing educational experience.

"Student Unrest," PENNSYLVANIA EDUCATION 1:17-26, September-October 1969.

In this four-part section, the Pennsylvania Department of Education presents guidelines and suggestions about how to recognize signs of potential student unrest, about procedures to avoid student unrest, and a case history of what one school district is doing to prevent student unrest.

"Student Unrest in High Schools," SCHOOL & SOCIETY 98:75-76, February 1970.

This article essentially reviews U. S. Education Commissioner James E. Allen's message to the nation's 26,000 junior and senior high school principals on the topic of student unrest. Allen, feeling that the concerns and reforms presented by students are important and warrant careful consideration, insists that a positive and thoughtful response on the part of the administration can make the 70's an era of productive change in U. S. schools.

"Student Unrest in the Public Schools," special report, SCHOOL MANAGEMENT 12: 53-94, November 1968.

This report presents the idea that student restlessness can be a dynamic, positive force in education. Administrators are urged to seek new ways to respond compassionately and thoughtfully. Discussions include the best approach to use and the constitutional rights of students.

Sullivan, Robert J. "The Overrated Threat," NASSP BULLETIN 53:36-44, September 1969.

An advocate of freedom of speech for minors, Sullivan cautions administrators to avoid the "knockout" reaction when confronted with an underground newspaper and suggests that prevention, tolerance, or preemption are three more desirable and educated solutions to the problem. While realizing that libel and obscenity should be avoided, he contends that a rational, logical, and understanding approach to the critical student's desire to express himself is more in keeping with educational philosophy.

Thomson, Scott D. "A Perspective on Activism," JOURNAL OF SECONDARY EDUCATION 44:252-259, October 1969.

The author attempts to view student protest in broad perspective to serve as a guide for coping with specific problems. It is his belief that school is no place for active protest. It is, instead, a place of thought--a place to study,

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Thomson, Scott D. (Con't)

examine, and investigate controversial issues. Student political and/or social involvement, he maintains, should be channeled into the community, and he proposes nine suggestions of how the school might take the initiative in involving students in constructive ways.

Voege, Richard B. "Innovating? Involve the Student!" CLEARING HOUSE 43:543-546, May 1969.

Student participation in the educational planning of innovations is advocated by the author who lists five advantages for involving students in the educational process. Failure to obtain student involvement, he believes may be reflected later in a failure to fully attain the goals of the innovation.

Weisbord, Marvin R. "Now, Focus on High School Unrest," EDUCATION DIGEST 35: 5-8, January 1970.

For those educators dissatisfied with futile handwringing or out-right repression of dissenting students, one promising direction lies in the application of behavioral research. It is being shown that it is possible to use conflict as a base for learning. Techniques range from various forms of group encounter to training in analyzing and solving school problems, using cooperation, compromise, and negotiation. All involve bringing together students, teachers, and administrators who may once have held each other at arm's length.

"What High School Activists Are Doing," NATION'S SCHOOLS 83:61-66, March 1969.

This roundup report details the new kind of high school organizations that are springing up all over the nation. The new brand of students are organizing primarily to protest a school establishment they call irrelevant.

YOUNG AMERICAN REPORT. Los Angeles: Young American Enterprises.

A monthly publication of the Young American Research Institute, which does a creditable job of reporting on young Americans--their thoughts, actions, and consequences thereof.

"Youth Action Sets Off Freewheeling Reforms," EDUCATION U.S.A., November 3, 1969.

Conceived by the young for the young, the new educational and community action programs mentioned in this brief range from "chain gangs" of sixth-grade tutors to high level, student-organized research on offshore oil pollution.

Public Schools (Supreme Court Decisions)

On April 20, 1971, the Supreme Court handed down decisions in five school cases which had been awaiting determination since they were argued in October, 1970. Three of them were concerned with the desegregation of the schools in *Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, N.C., Mobile County and city, Ala.*, and *Clarke County, Ga.*, while the other two related to the validity of the North Carolina anti-busing statute. Chief Justice Burger wrote the opinion for the unanimous Court in four of the cases; in the fifth, a brief Per Curiam opinion was filed.

The principal opinion was written for the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision, which not only sustained the validity of the desegregation plan prescribed by the district court for that school system (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 8 and 125), but also established some general guidelines regarding the Court's current interpretation of the constitutional requirement that dual school systems be abolished. Noting that at no time during the seventeen years since the Brown case was decided "has the Court deviated in the slightest degree from that holding or its constitutional underpinnings," Chief Justice Burger declared: "The objective today remains to eliminate from the public schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation." At several points in the opinion, the import of the decision was apparently restricted to situations involving de jure segregation produced by the manner in which state and local governments had established and operated the public school system. This limitation was indicated by the Court's early emphasis on the fact that the case came from a state with a long history of maintaining separate schools based solely on race, that the Brown case had declared such operations unconstitutional, and that the present problem was to define more precisely the scope of the duty of school officials to implement the mandate of the Brown case. Further, the Court asserted: "The elimination of racial discrimination in public schools is a large task, and one that should not be retarded by efforts to achieve broader purposes lying beyond the jurisdiction of school authorities. . . . We do not reach in this case the question whether a showing that school segregation as a consequence of other types of state action, without any discriminatory action by the school authorities, is a constitutional violation requiring remedial action by a school desegregation decree."

Though the Court declined to attempt to delineate generally what constitutes "a nonracial unitary school system," the opinion contains a

number of references to elements which are or are not required for such a system. (1) In regard to "such matters as transportation, supporting personnel, and extracurricular activities . . . maintenance of buildings and the distribution of equipment," the "remedial responsibility of school authorities is to eliminate invidious racial distinctions." (2) As to faculties, the arguments that assignments must be on a "color blind" basis—"that the Constitution prohibits district courts from using their equity power to order assignment of teachers to achieve a particular degree of faculty desegregation"—was explicitly rejected; and the duty of the courts to further the process of desegregation by requiring biracial faculties in all schools in a system was re-affirmed. (3) In discussing the construction of new schools and the closing of old ones, the Court declared that both the school boards and the courts are under a responsibility "to see to it that future school construction and abandonment is not used and does not serve to perpetuate and re-establish the dual system." (4) Regarding the imposition of racial quota or balance requirements in the formulation of desegregation plans, the court stated that if the district court had required "as a matter of substantive constitutional right, any particular degree of racial balance or mixing," the decision below would have been reversed, because: "The constitutional command to desegregate schools does not mean that every school in every community must always reflect the racial composition of the school system as a whole." However, the district court was found not to have pursued such a course, but rather to have used the 71-29 per cent white-Negro ratio as merely a desirable general objective to be achieved for each school where feasible, rather than as an "inflexible requirement." (5) Further, it was declared (for the first time by the Supreme Court) that "the existence of some small number of one-race, or virtually one-race, schools within a district is not in and of itself the mark of a system which still practices segregation by law." However, it was quickly added that "every effort [should be made] to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation," and that there is "a presumption against schools which are substantially disporportionate in their racial composition"—a presumption which places on school officials the burden "to satisfy the court that [the] racial composition [of such schools] is not the result of present or past discriminatory action on their part." (6) The Supreme Court also confirmed for the first time the requirement previously laid down by several

lower federal courts that desegregation plans include a majority-to-minority transfer privilege for students, and that students exercising the privilege are to be accorded free transportation to, and priority of claim to space in, the transferee school. (7) The gerrymandering of geographical attendance zones (including the incorporation of non-continguous areas into a single zone), and the use of pairing, grouping or clustering schools (even those located in non-contiguous areas), as a means of deliberately placing more Negro students in formerly white schools and more white students in formerly Negro schools was declared not to be "beyond the broad remedial powers of a court." In this regard the Court observed: "All things being equal, with no history of discrimination, it might well be desirable to assign pupils to schools nearest their homes. But all things are not equal in a system that has been deliberately constructed and maintained to enforce racial segregation. The remedy for such segregation may be administratively awkward, inconvenient and even bizarre in some situations and may impose burdens on some; but all awkwardness and inconvenience cannot be avoided in the interim period when remedial adjustments are being made to eliminate the dual school systems." It was then conceded that: "No fixed or even substantially fixed guidelines can be established as to how far a court can go, but it must be recognized that there are limits." Deciding what is within the proper limits in each specific situation was said to depend on what is necessary to achieve the objective of dismantling the dual school system, in the judgment of the court involved in each case. (8) Turning to the issue of busing, the Court stated: "The scope of permissible transportation of students as an implement of a remedial decree . . . by the very nature of the problem . . . cannot be defined with precision." After examining the relevant facts of the case at hand the Court determined: that the district court was right in finding that assignment of all elementary students to the schools nearest to their homes would not dismantle the dual school system; that the busing requirements of the district court's order call only for a "system which compares favorably with the transportation plan previously operated in Charlotte . . ."; and that "on the facts of this case, we are unable to conclude that the order of the district court is not reasonable, feasible and workable." However, it was observed that "an objection to transportation of students may have validity when the time or distance of travel is so great as to risk either the health of the children or sig-

nificantly impinge on the educational process." Earlier in its opinion the Court had rejected the argument that Sections 401(b) and 407(a) of the 1964 Civil Rights Act limit the power of the federal courts to order busing of students and assignment of students on the basis of race to achieve desegregation of a dual school system. Instead, it was ruled that those sections "purport only to insure that the provisions of Title IV . . . will not be read as granting new powers [or] . . . as expanding the existing powers of federal courts to enforce the Equal Protection Clause." (9) Finally, recognizing that communities will not remain "demographically stable" in a "growing and mobile society," the Court asserted that "neither school authorities nor district courts are constitutionally required to make year-by-year adjustments of the racial composition of student bodies once the affirmative duty to desegregate has been accomplished and racial discrimination through official action is eliminated from the system." Only if school or other governmental authorities have "deliberately attempted to fix or alter demographic patterns to affect the racial composition of the schools" would further intervention by the courts be necessary.

On the basis of its application of these principles and guidelines to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg situation, the Court affirmed the part of the Court of Appeals' decision (regarding junior and senior high schools) which had affirmed the district court's order of Feb. 4, 1970 (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 8 and 47), and also affirmed the district court's order of Aug. 7, 1970 (requiring extensive non-contiguous zoning for elementary schools and considerable busing of elementary students to schools outside of their neighborhoods) (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 125). *Swann, et al.* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Ed'n, et al.*, ____ S. Ct. ____ (Nos. 281 and 349, April 20, 1971).

In the closely related case involving the issue of the validity of the North Carolina "anti-busing" statute, the Supreme Court agreed with the reasoning of the three-judge federal district court which had held the law to be unconstitutional and had enjoined its enforcement (see 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 48, sub nom. Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Ed'n, et al.). In response to arguments of state education officials that the statute constituted a valid declaration of the state's policy regarding the operation of its public school system, the Court declared: ". . . if a state-imposed limitation on a [local] school authority's discretion operates to inhibit or obstruct the operation of a unitary school system or impede the

disestablishing of a dual school system, it must fall; state policy must give way when it operates to hinder vindication of federal constitutional guarantees." The statute's flat prohibition against assigning any student to a school on account of race or for the purpose of creating a racial balance in the schools was held to be invalid because it would: (1) obstruct the remedies ordered by the district court in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case; (2) "render illusory the promise of Brown v. Board of Education" by exploiting "an apparently neutral form to control school assignments," with the practical effect of perpetuating the established segregated patterns; and (3) "deprive school authorities of the one tool absolutely essential to fulfillment of their constitutional obligation to eliminate existing dual systems." Similarly, the provision in the law absolutely forbidding the transportation of students assigned on the basis of race or to create racial balance was held to be a measure which would "hamper the ability of local authorities to effectively remedy constitutional violations." The Court observed that "bus transportation has long been an integral part of all public educational systems, and it is unlikely that a truly effective remedy could be devised without continued reliance upon it." Therefore, the district court's judgment was affirmed. *North Carolina State Bd. of Ed'n, et al.* v. *Swann,* ____ S. Ct. ____ (No. 498, April 20, 1971).

In a companion case, originally brought in a state court but later removed to the federal district court, the same statute had been declared unconstitutional. On consideration of the appeal, the Supreme Court determined that in the trial court both the plaintiff and the defendant had argued that the statute was constitutional. Since the same result was thus sought by both parties, it was concluded that the suit must be dismissed because "no case or controversy within the meaning of Article III of the Constitution" was involved. *Moore, et al.* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. of Ed'n,* ____ S. Ct. ____ (No. 444, April 20, 1971) (Per Curiam).

In the *Mobile* case, the Supreme Court dealt with the validity of a desegregation plan devised for use in the 1970-71 term in the combined city-county school system by a series of decisions of the district court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals during the summer of 1970. (See 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 92 and 129 for summaries of those decisions.) The ruling of the Court of Appeals that the racial ratio of the faculty and staff in each of the schools must be substantially the same as the racial ratio of the faculty and staff of the

entire system was affirmed by the Supreme Court. As to the assignment of students both on the elementary and secondary levels, however, the arrangements approved by the appellate court were found to be inadequate to satisfy constitutional requirements. In regard to junior and senior high schools, the appellate court plan, designed to eliminate all of the seven remaining all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools, called for a number of pairings of white and Negro schools, without the use of either non-contiguous attendance zones or bus transportation to achieve desegregation. For the elementary schools, the plan employed revision of attendance zones, school pairings and grade restructuring to reduce the number of all-Negro schools from twelve to six, in which about half of the Negro students in the metropolitan area would be enrolled. No use of non-continguous zones or bus transportation of students to achieve desegregation was included; and the arrangement was based on recognition of a major north-south highway through the city as a natural division for school zoning purposes, though about 94% of the Negro students lived on the eastern side of the highway. The record before the Supreme Court showed that the enrollment figures projected under the Court of Appeals' plan were inaccurate, and that over half of the Negro secondary students were actually still attending all-Negro or nearly all-Negro schools, and nine, rather than six, of the elementary schools in the eastern sector had all-Negro or nearly all-Negro enrollments which collectively accounted for 64% of all Negro elementary students in the metropolitan area. In discussing the requirements for valid desegregation of a school system the Court stated: "As we have held, 'neighborhood school zoning,' whether based strictly on home-to-school distance or on 'unified geographic zones' is not the only constitutionally permissible remedy; nor is it per se adequate to meet the remedial responsibilities of local boards. Having once found a violation, the district judge or school authorities should make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of actual desegregation, taking into account the practicalities of the situation. A district court may and should consider the use of all available techniques including restructuring of attendance zones and both contiguous and noncontiguous attendance zones. . . . The measure of any desegregation plan is its effectiveness." Concluding "that the Court of Appeals felt constrained to treat the eastern part of metropolitan Mobile in isolation from the rest of the school system, and that inadequate consideration was given to the

possible use of bus transportation and split zoning," the Supreme Court reversed the judgment below and remanded the case for entry of a decree which "promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work *now*." *Davis, et al. v. Bd. of Com'rs of Mobile County, et al.*, ____ S. Ct. ____ (No. 436, April 20, 1971).

The *Clarke County* case arose from a suit filed in Georgia state courts by parents of school children, challenging the validity of an elementary school desegregation plan which had been adopted by the county Board of Education. Under the plan, the county had been divided into geographical attendance zones in a manner which would achieve substantial integration in the elementary school student bodies, and then students in five predominantly Negro residential areas were assigned to predominantly white schools outside of their own attendance zones. Of the latter, those living more than 1½ miles from their assigned schools were provided bus transportation. The white-Negro ratio of the county's student population was about two-to-one, and under the plan two elementary schools had a 50% Negro enrollment and in the others the Negro enrollment ranged from 20% to 40%. The Georgia Supreme Court found this arrangement to be violative of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. (See 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 132, sub nom. Barresi v. Browne, for further details.) The United States Supreme Court reversed that decision, and upheld the validity of the school board's action. On the constitutional issue, it was held that the board, in carrying out its affirmative duty under the Equal Protection Clause to disestablish the dual school system "properly took into account the race of its elementary school children in drawing attendance lines. To have done otherwise would have severely hampered the board's ability to deal effectively with the task at hand. . . . In this remedial process, steps will almost invariably require that students be assigned 'differently because of their race'. . . . Any other approach would freeze the status quo that is the very target of all desegregation processes." On the statutory question, it was held that Sections 401(b) and 407(a) of the 1964 Act (which restrict the assignment or transportation of students from one school to another to "overcome racial imbalance" or to achieve "racial balance") "are directed only at federal officials and are designed simply to foreclose any interpretation of the Act as expanding the powers of federal officials to enforce the Equal Protection Clause. . . . Title IV clearly does not restrict state

school authorities in the exercise of their discretionary powers to assign students within their school systems." *McDaniel, et al.* v. *Barresi,* ____ S. Ct. ____ (No. 420, April 20, 1971).

Public Schools (District of Columbia Circuit)

District of Columbia

The opening of a new elementary school in a far southwest Washington area has produced a controversy leading to another decision of the federal district court in the long-standing District of Columbia school desegregation case. [See 12 Race Rel. L. Rep. 1228 (1967), 1 Race Rel. L. Survey 57 (1969) and 2 Race Rel. L. Survey 166 (1970) for previous developments.] Parents of several students living in the area intervened in the case in July, 1970, to contest the constitutionality of the boundaries established by the school board to divide the area into two attendance zones, one for the new school and the other for the 25-year old school which had previously served the entire area. Plaintiffs contended that the arrangement created a racial and socio-economic imbalance in these two schools and a predominantly white primary school on an adjacent air base, and argued that a pairing plan placing all students in grades 1 to 3 in the old school and all students in grades 4 to 6 in the new school would achieve more thoroughly integrated student bodies. After delaying the proceedings in order to learn what the actual enrollments in the schools would be under the board's plan, the court held hearings in October to determine whether that system, as implemented, "is in compliance with the constitutional requirement of equal educational opportunity for all children, irrespective of race or economic status." The evidence showed that the new school was definitely superior to the old one in design, construction, equipment, and facilities; and that the enrollment in the old school was 88% Negro and in the new school was 72% Negro, though the board had previously projected a 66% Negro enrollment in each. In the face of some conflicting evidence, the court concluded that the boundary lines adopted by the board resulted also in "some degree of discrimination along socio-economic lines." The court expressed the opinion that the substantial inaccuracy of the board's projected enrollments may have "obscured important constitutional considerations" in the board's deliberations regarding placement of the zone boundaries, and may have caused the board

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... GA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 6, 1971

TO: SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
FROM: The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ABOUT: RACIAL TENSIONS WITHIN THE SCHOOLS

We are aware of three things:

1. Your job is difficult.
2. You are very busy.
3. This is a large packet of materials.

We ask two things:

1. That you read this two page memorandum.
2. That you then decide to scan the enclosed materials or have them reviewed for you by a top assistant.

The Southern Regional Council is writing to you because we believe in the importance of education. We want to see all children of our region develop their fullest potential. That development depends on education.

For many schools the process of desegregation is still unresolved. Even when the law is complied with, there may be serious failures in communication, inter-group understanding, and acceptance of education as a fully mutual and desirable undertaking. Schools, students, teachers, administrators have all been affected. Institu-

~~1/2 page color~~

mecklenburg

School Cases: Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, N.C.
Mobile County and City, Ala.
The attached Clarke County, Ga. insert
N. C. Anti-bussing statute

The attached material summarizes the school case decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court ~~in the school cases~~ on April 20, 1971. The summaries are taken with permission from the Race Relations Law Survey Vol. 3, No. 1, May, 1971.

These cases are a major and recent reminder of the continuing firm role taken by the ~~Federal~~ Courts in requiring actual desegregation without further delays.

Can we get a Xerox copy of this (go to the original) material that is so clear and even that we can make photo stencils for offset?

It is possible that most of it could be shot from the original.

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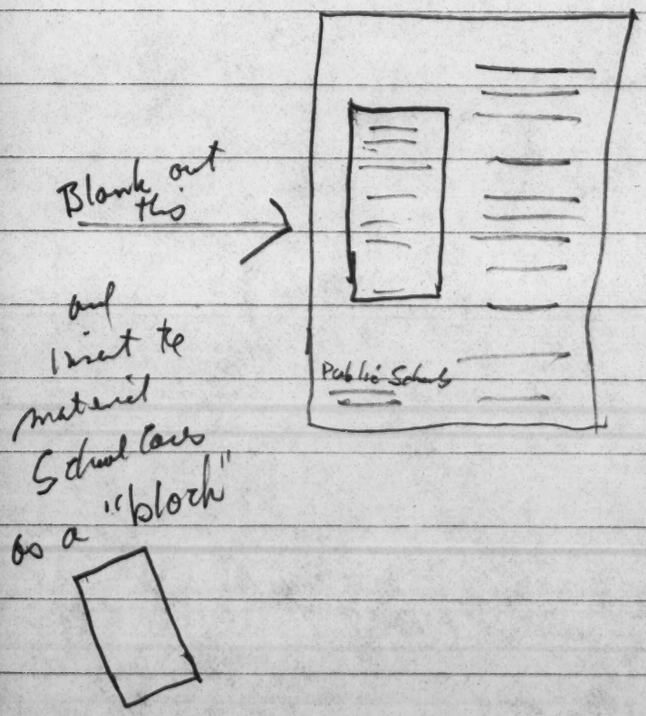

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Planning for Educational Change, Integrating the Desegregated School

This is an excellent booklet prepared for the U.S. Office of Education to suggest concrete ways of reducing problems in desegregated school situations and working toward a healthy and productive educational environment

Especially recommended are:

Chapter 6 (p.27), "The Roles of the School Principal"
Chapter 7 (p.30), "The Principal and Student Involvement"
Chapter 8 (p.37), "The Principal and Community Support"
Chapter 9 (p.39), "The Principal and the Professional Staff"
Bibliographic Summary (p.50).
Appendix E (p.62), "Diagnosis of School-Wide Satisfaction"
Appendix F (p.65), "Principal Designs for Problem Solving"

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Chpt. 9 (p. 39), "The Principal and the Professional Staffs"

Bibliographic Summary (p. 50)
Appendix E (p. 62), "Diagnosis of School-wide Sentiment"
Appendix F (p. 65), "Principal Designs for Problem Solving"

Planning Educational Change, Integrating the Desegregated School

This is an excellent booklet prepared for the U.S. Office of Education to suggest concrete ways of reducing problems in desegregated school situations and working toward a healthy and productive educational environment.

Especially recommended are:

Chpt. 6 (p.27), "The Roles of the School Principal"
Chpt. 7 (p.30), "The Principal and Student Involvement"
Chpt. 8 (p.37), "The Principal and Community Support"
Chpt. 9 (p.39), "The Principal and the Professional Staffs"

Bibliographic Summary (p.50).
Appendix E (p. 62), "Diagnosis of School-wide Sentiment"
Appendix F (p. 65), "Principal Designs for Problem Solving"

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT OR STUDENT UNREST?

Student unrest ~~has become~~ is a national phenomenon. It is as widespread today in the high schools as it was earlier in universities. ~~It exists even in high schools without racial problems.~~ In high schools that have recently changed racially, it often surfaces destructively.

This development ~~of the 1960's challenges all leaders of the 1970's, including students and parents as well as administrators and teachers,~~ challenges us all to recognize and to encourage the positive potential of student concern and energy. ~~After all,~~ ~~many~~ Most students want to help improve our society; most at least have something to say. They should be heard.

~~Sometimes~~ What they say ~~has no~~ may or may not have racial significance. It is the appeal of a generation which in ~~some~~ many ways has matured faster than earlier ones, which is more alert, expectant, insistent, and perhaps greater in its potentaial than any other high school generation. Yet these high school students are not adults. They are young people grappling with what they will be as adults, young people in need of both response and guidance. They cannot be served by repression or by the insincere surrender of adult responsibilities.

~~Sometimes~~ Frequently the current student unrest <u>is</u> related to racial change in the schools. ~~The South especially is entering a time when two cultures--different and yet similar in their rich mutual heritage, and taken together, different in many ways from the prevalent culture of the nation as a whole--are being joined for the first time in schools.~~ The notion that integration simply means bringing blacks into white schools is, fortunately, dying. The courageous black

~~black~~ students who endured dangers and tensions in the 1950's and 1960's to bring about school desegregation did not intend to cause the death of black identity in the 1970's. (White Southerners, who have treasured their own special identity within the nation, should understand that particularly well.). But these black students seemed to know that the destinies of white and black Southerners must be a mutual destiny, that the old separatism must die. What they said--and sometimes added as a verse to the triumphant hum of their movement, "We Shall Overcome"--was: "Black and white together."

Our schools and the relationships within them, forged to serve earlier generations, clearly need to change to meet new challenges. Already some students and administrators are showing the way.

Two recent developments that particularly illustrate positive student potential are: (1) The Task Force for Student Involvement, formed under the auspices of North Carolina's State Department of Public Instruction; and (2) the Youth Bi-Racial Committee of the Tampa, Florida, Commission of Community Relations (a report of which is included separately in this kit).

In late 1969, the Task Force for Student Involvement was formed under the auspices of the State Department of Public Instruction of North Carolina. Since then, it has involved the state's youth directly in proposing how schools can meet their current challenges. The Task Force grew out of serious student unrest; it has produced recommendations which merit attention everywhere if the unrest is to become creative rather than destructive. The Task Force concluded that the greatest resolution for student unrest is greater student involvement. ~~It is~~ Is it surprising that students living in a nation reputed to be the world's greatest democracy desire

greater democracy in their own situations? Through the Task Force, students themselves are showing the way.

The Task Force has produced an extremely valuable publication entitled "Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education," which may be obtained from the State Department of Public Instruction, Raleigh, N.C., 27602. "Involvement" presents a series of student-inspired proposals, worked out with school administrators and others, which are applicable to high schools everywhere. ~~Second reference~~ ~~Bibliography~~ Sheet

In the report you are reading, the Southern Regional Council summarizes these recommendations, hoping that they may gain wider attention. We have sought to present them as the students drew them up, with some rearrangement and shortening in the interest of brevity. We hope they will serve as useful starting points for administrators, students, teachers, and parents.

SUMMARY OF THE TASK FORCE REPORT

Disciplinary Matters and Rumors

Administrators should be honest, straightforward and frank with students. Especially when rumors are involved, they should tell the entire truth about any and all incidents. Combating rumors and the potential for rumors is primarily the responsiblity of adminstrators.

Students should not be threatened with real and/or imaginary potential punishments. Nor should they be forced into positions in which they are required to reveal fellow offenders in order not to face stricter punishments.

Whenever disciplinary actions are taken, administrators should give full explanations. Suspensions and expulsions should be used only as the last resort. Rules and regulations set by the highest levels of policy-makers and administration--e.g., the Board of Education and the superintendent--should be limited so that the local high school staff has as much flexibility as possible in regulatory and disciplinary matters.

Principals should distribute to all students a pamphlet explaining the grounds on which a student will be disciplined suspended, or expelled. These rules should list specifically what are considered minor infractions, major infractions and grounds for suspension or expulsion. In light of recent court cases, the principal should make known to all parents as well as students the procedures that will be followed in disciplinary actions.

Police should be used minimally and then only to protect, not discipline students.

Administrative Practices to Involve Students and Facilitate Fairness

Students should be distributed alphabetically in home-room assignments, rather than by tracking systems or other methods. Alphabetic distribution will foster better understanding between students of different backgrounds.

Dialogue and seminar sessions should be held regularly for school problems, current events, and matters arising from differences in students' backgrounds and interests. A suggested approach is that a regularly scheduled course period be set aside once every 2 or 4 weeks for this session; the time could be rotated among school periods to relieve any one period from excessive loss of class time.

Teenagers ashould be allowed to organize emergency committees to investigate and propose solutions to problems of unrest.

School unity should be fostered by the utilization of athletic event cheers that represent the choices of all segments of the student body.

All clubs in the school, whether of a selective nature or not, should be open to all students. The administration should encourage the creation of more service-oriented and interest clubs and should foster full student control of these.

Ethnic sensitivity training should be a major objective for faculty members. This training might be provided during recertification and in-service training periods. Minority faculty members' experience should be utilized fully in this.

An active interest should be taken in expediting racial integration at school levels below high school, especially on the elementary level.

Extending Structures for Student Involvement

A. A student court for advising on student discipline. Such a court or advisory group might be established on an application-selection basis. Interested students would apply and be selected by a student-faculty committee.

Terms on the court should rotate, perhaps involving every grading period in order to allow an optimum number of students to participate.

B. Advisory Committees for Academic Departments.

These committees should be made up of students taking the variuus subjects. They would meet with the departmental faculties and invidivual teachers. Students might help with instruction, sponsor study outside the classes, and advise the teachers on how well students are comprehending and reacting to the subject matter and instruction.

C. Student-administered Tutorial Programs.

These programs should utilize all students rather than be placed under one organization such as the National Honor Society or Beta Club. Perhaps a Big Brother program or a one-to-one tutoring program can be established to help potential dropouts and low-achievers.

D. Student-administered Study Halls During Lunch Periods.

A study hall run by students away from the eating area would help teach students responsibility. Also, the creation of a student union for social mixing during lunch would encourage better communication. Though dancing and extremely loud music would be inappropriate, a place where students could go to talk or play music would be conducive to helping students unwind and release pressures.

E. Student-administered Monitor Systems, When Needed.

This should be used only when absolutely necessary. It would enable students to learn greater responsibility.

F. Advisory Committees for Guidance Departments.

Students could help relieve over-worked guidance counselors by helping with their paper work during study halls and after school. Most important, however, is the role they could play in research and communication. The advisory committee could look into all possibilities for scholarships and report their findings. This committee also could assist counselors in spotting and helping potential dropouts.

G. Cultural Exchange Programs Administered by Students and Teachers.

Study topics might include black history, history and literature; the state's folklore; Indian history and culture; and local culture. Seminars could be held after school, during activity periods or during class time.

H. Living-and Learning Exchange Programs Within The Community.

This program would be directed toward better student understanding of the whole community. Students might visit in each others homes and make trips to learn more about the city, town, and country.

I. Social-learning Events Administered by Students and Teachers.

Interracial projects and parties can help teenagers get together on an informal basis, heightening the opportunity for communication and understanding. Projects might include cleanup campaigns around the school, parties for school unity, and school fix-up programs on athletic fields and student unions.

J. Curriculum Study Programs.

Students should be encouraged to serve in ex officio roles in curriculum study programs. They could aid communication between adults and students on matters of common interest and concern.

K. Money for Student Participation.

Administrators should consider minimum monetary expenditures to extend particpation in student activities so that those of poorer economic status will not be less involved than those of stronger economic background.

Special Recommendations in Hyper-Sensitive Areas

CHEERLEADERS

A. Cheerleaders should be selected, not elected. The position of cheerleaders, like that of a football player, should be one which is gained by ability, not popularity. Judgment should be made upon the characteristics necessary to being a cheerleader: poise leadership, personality, physical ability to do cheers well, coordination, creativity, and ability to work well with other girls and with large crowds.

B. No grade requirements, activities record, or conduct requirements should be made of any prospective cheerleader. (After a student is selected to the squad, perhaps she should be required to maintain the same academic standing that students on athletic squads must hold--the passing of three academic subjects.) By eliminating these requirements before selection is made, any and all students may try out for the squad.

Thus, more interest will be created, more students will be involved in tryouts, and less dissatisfaction will occur because certain students were "discriminated" against.

C. The judging panel should be made up of impartial people, preferably from outside the school staff. The panel should represent fairly all races and cultural groups. Selection of panel members should be based on ability to judge cheerleading styles, to judge personality and leadership, and to be fair in appraising all strong and weak points of each student trying out for the squad.

D. Judgment should be made on merit; hence, the use of a scoring sheet is highly recommended. This sheet should allow each judge to score independently each student on several different categories (See I.-A. of this group of recommendations) with points being used in the manner of five--excellent, four--good, three--satisfactory, with two and one being unsatisfactory. In this manner the selection will be based on all students trying out, with only the tabulation picking the final winners. Tabulation should be done by an impartial person, witnessed by students. (Tabulator should not be a student nor one of the judges.)

E. Cheers used for selection proceedings should be <u>truly</u> reflective of all cheers liked in the school. Differences between white and black cheers <u>do</u> exist, as do differences for other cultural groups. Utilization of <u>all</u> types of cheers will eliminate any subtle discrimination.

F. Tryouts should be well announced to all students, with area for tryouts and selection procedure outlined well in advance of opening tryouts.

HOMECOMING COURTS AND QUEENS

Beauty contests should be constructed as to give all students a fair and representative chance at selection.

Any club or athletic team, homeroom, or individual should be allowed to sponsor a girl for the crown. No standards as to academic standing or conduct record should be made of any girl, and "black-balling" by any teacher or student, individual, or group, is highly discouraged. Selection should be done by popular vote, with plurality serving as the deciding vote, rather than by majority.

No selection of queens or other beauty emblems can ever be done fairly until all students recognize the worth and dignity of all their fellow students. Continuation of beauty being defined as the "fair young maid with waxen hair and sky blue eyes" will only lead to further difficulties. Encourage girls of all races and ethnic groups to be sponsored for the crown. Do not allow any girl who has been queen at any other school function during the year to repeat with another crown (i.e., Homecoming Queen also being May Queen). Serious consideration should be given ~~if~~ to not including a girl who has ~~she has previously~~ won that title in past years. Once again, only a spirit of unity and understanding can overcome society's influence of prejudice and long-standing definitions of beauty.

MARSHALLS AT GRADUATION EXERCISES

Marshalls should be selected strictly on the basis of academic standing. One suggested method is to take the top ten girls and top ten boys in academic standing for marshalls. Methods which are selective or use a screening process generally run into more dissatisfaction than a clear cut method such as by academic standing.

SUPERLATIVES

Superlatives are generally traditions carried over from the day of small schools from one community only. In a day of con-

solidation and enlargement, superlatives are not the same commodity as before. Today few students really emerge as "Best All Around" or "Best Looking." In addition, such titles as "Best Dressed" emphasize wealth rather than personality. Superlatives should be expanded with more students involved. Or, superlatives should be dropped altogether with selection of more students to such groups as the National Honor Society or a "Who's Who" in the school. The main thought behind any honor is to acknowledge those students who are performing up to or beyond their own capabilities.

Rights and Responsibilities of Student Newspapers

The principal's relationship to the school newspaper should be worked out early in the year to avoid embarrassment and misunderstanding. The principal should advise the paper, but neither he nor any faculty member should ever censor or alter the newspaper. Rather, also early in the year, the student staff should establish guidelines under which they will print articles. (These should probably deal with the areas of obscenities and libelous statements.) It is recommended that a "Principal's Column" be included in the paper, to allow him to communicate his feeling on any and all areas of school concern. By this column a principal may communicate to the students on specific situations which warrant concern (congratulations to successful school groups, clarification of misunderstandings and comments on future activities). This column should in no way limit the principal's concern with and practice of other forms of communication, but should be yet another avenue towards complete communication.

Increasing the Student Councils' Role

A. The "Student Council" concept of student representation should be changed. Presently, the Council acts as a link of communication between the administration and the student body. This, however, is only a theory, for in practice the Student Council

does not truly carry communications, for the students do not feel compelled to support an organization which can do little more than run social events and help with announcements before school. The Student Council should become a Student Government, capable of making final decisions on many student policies. Matters which are not so large as to require the principal, by law, to act should be handled by the Student Government, with the final decision resting with the students, without being subject to veto by the administration. Certainly matters such as hall monitors and school dress codes are areas which students could and should deal with, while disciplinary action should be ultimately decided by the administrator. Even in the area of discipline, however, advisory boards of students and student guidelines will encourage greater awareness, responsibility, and involvement on the part of the student.

B. In line with the "Student Government" form of Student Council, election procedures should be altered so as to gain optimum representation of all student groups. Because homerooms should be a mixture of all types of students, the homeroom is increasingly becoming inadequate as a voting district. Because most Student Councils or Student Representatives are chosen from homerooms, many students have little chance of getting involved. As we are well aware, homeroom representatives are usually chosen on a popularity basis. Hence, a means of election re-

flecting more responsibility is necessary. Although there may be several methods, below is a suggested revision in voting procedures.

1. Voting shall be done on a precinct or ward basis, utilizing the existing adult municipal/county voting precinct or ward construction. In rural areas, these precincts or wards may have to be drawn by an impartial body of administrators, teachers, and students. By this method one capitalizes on housing patterns, social, and economic backgrounds to gain students truly representative of their voting district.

2. Students should file or run for office in his or her voting district <u>only</u>. Each student should vote on candidates from his or her voting district only. <u>No qualifications should be required of a student beyond his being a registered student in the school</u>. No requirements should be made concerning grades, club activities, activities outside of school, or previous conduct. In this manner all students are eligible to run for office, thus eliminating all concerns about a "prestructured" Student Council or "discrimination" by qualifications. The reasoning that more activities reduces one's effectiveness should be applied on an individual basis, not for the group at large. Each Student Council should be responsible for helping its members maintain his or her ability to be responsible and representative.

3. Students running for office should be encouraged to formulate platforms or statements of goals to be

pursued during the next school year. In this manner popularity would hopefully stand second to issues. Campaign speeches and debates should be encouraged during lunch and activity times, as well as at scheduled convocation or assembly appearances, to gain maximum awareness and responsibility before and after the election.

4. At-large candidates may be utilized but it is recommended that these be few in number (no more than 10 per cent of total representation on Student Council) and they should be voted on by the entire student body.

5. Election of major officers (including president, vice president, sscretary, and treasurer) should be by a vote of the entire student body.

6. Procedures should be designed before election time to deal with all possible situations (i.e., write-in ballots, defaced ballots, incorrect voting methods). These procedures should be made known to the entire student body before election day.

C. The Student Council, in its "Student Government sense," should be prepared to meet, develop, and solve student needs. Hence it should create only such committees and groups as are really necessary and desirable. Rather than a "Welcome Committee" or similar group that functions only on the whim of the chairman, viable and dynamic groups which would catch student interest and meet student problems should be organized. A good example is

a Human Relations or Student Relations Council, which could deal with problems resulting from racial, economic, or social differences in understanding and cooperation.

D. Student Councils and the administration, to effect greater positive student involement, should identify and utilize the "transitional leaders" within the student body. That is, the students that can relate: to the "apathetic," disinterested student, to the "militant" teenager (blck or white), and to the "middle-of-the-road" student. While relating to these various segments of the school populace, these "transitional leaders" at the same time can relate to the "involved students" (i.e., Student Council) and the administration. By capitalizing on these groups of leaders, a principal and Student Council can spread awareness and a sense of "everybody getting in on the action." These "transitional leaders" may not always be the top academic students; they may have poor conduct records. But by using their capabilities of leadership in <u>their own groups</u>, the principal and Student Council can help that individual and his group become more aware and involved. Appointment to special committees, responsibility for certain projects, and recognition of viewpoint at Student Council meetings' are but a few ways to utilize the "transitional leader."

E. Student Council and the principal should recognize the differences in attitude and backgruund of differing racial, economic, and social groups. Particularly, it is important to realize that black students often do not hold with the opinions of their parents, while in general white students still agree with their parents' viewpoint. Hence, various steps should be made to insure cognizance of all students' backgrounds. Far-ranging student attitudes should not be interpreted as impudence, but rather as an exploration for identity and accomplishment. Recognition of these factors can contribute to greater awareness and involement of all segments of the student body.

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"WHAT'S IN THIS KIT"

I. A condensation of a report by the North Carolina Task Force for Student Involvement. This committee of high school students from across North Carolina produced a series of recommendations, under the auspices of the State Department of Public Instruction, concerning ways schools can meet the challenge of integration. Their fundamental conclusion is to foster greater student involvement in school decision-making.

II. "Planning Educational Change: Integrating the Desegregated School." This pamphlet, prepared by the national Office of Education, presents straight forward and concrete suggestions concerning every phase of school integration, particularly as it presents challenges to the high school administrator.

III. A report by the Tampa, Florida, Youth BI-Racial Advisory Committee. This group of seventy-six high school students, representing all public and private high schools throughout Hillsborough County, suggested program areas which can be used by youth to help bridge gaps between different race and age groups. These project areas include a youth speakers' bureau, community service, and remedial-tutorial programs.

IV. "The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71." This original report by six Southern Regional Council staff members includes a general appraisal of Southern school desegregation, four community studies, (Athens, Georgia; Beaufort, South Carolina; Charlotte, North Carolina; and Mobile, Alabama), an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement, and a profile of four black students' reactions to their first year of desegregated schooling.

V. Summary of the recent major Supreme Court decisions concerning integration. This extract from Race Relations Law Survey discusses the five Supreme Court decisions handed down on Aril of this year in relatively readable, straightforward language.

MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

~~D R A F T~~

~~THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc~~

~~"SCHOOL DESEGREGATION---------SECONDARY EDUCATION~~

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Omit

~~Southern Regional Council, Inc.~~
Materials for School Administrators
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Yellow Paper

~~This packet contains~~: I "whats in this kit" ~~of~~ Tops.

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II → Imit (# VI)

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~~III.~~ A report of the Tampa Commission of Community Relations on the Youth Bi-racial Advisory Committee. This report documents the origins, background, purpose, and development of the youth council.

Omit

IV. An introduction to the cooperative service-learning program at the University of South Florida. Although not directly related to the settlement of racial differences, this report presents a model for increasing students' social and intellectual experiences. Internship experiences outside the University's "ivory tower" community sharpen students' sensitivities and therefore help prepare them to be more perceptive and skillful in newly integrated situations.

Omit

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INTRODUCTION

For a number of years the Southern Regional Council has issued periodic reports on school desegregation. These reports have, properly, analyzed federal governmental policy, court decisions, local administrative responses and the statistical results of those actions.

In the summer of 1970, as we planned this year's report, we sensed that the 1970-71 school year would be the most crucial one since 1954. More importantly, we agreed that now was the time to determine what was happening to education, to the children.

As a measure of our priorities, we assigned six staff members to the study. Each is identified in the report. The work was coordinated by our Research Department; the full report was edited by Robert E. Anderson, Jr. A number of other persons on the staff and outside the agency assisted with the research or read portions of the manuscript. We are grateful to them all for sharing with us the sense of the crucial importance of public education in the region at this time.

The report begins with a general appraisal of school desegregation in the region and concludes with a discussion by four black high school students who explain in concrete, specific terms what their first year of desegregated schooling has meant to them. In between are four community studies and an assessment of the continuing segregation academy movement. The four communities each reflect a different facet of the larger story. Three of the cities—Athens, Charlotte, and Mobile—were before the Supreme Court in October, 1970, and it seemed wise to report in detail on the crucial issues arising from their experience.

The report reveals, I believe, that those who say that segregation problems are solved direct attention away from the very real ones that remain, and support away from those trying to solve them. Those who, on the other hand, say all is lost have much the same effect, and encourage further retreat of the federal government and opinion leaders from the national commitment to equal education.

Emerging from this report is one highly significant point. Six sensitive and competent individuals went their own ways, essentially, to produce sections of the total. Some surveyed better situations, some the worst. Each independently concluded that the important and hopeful factor was that the students were there and involved in determining their own destiny.

This is, of course, an unfinished report. And, tragically, it probably cannot be finished for a number of years. Just as we have lost so much precious time and done so much human damage by stupidity, viciousness, and ignorance, so we seem destined to do more. Yet, we must educate our young. We must have faith in them. Perhaps, now, at least we have begun to do both.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

But the unfortunate truth is that, given ample opportunity by federal enforcement policies, too many southern school leaders not only failed to institute "sweeping changes" but showed instead that they were still able both to frustrate the intent of federal law and damage the welfare of the children in their charge.

The frustration of court orders and HEW-approved plans was widespread. Governor Holton tried to set a good example by sending his daughter to a predominantly black school, but other leaders were defiant. George Wallace advised Mobilians to defy the law by placing their children in schools of their choice; Lester Maddox told Georgians to exercise "freedom-of-choice," whatever the courts might have ordered; and John Bell Williams, Governor of Mississippi, both counseled resistance and dramatized his personal opposition to desegregation by putting his children in private school.

The examples set by these and other unreconstructed leaders were taken to heart by thousands of private citizens and hundreds of public officials; and they found numerous ways of preventing enforcement of the law. In Mobile, for example, more than a thousand children turned up at schools to which they were not assigned. William B. Crane, chairman of the Board of School Commissioners, gave them moral encouragement by describing the court-ordered plan as "asinine." It was made by federal officials, he remarked, "and they can enforce it."[17]

Elsewhere, in less well-publicized incidents, white parents adopted all sorts of strategies to keep their children out of the newly desegregated schools. In some districts parents falsified their addresses to get their children preferred assignments. For example, a Florida school board put nine agents to work to track down parents said by the superintendent to be "lying and cheating to circumvent the court order."[18] In other areas, such as Hartsville, South Carolina, and Birmingham, Alabama, school officials appeared to raise no objection to illegal transfers. U. W. Clemon, a Legal Defense Fund attorney in Birmingham, claimed that "10,000 white students in Jefferson County alone are openly attending classes in schools where they were not assigned in violation of the court's desegregation order."[19]

Added to these evasions of the law and the insidious forms of classroom segregation discussed earlier, the 1970-71 school year has been characterized by a disturbing increase of numerous forms of in-school discrimination. Almost no form of discrimination that one can imagine has been left untried. The most common have been the exclusion of black students from school organizations, the selection of all-white homecoming courts, and the use of symbols and songs ("Rebel" and "Dixie") reminiscent of a racist tradition.

Tensions produced by in-school discrimination have caused most of the confrontations and violence accompanying the expansion of desegrega-

[17]New York *Times*, September 10, 1970; Washington *Post*, September 10, 1970.
[18]Miami *Herald*, September 18, 1970.
[19]New York *Times*, September 14, 1970; Los Angeles *Times*, October 8, 1970.

tion. The "Dixie" issue, which has wracked schools in all parts of the region, is an instructive example.

At Butler High School, in Huntsville, Alabama, black students (who numbered 302 of the total enrollment of 2,581) objected to the playing of "Dixie" at football games, the use of "Rebels" as the team name, and the display of the Confederate battle flag as the school flag. At a pre-game pep rally in the fall, black students walked out when "Dixie" was played and the Confederate flag waved; some returned later and tore down the flag. In the days that followed, black students—joined by high school and college students from the area—staged a march, 113 black Butler High students were suspended, students engaged police in a fight, mace was used to suppress the protestors, eight black students were arrested, and at one point a planeload of riot equipment was flown in from Chicago to be available to the police.

During the controversy the school superintendent agreed to consider the banning of "Dixie" as well as the display of the Confederate flag. White parents resented the move, insisted that no consideration be given the request of the black students, and in the midst of one mass meeting they all joined in a chorus of "Dixie." When the next football game was played few black student spectators showed up, and several black team members stayed away. The band held back until the fourth quarter when it responded to shouts of "we want Dixie," playing the tune while Confederate banners waved.[20]

"Victory celebrations" of this sort say much about the problems of racial adjustment in the desegregated schools, and failure to see them for what they are accounts for much of the anguish that schools, and their students, have experienced. In South Carolina, for example, the Columbia superintendent noted that the band leaders themselves had decided not to use Dixie. "Of course, to me," he said in an interview, "Dixie is a very beautiful tune. . . . But there is other beautiful music that can be substituted for it. We feel that inconsequential things like that should be avoided if there is any danger of causing conflict."[21]

The belief that quarrels over such issues as "Dixie" are essentially "inconsequential" is apparently held by many white schoolmen, not to mention those farther removed from the scene. Dr. Cyril B. Busbee, State Superintendent of Education in South Carolina, illustrated this attitude in a recent speech before the state's high school principals. Dwelling largely on disciplinary complications brought about by the change to a unitary system, he said that a "school with inadequate discipline cannot conduct a productive program," and then deplored "unwarranted and unnecessary bickering over issues that were essentially trivial . . . such matters as school colors and mascots."[22]

In what used to be ordinary times, when student bodies were more-or-less homogeneous, agitation over such matters as school songs and colors

[20]Birmingham *News*, October 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 1970.
[21]Columbia (S. C.), *The State*, August 30, 1970.
[22]Columbia (S. C.) *The State*, January 9, 1971.

no doubt could be regarded as "inconsequential" and "trivial." The point, of course, is that these are not ordinary times and student bodies are not homogeneous. To most black students, the strains of "Dixie" are laden with contempt for their dignity. Whites who insist on retaining the song are seen as insensitive and naive, at best; implacable enemies, at worst.

V: Violence and Intimidation

Much of the violence that has taken place this fall stems from the wounds to black sensitivity inflicted by schoolmen either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the racism in their institutions. Consider, for example, the case of Earle, Arkansas.

Earle is a small farming community of 3,000, some twenty miles from Memphis, in the Mississippi Delta. Approximately 60% of the population is black. The mayor, alderman, police chief, and school board members are all white. Earle's schools were desegregated at the beginning of the fall term. According to a special report prepared by the Arkansas Council on Human Relations:

> The mascot of the black school was dropped in favor of the mascot symbol of the white school. The principals of the formerly all black schools became assistant principals of the elementary school and the combined junior-senior high school. The black basketball coach became an assistant coach, although he was the senior coach in the district, and was deprived of his duties of teaching science. White cheerleaders had already been chosen by the students at Earle High, and no effort was made to add any blacks to their number.

Over the summer black leaders who anticipated many of these conditions asked for changes. When school opened, their worst fears were confirmed. In the elementary school:

> No white children were in a class in which they were in a minority; testimony indicated that in the whole system, with the exception of a remedial reading class, no black teachers taught any white children; all of the new teachers hired since last May have been white; rolls were called on a segregated basis—whites first, then blacks; classes were largely segregated except for some elective courses.

According to the report, School Superintendent Sam Bratten explained in Federal Court that ability testing accounted for classroom segregation, but then admitted "that exceptions were made to assign white students to all-white classes whether or not their ability scores justified it." He then explained that "in his judgment and that of the School Board, 'the parents would prefer the present arrangement.' A further question revealed that he was referring to white parents."

The black students in Earle protested against these conditions. Some three hundred walked out of class and began a march to the superintendent's office, where they intended to register their complaints in person. They never reached the office. They were told to disperse by the county sheriff; they obeyed his order. That night some thirty of the marchers, some as young as thirteen, were arrested for violating an anti-picketing ordinance passed during the summer. Arrested on a Monday night, they

as those cited above, add force to the argument that the movement will not be a pervasive one, even in majority black areas. Perhaps more important, these examples fit into the larger pattern of the growing acceptance of desegregation as the norm for southern education generally. According to a recent Harris poll, Southerners are almost evenly divided on the question of whether the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision, requiring desegregation without further delay, should be approved.[36]

At still another level, the change in the South can be seen in the slow and uneven remaking of southern power structures, and in the increased importance of the black vote and of black elected officials, including school board members. Seen in regional perspective, black influence on school boards is slight, but there already are examples of the differences that representation can make. In Wabbaseka, Arkansas, for example, black students launched a school boycott in the fall, protesting—among other things—the downgrading and dismissal of black personnel. Negotiations were at a standstill. The shift in power on the school board from white to black in December made it possible to deal directly with the issues.[37]

Grudging acceptance by the white majority and increasing black political power have helped to stiffen the will and enlarge the influence of hundreds of citizens groups working, with varying degrees of understanding, to make desegregation the agent of positive change. In Durham, North Carolina, a civic group called Women In Action To Prevent Violence And Its Causes worked feverishly through the summer to prepare the community to accept a new desegregation plan. After the first three weeks of school, the Legal Defense Fund attorney who had guided the suit against the city praised the successful implementation of the plan.[38] Civic groups like the one in Durham have been a part of school desegregation history since the days of "massive resistance" in the late 'fifties. In 1970, however, they appeared to have greater opportunities than ever before.

Likewise, the potential for good will that has always existed in the South has had a greater freedom to become a reality: as the fact of desegregation becomes more firmly established, the fetters that bound otherwise friendly and decent people have been loosened. Far too few have been emancipated from their fears and suspicions, but there are those who have responded positively and who stand as examples of what must happen in the region. More black and white parents than ever before—in PTA meetings, at athletic events, and in other school and community activities—exchange views frankly, come to know each other as people rather than as stereotypes, and forge a bond out of their common concern for the welfare and education of their children.

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[36]According to the poll, 42% approve; 43% disapprove; and 15% are unsure. Washington *Post*, December 29, 1970. According to a Gallup poll taken last spring, only one white parent in six offered objection to sending his child to a school in which Negroes are enrolled; six out of ten objected in 1963. On the other hand, 69% objected to sending their children to schools where Negroes are in the majority, a decline from 86% who objected in 1963. New York *Times*, May 3, 1970.

[37]Little Rock *Arkansas Gazette*, December 17, 1970.

[38]Raleigh *News & Observer*, September 20, 1970.

that the integrated system will educate us in more than one way."[40]

Both of these students were part of a pattern understood by a black principal in Charlotte who told an SRC reporter that "children are coming up in a brand new world." In Beaufort, South Carolina, an SRC reporter concluded that "despite the struggles, bitterness and concern of an older generation, integration has produced a new breed of student who is fighting for a flexible and innovative school system. . . ." A white high school student in Columbia, South Carolina, in a report for the School Desegregation Project, writes that black and white parents alike filled their children with apprehension during the summer before desegregation. "These attitudes of the older generation created a negative situation before the students even met," he observes, but even so he discovered that 54% of the white students and 64% of the black students in his school favored the change to complete desegregation.

In his recent study of the crisis in American education, Charles Silberman writes that schools fail to serve the real needs of students "less because of maliciousness than because of mindlessness." Like Procrustes, "stretching his guests or cutting off their limbs to make them fit the standard-sized bed his inn provided," he writes, "educators and scholars, frequently with the best of intentions, have operated on the assumption that children should be cut out or stretched or otherwise 'adjusted' to fit the schools, rather than adjusting the schools to fit the children. And most of us have tended to accept this without question."[41]

More than anything else, students today appear to be challenging the Procrustean habit of mind that determines the character of their schools. Black students who demonstrate against "Dixie" refuse to be squeezed into the bed of rebel patriotism; white students who upbraid their parents for imposing on them the racial shibboleths of another generation have outgrown the confining dimensions of the bed of white supremacy. Black and white students alike, in increasing numbers, are seeing the wisdom in the remark of a black student who told an SRC reporter in Athens that "Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes."

Short of open and warm interracial friendship—which for most students is still something for the future—the region needs imaginative programs that will promote greater communication and mutual respect. It also desperately needs to remove the sources of tension that produce violence and repression. These objectives can only be realized by rejecting the rigidity of the Procrustean mold; by recognizing that new situations demand new solutions. Among several examples, the story of Southern Nash Senior High School, in Stanhope, North Carolina, can serve as an instructive case study.

In the midst of what many once called "Klan Country," Southern Nash was desegregated in 1969 with a white-black ratio of 60-40. Most of the

[40]Richmond *News Leader*, September 1, 1970.
[41]Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 81.

students came from poor families, and few were without racial prejudices of one sort or another. With poor leadership, a nasty situation could easily have developed. It didn't. The principal appointed two teachers—one black, one white—to serve as co-sponsors of the Student Cooperative Association, the student council. Sensitive and imaginative men, they saw immediately the need to scrap the old system. "Total integration had given Southern Nash a completely new situation," one of them has written, "so we felt the need to devise a wholly new student council." Although they later confessed to several anxious moments, the faculty sponsors put most of the responsibility of creating, and then running, the new student government on the students themselves.

At the outset the students saw that the principle of "majority rule"—however admirable it might be in theory—would work disaster in the early stages of desegregation. They got unanimous support for the principle of equality of representation and succeeded in creating a system that earned the pride and support of the students. Crises over such issues as the election of homecoming courts, the choice of cheerleaders, and the election of student delegates to a state conference were resolved smoothly, with final votes on critical questions of principle often unanimous.

In time the test came for majority voting. The occasion was the election of five delegates to a state conference. The choice was to be made by the student assembly. Louis Low, the white faculty co-sponsor, describes what happened:

> The assembly, which consisted of 23 whites and 17 blacks, did not want to establish any racial quotas for choosing its five delegates to the convention. I wondered if the whites would finally vote down the blacks!
>
> Looking over to Pulley [Herbert Pulley, the black co-sponsor of the student association], I saw that he shared my concern. Pulley . . . suggested to me that we remain silent and let the assembly proceed. The bridge must inevitably be crossed when the students would vote without any racial quotas and choose simply on the basis of merit.
>
> We crossed our fingers while the assembly voted. The ballots were counted—three whites and two blacks were elected. Pulley and I breathed a sigh of relief.

Looking back on the experiences of the first year, Low confessed that "we did not achieve perfect racial harmony. . . . But, on the other hand, we did attain an acceptance of integration and a willingness to work together for common interests." Most of the credit, he felt, was due the students.

The foundations laid in that first year were built on in the 1970-71 session. The appraisal half way through the year was an encouraging one: "We still have a long way to go at Southern Nash, but I think we have clearly demonstrated that in the proper environment with proper spirit, integration—'Southern style'—will certainly work."[42]

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[42]Louis Gregory Low, "Integration 'Southern Style,'" Raleigh *News & Observer*, January 3, 1971.

main purpose was to dismantle permanently Charlotte's segregated school system and to replace it with a desegregated system in accordance with Supreme Court rulings demanding unitary systems without black schools or white schools, just schools. Since rearrangements were necessary, a ratio analogous to the ratio of white and black population was possible—but integration as required by the Supreme Court rather than "racial balance" was the purpose of the plan and the court order.

Yet white Charlotte protested what leaders had led them to believe was an unnecessary disruption of "neighborhood schools" for the sake of achieving a "racial balance" beyond the compulsion of the law—all of it to be accomplished by the awful imposition on their children of "busing."

What of these children? They seemed, in Charlotte's generally excellent schoolhouses, remote, not really the subjects of such talk, remote even from the solemn statistics of the court case, and not somehow of the same nation as American adults and their chief official, so set against busing. At one of the fifth and sixth grade schools in the ghetto, a number of the white children talked of their daily bus rides to and fro. The complaints were of having to get up earlier, of inadequate heating, of breakdowns sometimes, of noise and of rowdiness sometimes.

"The only thing wrong is that long bus ride," said one boy. "But I'm getting used to it."

"The heater's in front," said another. "I'm in the back. We need some better buses."

"I don't like the bus," said a boy. "I get headaches and all. But I like this school. So I don't mind riding the bus."

A girl said, "The bus is pretty good. Two boys had a fight. One boy's head knocked the window out. But it's pretty good. You sit with whom you want." Another girl said some boys would tie a girl's hair to the seat rail without her knowing it.

A boy: "If you talk too loud, the bus driver puts you with a girl." Another: "We had assigned seats yesterday. The girls didn't like it—they like to sit with their boy friends." A girl: "Our bus driver is a matchmaker and a singer." Another: "The bus is one of the best parts of school. We can talk about things. We keep it down to a steady roar."

A boy: "The bus rides are fun. You get to meet people in other grades."

A Negro boy of the same school said: "We have to stay in school until after the buses leave. We didn't like it at first. But then we understood it was so that we wouldn't get hit by one of the buses leaving."

Was William Poe, chairman of the school board, talking about these children when he said in an interview that Charlotte was "enduring patiently" all the "inconvenience" of desegregation, hoping that the Supreme Court would get rid of "the worst features"? He said the worst was the long-distance busing of elementary school children. He said his own three children were on three different schedules; they couldn't have breakfast together. (One of three CPA school board members reportedly placed his two children in a private school.) Mr. Poe also said of the busing: "People are not going to put up with it permanently. It's not understandable

people joining hands in a circle, singing, some of them crying. "It was like the old-time religion. There were white and black, rich and poor, expressing mutual respect and love for one another." He said there was at least for the time less self-segregation in the cafeteria and student lounge, and less fear and distrust among students.

Dr. Self suggested at the four-hour school board meeting that additional staff be hired to comprise teams, one white and one black, of human-relations workers in each high school. Their job would be to build on student communication already established to develop future programs. (During previous months, the school administration had employed such things as a rumor-control center and closed-television instructions in human relations for principals and teachers.) Negro Alderman Fred Alexander had earlier proposed a new procedure for police in handling school disturbances. He said a white and black team of officers should make an initial investigation and be empowered to decide whether more officers were needed. (The intrusion of many police and many parents on the disturbance scenes had been as disruptive as the fighting, some observers said.)

Principal Lewis and Alderman Alexander both, in differing ways, directed themselves to the problems underlying the specific causes of student discontent. Dr. Lewis spoke of a general atmosphere of frustration and tension. "You can't change everything with just a quick move," he said, expressing confidence, though, that desegregation would work. He spoke of frustrations for both races, of adult distrust, unrest.

Mr. Alexander addressed himself to the split in the attitude of the school board majority and the school administration. Somebody, he said, had to tell the school board people were not going to put up with what it was doing. He said the attitude of the school board was against desegregation, against the federal court intervention, and on the side of "anybody else against desegregation." Thus principals and teachers not wanting to cooperate with desegregation did not feel they had to follow administration procedures. And those trying to make desegregation work are "scared of the school board," he said.

Beyond busing hysteria and schoolhouse fist-fights, the impressive thing about Charlotte is that things have worked as well as they have against so many impediments. Given anything like the support and the resources they deserve, the young people and those operating the schools do seem capable of moving beyond the mere physical placing of bodies in a unitary school system. The problems, both on the surface and at deeper levels, are not insurmountable. Given half a chance, Charlotte could achieve real integration, and that would mean real education.

VIII: See the children.

In ultimate terms of real education, the important thing to have seen in Charlotte was the resilience of the young people. The "love-in" rallies that followed the disturbances in February were a magnificent display of the will of a majority of them to work things out for themselves, to

each by name, stopping to talk with any who wants to. A white boy approaches her, says he has decided not to seek a transfer to another teacher after all. He had complained the teacher picked on him. Mrs. Cunningham had suggested to him that he would take his real problem with him. What was that? Himself. He had thought it over and agreed, he said, and would try to work out that problem without changing teachers. Was the teacher black? Mrs. Cunningham chuckled—no, no.

Child after child said he liked the school because children were considered important and were allowed to work out their own problems. A white teacher, transferred into this new situation after being in the same white school for thirty years, said: "They're just children. Only two parents were at our Christmas party. I wish they could have all been there. They would have seen for themselves how well the children are getting along."

A black teacher, experienced more than most in integrated education, told of a thing that happened in one of her classes. A black pupil, large for his age, tending to be a bully, had showed from the beginning hostility to white children. She had talked with him, with his mother about it. His mother felt much the same way. But finally all three agreed that given the situation, the thing to do was to try to get along in it. When the boy was absent one day, white and black children came to the teacher about him. In the spirit of the school, it is not considered tattling to talk about another child's problem. The problem they came with was that the boy had been taking pencils and the like from everybody. They showed in his desk a plastic bag stuffed full of such contraband—a fantastic amount. She confronted him the next morning, gently, sympathetically. He finally admitted all were not his. What should he do? Give them back, he said. How would he do it? He would handle it. As is the custom in the class, if a child has something to say, the teacher announces it—and she did for him that morning. He got up and manfully, with no excuses, said he had things that weren't his. He said that pupils should come up in groups to claim what was theirs. The teacher said it was all done with dignity, that no child giggled or nudged another, and that not a few had tears in their eyes, as did she. When it was over, she asked how many understood now what an act of courage was. All said they did, that the boy had performed one. Did he feel better, she asked. He said he did. In a class discussion some time later, he said the reason he liked that school was because if you made a mistake, you could correct it, that people instead of hitting you for it, helped you correct it.

Many of the children there come from homes where opposition to busing was most strenuous. Slowly, some of these parents have come to share what most of the white children feel—that it is a better school. One father who had at the beginning of the year told his child's teacher he resented the situation bitterly finally came to a PTA meeting. He told the teacher he had been convinced by his child that he had been wrong. His reason might prevail in Charlotte, in schools becoming real schools across the South, might eventually in all of America: "It is," he said, "like in the Bible. A little child shall lead them."

which resulted in a threatened walk-out by white teachers and which brought city police patrolmen into the school for a period of two weeks will not be soon forgotten.

"It was caused by Negro kids coming in and trying to take over. They were insolent and are still insolent to the teachers," the principal stated.

He seemed a worried man, still, taking little joy in his work. Walking along a dimly-lighted corridor he discovered that an electric switch was out of repair. "They've torn it up," he said. There was no exchange of words between him and a group of black students standing near the entrance to the school's machine shops. The students stood quiet, sullen. "We don't have many promising shop students," he remarked later.

But all seemed orderly now, it was pointed out. It was lunch-time. Students stood outside. There were no fights. "No," he said, "not right now." One could not help but feel a certain sympathy for the man, untrained as he apparently was in dealing with blacks at any educational level, a career teacher, middle-aged, a former physical education instructor, handling such a job as he had in such a school as Murphy, in such a city as Mobile. And one could feel the same sympathy for the students for the same reasons.

The whole scene at Murphy put into perspective a major problem of integration that is not Mobile's alone. Under the court order, Mobile students, black and white, have been uprooted from schools and environments, familiar places, familiar teachers, friends. This in itself is traumatic to young people for whom group identity is all important. Under the most ideal circumstances such changes would produce tensions and frustrations and thus the credibility of school administrators would seem absolutely essential to any reasonable approach to relieving the situation. Such credibility is lacking in Mobile because of actions in the past and in the present school year to avoid school desegregation at any cost. It is also lacking because of the students' experience in a white-dominated society where blacks historically have been systematically discriminated against. It is this awareness, this past knowledge combined with the uprootings from old environments, the harsh realities of the new and the current of separatist thinking from some black leaders that have brought large numbers of Mobile Negro students to feel they would be better off in all-black schools. "How can you have integration," a black student asked a Southern Regional Council representative, "when the white man is on the top of the pole? He controls everything, he's the head of everything, and he owns the power structure and we're at the bottom of the pole. We aren't equal in the white man's eyesight."

A militant black organization in Mobile called STEP (Steps Toward Educational Progress) feels that black students would not only be better off in all-black schools but also in all-black school districts controlled by an all-black school board. In the present school crisis STEP and another black civil rights organization NOW (Neighborhood Organized Workers) have emerged as vocal spokesmen for Negro aspirations in the city. NOW, an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, organized

students are not juvenile delinquents bent on trouble. They are young people in the formative stages of their lives; their present attitudes are not inflexible. The experience of integrated education has been harder for them by the willful acts of adults who never wanted integration to work in the first place. If there is hope for the future in Mobile it is that the students will somehow, still, make it work. It seems a slender hope for all it is, finally, is the simplest essence of survival after all else has been shattered through the years of delay, manipulation of people, of injustice and cowardice. In brief, it is the ability to adapt, to accept reality, to grow. It is a certainty, too, that the students can not do any worse at building a community than their parents. Given encouragement, given support, they may do far better.

arrangement was working out well. As of the first week in February the team was undefeated and ranked among the top ten teams in the state.

The baseball team will have a black head coach.

Policies For Transition

The city of Athens and its schools have been free of major demonstrations since last May. The newly-named Clarke Central High School opened in September, 1970, without any disruptive incidents. Principal Hight said that many parents thought that the black and white students would never get along together. "Some parents believed the school would be blown off the map. It hasn't been. This doesn't mean we've done everything right. We've made some mistakes. But we have kept things together."

School officials have made some policy decisions that have resolved problems which continue to plague schools in other southern communities. For example, the dress code in effect this year in Clarke County schools permits considerable personal freedom in selecting the length of one's hair and the style of one's clothing. In roaming the halls and campus one sees many white students decked out in hippie-style outfits and black students with the most outstanding kinds of Afros and matching attire.

The playing of "Dixie", which has terrorized band directors and high school principals at other schools, is no problem at Clarke Central because the band stopped playing it a year before the schools were consolidated. Superintendent McDaniel says he likes it and considers it a fine song, "But," he explained, "we would prefer not to use it if it's going to offend some of our students and to cause dissension. We believe that helping students to get a good education is more important than stubborn adherence to tradition just for stubborness' sake."

One long-haired student, a member of the high school band who takes a great deal of pride in what he terms the progressive attitude of band members ("We've never had any problems admitting blacks"), said that band members themselves decided 'Dixie' wasn't worth playing if it got people all up tight." He found continued use of the song by the University of Georgia band rather juvenile. "They still play it at all the games. I wish they would grow up and realize they're living in the 20th century. They should set an example for us, not the other way around."

With the assistance of faculty members from the Department of Education at the University of Georgia, the high school is training some 17 students to work in biracial teams to lead "sensitivity sessions" on the dynamics of black-white relations with selected groups of junior high students. Initial meetings with student groups met mixed results. However, most students on the teams thought the meetings were worthwhile, but that the number of students involved was too small. What was needed, they felt, were many more school-sponsored opportunities for students to talk frankly and openly with each other about racial problems.

One student-initiated effort at promoting better understanding among students and between students and school administrators was the formation this year of a new club called "Union for Student Equality" (U-S-E).

else would be for the administration to stop worrying about the black and the white and to start worrying about students . . . Treat everybody as students because that's what they are, really . . . and the situation would work out, *but they just don't believe it.* [emphasis supplied]

Interviewed for this report during the first week in February, high school officials readily agreed that an expanded social program was highly desirable. Principal Hight said, "It is now imperative that the school sponsor more social activities. Students are growing tired of administrators using 'integration' as a crutch for not doing anything. Everyone is much more accustomed to integration now and there's no reason why we can't hold generally all of the activities that the schools sponsored before they merged."

Student Reflections

Given the encouragement and opportunity, a vast majority of black and white students probably could do much more to relieve resentment and mistrust. The following experience of one black high school senior suggests the possibilities:

> We were in this class together, another black guy and I, and we got into a discussion with white kids about the demonstrations of last spring.
>
> Some of the white kids thought we did it because we were violent, and didn't like them and didn't like anything about them.
>
> But we explained why we demonstrated. It wasn't for any reason of violence, not to cause violence. But that's the way it turned out . . . we had to demonstrate anyway.
>
> We explained [to the white students] how we really thought about things. We sort of made them see the light, to see how we really felt. It wasn't that we didn't like them, but it was a cause we were fighting for.
>
> Things won't get better until blacks and whites get to know each other as friends. That's what it takes.

The black seniors also articulated a determination to secure on a permanent basis the fundamental rights, respect, and civilities due them as American citizens.

One student, reflecting on part of the meaning of his heritage said:

> I think some of the older white folks think that stuff [white domination] is still going to happen. But, I don't believe it's going to come about anymore . . . because I'd rather be dead than do what my foreparents did . . . .
>
> When some whites come up to me now and, you know, try to holler at me and say do this, do that, demanding like, I want to retaliate . . . because I've heard many times before what my grandmother went through, and I just don't want to go through that. It's heartbreaking to know what she had to go through.

to go. Now we can't have a dance because somebody's going to get to fighting. That's the first thing they bring up.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they're going to fight, they'll fight anyhow. We are over there all day—we go to school together.

THIRD STUDENT: So why shouldn't we be able to go over there to a dance? We didn't have no homecoming court or anything. We go to school all day with them. Why shouldn't we be able to socialize with them at a dance? . . .

Anything they have over there, it looks like they try to eliminate a lot of Negroes from being in it, anyway.

FIRST STUDENT: If they're going to have integration over there, seems as though they should want the blacks and whites to get together. But seems like they try to keep us apart. I don't know what they think. I guess they think we can't be together.

FOURTH STUDENT: He [the principal] argued with me about assembly programs. We were going to have a black history program and [one on] Martin Luther King's assassination. He was afraid any time we get in there together there's going to be an all-out battle. We had one program, and he was afraid Negroes and whites were going to get to fighting then. Nobody didn't get in a fight. It was just like anything else. I told him one day, "What you trying to hide? If we go fight, you might as well get it over with. Let 'em fight." He dodged around all the issues, you know. . . .

FIRST STUDENT: The school year is almost half-way over, and we haven't had even two fights over to the school yet between black and white. I mean why do they try to avoid the issue? If the blacks want to fight, they'll fight. We're just like they [whites] are. I mean they try to label us as violent and all that. We are just like they are. We have brains.

THIRD STUDENT: I think that what we did last year, going over there protesting—that helped a lot. I bet you they weren't going to change the colors and all. Because they think that Negroes, we don't think about anything. That we would just go over there and give in to what they already had over there. We had traditions just like they did.

FOURTH STUDENT: The principal admitted himself if it hadn't been for those demonstrations, they weren't going to change anything. . .

FIRST STUDENT: You know you're not going to have many white people taking that [black history] course. I like the class myself. It reminds me of last year. When I go in there, it's mostly Negroes. Three hippies go in there. It's just like a regular [all-black school] class for me. I feel right with it. They say they don't have any class books for Negro history. . . .

THIRD STUDENT: They're doing things to bring about demonstrations over at that school.

FOURTH STUDENT: If they keep on, it's kind of like a steam pot. If you keep it on the stove the pressure builds, the top will blow off. . . . They should just show they aren't scared of us. Like they feel like we are wild, going to fight . . . . Give me a chance. They say, you know, hot weather—

SDP

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] A 30303
522-[illegible]

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Dear

Over the past twelve months the staff of the Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project has attempted to draw attention to the needs of students in in-school situations and to work with students on the following premises:

1. That large-scale school desegregation is now a reality;
2. That, notwithstanding continuing discrimination, all students are adversely affected by the handling of in-school situations, and
3. That students see through and react against the contradictory behavior of those establishment educators and their conservative supporters who perpetuate educational wrongs against students.

The situations in which Black and White students find themselves require that resources be made available to meet their needs. Black students are still confronted with racial discrimination and in counteracting such negative pressures must explore the various avenues that may lead to solutions. White students not only need to be aware of what their Black colleagues face, but understand the detrimental effect on their own educational environment and social

development where discrimination exists. In such situations it is certain that the rights of all students suffer, that education takes on negative meanings, and that schools cannot develop into places where learning takes place and that students and staff can be thought of as persons.

The School Desegregation Project has worked to establish the idea of treating students as a positive resource in solving school desegregation problems, developing mature ideas about student rights, and in assisting education agencies and the community to achieve quality desegregated education. The concept of students as a resource undergirds all that we do. Our work to date persuades us that with proper support, consultation, and technical assistance a significant number of Southern youth can find a new understanding among themselves, devise strategies to protect their rights, protect their physical and psychological integrity during times of great stress, and provide an important element of leadership in dealing constructively with the region's continuing social problems.

We have mobilized a voluntary corps of young college adults to deal with some of the problems confronting the students. This project is founded upon four (4) premises:

1. That most young adults, regardless of race, have a common concern for human life and safety. That this common bond transcends political stances concerning school desegregation, when the safety of school children, Black and White, is involved.
2. That many college stuents retain peer group relationships with high school students. That this better qualifies them to promote meaningful and constructive dialogue among and between the Black and White youth.
3. That those students in attendance at out-of-town schools know the local situation, yet, because of physical dislocation, have the opportunity to view the events in their community with more objectivity and reason.

4. That local teams of young adults are better equipped to work with the youth in their community for the above reasons.

The School Desegregation Project is soliciting the following assistance from Black and White students at colleges and universities throughout the South. Recipients of this packet are asked:

1. To review this material and forward their reactions by mail.
2. To circulate this material among the students and forward a roster of interested students to our office within the next two (2) weeks. This roster should include name, age, home address (street, city, county, phone number, and zip code).
3. To forward a list of possible contacts at other schools.

Your cooperation and consideration in providing a ready response will greatly assist this project.

Please SAVE THE CHILDREN.

Sincerely,

Leon Hall

Leon Hall, Regional Coordinator
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

LH/gms

(17)

Georgia

(13) 7+8+23

Aug 10, 1971

~~21~~/34 Ready for Mailing

Dear Judy,

Pardon the informality of this letter, but I am going on vacation & want to get this to you quickly.

First of all, my line of work does not put me in touch with school principals. The best I can do for you is to provide community contacts. They can provide you with the other information you need.

Clarke Central HS

Athens - Dr. David Duvinnell
125 Curtis Drive
Athens 30601 Phone 548-4665

Baldwin H.S.

Baldwin County - Mr James White
1975 Oglethorpe Ave Phone 912-452-4317
Milledgeville 31061

no label

Albany HS
Dougherty HS
Monroe HS
Westover HS

Albany - Mrs Marilyn Feaver
229 1/2 S. Jackson St
Albany, 31706 Phone 435-1813

no label

Groves HS
Savannah Chatham County
Jenkins HS
Windsor Forest HS

Rev. James Hooten
11 W. Park Ave
Savannah 31401 Phone [illegible] 8522

Warner Robins HS
Northside HS

Houston County - Mr Wm. Markley
110 Kamay/Wall St
Warner Robins, Georgia Phone 922-7538

Hope this helps. They are good people.

Sincerely
Bekie Becker

CONTACT SUGGESTIONS FOR NORTH CAROLINA

Bob Valder 8/26/'71 (Ins)

He Received our Packet Yesterday (Thursday)

Dr. Stephen Thomas
627 Rauhut Street
Burlington, N.C. 27215

Mr. James R. Barrow
405 Van Norden Street
Washington, N.C. 27889 ✓

Mr. Robert Lee Cunningham
P.O. Box 721
Kannapolis, N.C. 28081 ✓

Mr. William Orr
507 Watterson Street
Kings Mountain, N.C. 28086

Dr. J. T. McMillan
1501 Patterson Avenue, N.E.
Winston-Salem, N.C. 27105

Mrs. Martin Doherty
1419 Fern Cliff Road
Charlotte, N.C. 28211

Mrs. Ada Ford
P.O. Box 97
Wadesboro, N.C. 28170

Mrs. Alice Ballance
Rte. 4, Box 222-B
Windsor, N.C. 27983

Mr. Jim Grant
P.O. Box 1693
Shelby, N.C. 28150

Atty John Harmon
1040 Broad Street
New Bern, N.C. 28560

Mr. Ralph Gingles, Sr.
822 Miller Street
Gastonia, N.C. 27832

Dr. George Simpkins
500 South Benbow Road
Greensboro, N.C. 27401

8 — 4

Kings Mountain City
Wm. Orr
507 Watterson St.
Kings Moun

Craven Co
atty John Harmon
1040 Broad St
New Bern, N.C.

Winston-Salem City
Dr. J. T. McMillian
1581 Patterson Ave, N.E.
Winston-Salem

Gaston County
Mr. Ralph Gingles, Sr
822 Miller St
Gastonia, N.C.

Bertie County
Mrs. Alice Ballance
Rte 4., Box 222-B
Windsor, N.C.

Cabarrus Count - Kannapolis City

Mr. Robert Lee Cunningham
Box 721
Kannapolis

Shelby City - Cleveland County

Jim Grant
Box 1693
Shelby, N.C.

gaston —

Burlington

Dr. Stephen Thomas
627 Rauhut r
Burlington N.C.

Anson / Montgomery Count

Mrs. Ada Ford
P.O. Box 97
Wadesboro, N.C.

Beaufort County

Mr. James R. Barrow
406 Van Norden r.
Washington 27889

Charlotte

Mrs. Martin Doherty
1419 Fern Cliff Rd
Charlotte 28211

Greensboro - Guilford
Dr. George Simpkins
500 S. Benbow Rd
Greensboro, N. C.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT

SECOND MAILING

August 31, 1971

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON	Recommended By
ALABAMA, Auburn			
Auburn High	Lee/Auburn City School	Rev. Jerry Ridling P.O. Box 1949 Auburn 36088	
ALABAMA, Birmingham			
Huffman High* Carver High * Shades Valley* Wenonah*	Jefferson/Birmingham	Mr. James Kidd 1504 First Court, West Birmingham 35208 Miss Willa Adams 14-12th Avenue, North Birmingham 35204	
ALABAMA, Huntsville			
Huntsville High*	Madison/Huntsville	Mr. Townsend L. Walker, Sr. 7608 Saxon Drive, S.W. Huntsville 35803	
ALABAMA, Florence			
Bradshaw* Central High*	Lauderdale/Florence City School	Dr. Roger Woodworth 343 Lucas Street Florence 35630	

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON
ALABAMA, Montgomery		
Robert E. Lee Sindey Lanier* G.W. Carver*	Montgomery/Montgomery	Mrs. Yvonne Gannon 5742 Wares Ferry Road Montgomery 36109
	Rev. Jame	Rev. James Marshall 1056 Washington Street Montgomery 36104
ALABAMA, Luverne		
Luverne High*	Crenshaw/Luverne	Dr. James Kolb, President Human Relations Council Chapter Rte. 2, Box 90 Luverne 36049
ALABAMA, Tuskegee		
Tuskegee High School	Macon/Tuskegee	Mr. Rufus Huffman NAACP Regional Ed. Director P.O. Box 190 Tuskegee Institute 36088

GEORGIA, Albany		
Albany High School Dougherty High*	Dougherty/Albany	Mrs. Marilyn Feaver 229½ South Jackson Street Albany 31706
GEORGIA, Athens		
Clarke Central High	Clarke/Athens	Dr. David Dwinnell 125 Curtis Drive Athens 30601

Becky Becker

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON
GEORGIA, Milledgeville		
Baldwin High	Baldwin/Milledgeville	Mr. James White 1975 Oglethorpe Milledgeville 31601
GEORGIA, Savannah		
Robert W. Groves High*	Chatham/Savannah	
Savannah High*	Chatham/Savannah	Rev. James Hoaten 11 West Park Avenue Savannah 31401
GEORGIA, Warner Robins		
Northside High	Houston/Warner Robins	Mr. William Markley 110 Kamay/Wall Street Warner Robins 31093

MISSISSIPPI, Biloxi		
Biloxi High* d'Iberville High* St. Martin High*	Harrison/Biloxi Jackson/Biloxi	Mr. Olin Beall, Jr. Wenfred Green c/o Rev. Olin Beall, Sr. CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER Biloxi 39533
MISSISSIPPI, Columbus		
New Hope*	Lowndes/Columbus	NONE

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON
MISSISSIPPI, Greenville		
Greenville High O'Bannon High*	Washington/Greenville	Mrs. JJane Watkins MCHR c/o Atty. Wesley Watkins, III The May Building Greenville 38701
MISSISSIPPI, Hattiesburg		
North Forrest* Rowan High*	Forrest/Hattiesburg	Rev. Colton Smith Winfred Green The Episcopal Church Hattiesburg 39401
MISSISSIPPI, Jackson		
Central High Brinkley High Byram*	Hinds/Jackson	Mr. Peter Stewart MCHR ~~Winfred Green~~ Community Coalition for Public Schools c/o Mr. John Maxey P.O. Box 22571 Jackson 39205
		Mrs. Emanuel Crystal Winfred 4135 Honeysuckle Lane Jackson 39211
		Mrs. Charles Hughes " " 227 Allstate Drive Jackson 39211
		Atty. Hermel Johnson " " Education Resource Center OLd LCDC N. Farish Jackson 39201

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON
MISSISSIPPI, McComb		
McComb High	Pike/McComb	Mr. Spenser Nash MCHR Martin Lurher King Community Center 601 Old Summit Road McComb 39648
MISSISSIPPI, Meridian		
Meridian High*	Lauderdale/Meridian	Rev. Duncan M. Gray Windfield St. Paul's Episcopal Church 116-23rd Avenue Meridian 39201
MISSISSIPPI, Ruleville		
Ruleville High	Sunflower/Ruleville	NONE
MISSISSIPPI, West Point		
West Point High	Clay/West Point	NONE
NORTH CAROLINA, Burlington		Bob Valder
Walter Williams High	Alamance/Burlington	Dr. Stephen Thomas 627 Rauhut Street Burlington 27215
NORTH CAROLINA, Charlotte		
Garinger High* Myers Park High*	Mecklenburg/Charlotte	Mrs. Martin Doherty 1419 Fern Cliff Road Charlotte 28211

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON
NORTH CAROLINA, Gastonia		
Hunter Huss High*	Gaston/Gastonia	Mr. Ralph Gingles, Sr. 822 Miller Street Gastonia 27832
NORTH CAROLINA, Greensboror		
Dudley Senior High*	Guildord/Greensboro	Dr. George Simpkins 500 South Benbow Road Greensboro 27401
NORTH CAROLINA, Kannapolis		
A.L. Brown	Cabarrus/Kannapolis	Mr. Robert L. Cunningham P.O. Box 721 Kannapolis 28081
NORTH CAROLINA, Kings Mountain		
Kings Mountain High	Cleveland/Kings Mountain	Mr. William Orr 507 Watterson Street Kings Mountain 28086
NORTH CAROLINA, New Bern		
New Bern High	Craven/New Bern	Atty. John Harmon 1040 Broad Street New Bern 28560
NORTH CAROLINA, Shelby		
Crest High School*	Cleveland/Shelby	Mr. Jim Grant P.O. Box 1693 Shelby 28150

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON
NORTH CAROLINA, Wadesboro		
Bowan High*	Anson/Wadesboro	Mrs. Ada Ford P.O. Box 97 Wadesboro 28170
NORTH CAROLINA, Washington		
Washington High	Beaufort/Washington	Mr. James R. Barrow 405 Van Norden Street Washington 27889
NORTH CAROLINA, Windsor		
Bertie Senior High	Bertie/Windsor	Mrs. Alice Ballance Rte. 4, Box 222-B Windsor 27983
NORTH CAROLINA, Winston-Salem		
North Senior High* Bolton High*	Forsyth/Winston-Salem	Dr. J. T. McMillan 1501 Patterson Avenue, N.E. Winston-Salem 27105

*Denotes School in First Mailing

FOLLOW-UP

ALABAMA, Huntsville September 2, 1971

SCHOOL	COUNTY/CITY	CONTACT PERSON	REMARKS
Huntsville High*	Madison/Huntsville Huntsville City School	Mr. Townsend L. Walker 7608 Saxon Drive, S.W. Huntsville 35803 (205) 881-2118	Huntsville High is most likely school not to have problems. Suggested sending kits, if possible to the following schools: Butler High School, Waylon Curley, Prin. 3401 Holmer Ave, N.W. Huntsville 35804 Virgil Grissom High, Dr. George W. Davis 7901 Bailey Cove Huntsville 35802 Lee High School, Mr. Fulton Hamilton 606 Forrest Circle, N.E. Huntsville 35811 City Board of Education Dr. V. M. Burkett 7114 Bob Wallace, Avenue, S.W. Huntsville (Mr. Walker has volunteered to make contacts with all of the above)

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT GENERAL CONTACT LIST EXCLUDING STUDENT CONTACTS

ABEL, David
RFK Fellow
401 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

ADAMS, Glynn
Cloverdale Jr. High School
1125 E. Fairview
Montgomery, Alabama

ALEXANDER, June Shagloff
NAACP Special Contribution Fund
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019

ALLEN, W.T.
P.O. Box 643
Grenada, Mississippi

ARGOOD, John
Director
Back Bay Presbytarian Mission
424 Chartres Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

AYCOCK, C.W.
319 E. 15th St.
Rome, Georgia 30160

AYERS, Jake
Mississippi Freedom Demo. Party
P.O. Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

BARBER, Rhems
The Delta Ministry
P.O. Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

BAREFIELD, Emily
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
4300 NW 12th Avenue
Miami, Florida 33127

BARNES, Sybil
Associate Professor
Hillsborough Jr. College
Tampa, Florida

BARR, Alwyn
History Department
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas 79404

BAUKNIGHT, Dow
RHEP Seminar Leader
Wofford College
Spartanburg, South Carolina

BEARDSLEE, Alvord
Roanoke Valley Council on
Human Relations
Box 9717
Hollins College, Virginia 24020

BETTS, Ray
3331 W. Warren Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

BEAZLEY, Paul
Center For Educational Development
University of South Carolina
503 South Main Street
Columbia, S.C. 29208

BECKER, L.D. (MRS.)
President Georgia Council on
Human Relations
Suite 462,75 Piedmont Ave. NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

BENSON, Karol
1824 A Marguerite Ave.
Charlotte, N.C.

BENTON, Thelma
Admissions Office
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

BERENSON, Janet Lynn
USNSA
2115 S Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

BERNANKE, Ben
P.O. Box 1065
Dillon, S.C. 29536

BETTS, Roland
10135 Mansfield
Los Angeles, Calf.

Black Audio Network
166 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10016

BLACK, Alan
Director
Division of Legal Information
and Community Service
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Memphis, Tenn.

BLACKSTON, Dr. Leon
c/o Board of Education
Florence School Supt.
Florence, Mississippi

BOAS, Franziska
Edgefield Farm Route 1
Kingston, Ga. 30145

BODE, Barbara
The Children's Foundation
1026 17th Street N.W.
Washington,D.C. 20036

BOLDEN,Willie
Atlanta Urban League
3190 Lynwood Drive. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

BOOKER, Audrey
401 E. 32nd #2100
Chicago, Ill.

BOONE, Joseph (Rev.)
Atlanta Summit Leadership
Conference
201 Ashby Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

BORINSKIL, Ernest
Department of Political Science
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

BOULT, Ginny
Southern Legal Action Movement
Atlanta, Georgia

BOWIE, Harry
The Delta Ministry
608 St. Augustine
McComb, Mississippi

BOWEN, Ruthie
c/o QBC
1650 Broadway
New York, New York

BOYKIN, Samuel
323 Augusta Ave.
Thomasville, Ga. 31792

BOWMAN, Joan (Mrs.)
Mississippi Council on
Human Relations
First Federal Savings and Loan Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

BOWMAN, Rev. McKinley
2012 Hydrick Street
Columbia, South Carolina

BRADLEY, Mr.
Principal
McCall High School
McCall, South Carolina

BRINSOR, Joseph Earl
P.O. Box 374
Baptist Hill
Greensboro, Mississippi

BROOKS, Barbara
Public Information Specialist
US Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

BROOKS, Gwen (Mrs.)
7428 South Evans
Chicago, Ill.

BROWN, Cynthia
Washington Research Project
1823 Jefferson Place N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

BROWN, Dr. Dirck
Director
Student NEA
1201 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

BROWN, MR. J.
Principal
Hopkins High School
Hopkins, South Carolina

BRUMFIELD, Hunter
The Reflector
Mississippi State University
State College, Mississippi

BRYANT, Crawford
c/o Larry Shoultz
215 Miller Street
Savannah, Ga. 31401

BUFORD, Dr. Warren
U.W.W.
University of South Carolina
Columbia Hall
Columbia, South Carolina 29208

BUSH, M.R.
Clark Street
Mullins, South Carolina

CANTOR, Betty (Mrs.)
Anti-Defamation League
Southern Education Director
805 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CARR, Andy
Route 2 Box 161
Clarksdale, Mississippi

CAWOOD, Steve
Mary Holmes College
West Point, Mississippi

CHARITY, Ruth Harvey
453 South Main Street
Danville, Virginia 24541

CHESTANG, Rev. D.D.
2257 Harry Court
Mobile, Ala. 36617

CLAMPETT, Mickey
Chairman
Department of Sociology
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

CLARK, Obie
1329 28th Ave.
Meridian, Mississippi

CLEVELAND, Viola
Poor People's Coalition
Bell-Whitney CAAA
Middlesboro, Kentucky

CLOYD, William
5100 West Quincy
Chicago, Ill.

COKER, Bernice (Mrs.)
22 Stephens Ave.
Lincoln Park, New Jersey

COFFMAN, Donald
203 Gram St.
Warrenton, N.C.

COHEN, Micheal
337 South Maple Ave.
Oak Park, Illinois 60302

COKER, Francis
Millsaps College
Sociology Department
Jackson, Mississippi

COMMUNITY COALITION FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Jackson,Mississippi

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
U.S. Department of Justice
Jackson, Mississippi

COMMUNITY RURAL LEGAL SERVICE
123 East Griffin Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

COOKS, Stoney
334 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

COOPER, Ora Lee
Chairman
Department of Sociology-Anthroplogy
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174

CONNER, Daryl
Youth Organization United
1470 N. Claiborn St.
New Orleans, Louisianna

COTTON, Dorethy
Director of Education-SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

COTTONREADER, Mr. R.B.
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

CRAIG, Isaac
423 Devon Street
Mobile, Alabama 36617

CRAWFORD, FIELDS AND COOPER
Attorneys-at-Law
1407 Davis Avenue
Mobile, Alabama 36603

CROWE, Charles D.
Admissions Counselor
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

CUMMINGS, Mrs.
Wallace Branch Library
1237 Gwinnette Street
Augusta, Georgia

CUMMINGS, Joseph
Newsweek Magazine
312 Equitable Building
100 Peachtree Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CUNNINGHAM, Ken
159 W. 53rd St.
Penthouse #38
New York, New York

DANIEL, John W.
Assistant Administrator
Commission on Community Relations
706 Franklin Room 806-Citizens Bldg.
Tampa, Florida

Davis, C. Edwin
Director of Public Affairs
American Council for
Nationalities Service
20 West 49th Street
New York, New York 10018

DAVIS, Chett
Martin Luther King Center On Education
671 Beckwith St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

DAVIS, Mr. E.
Principal
Lamar Senior High School
Lamar, South Carolina

DAVIS, Meryard H.
801 W. Franklin Street
Richmond, Va. 23220

DAVIS, Robert
Chairman State Commission
on Unitary System
R.L. Bryan Co.
Columbia, South Carolina

DAWKINS, Andrew
Pulaski-Cavalry Rehabilitation
Study and Actions Committee
2205-F University Drive
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

DAWKINS, Willie
Black Child Development Institute
Washington, D.C.

DAYS, Rev. A.T.
952 Weinacker Avenue
Mobile, Alabama

DELANEY, Paul
New York Times
1920 L St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

DENTON, William H.
Director
Center For School and Community Services
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

DERIAN, Mrs. Paul
2349 Twin Lakes Circle
Jackson, Mississippi 39211

DICKERSON, Donald
1107 Savannah Street
Mobile, Alabama 36603

DILWORTH, Lee
603 N. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

DOGGET, David
The Kudzu
Jackson, Mississippi

DOUTHARD, William
Coordinator
National Coalition Against Racism and Repression
1029 Vermont Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

DOWLING, William (Rev.)
112 Fell St.
Savannah, Georgia 31401

DUBOIS, Racheal
New York Friends Center
15 Rutherford Place
New York, New York 10003

DUCKWORTH, C.J.
MISSISSIPPI TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
1328 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

DUFFORD, William
University of South Carolina
Center For Integrated Education
503 S. Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29208

DWINELL, David (Dr.)
295 Pincrest Drive
Athens, Georgia 30601

EISSELL, Robert

ELLIOT, Rev. David
Ole Miss. Episcopalian Chaplain
P.O. Box 4411
University, Mississippi

ELWOOD, Bill
Asst. to the President
for Special Programs
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va. 22903

ERWIN, Carol
5000 Florida Avenue
Gulfport, Mississippi

EVERETT, Clarke
Asst. Professor
Hillsborough Junior College
Tampa, Florida

FAIRFAX, Jean
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational
Division of Legal Information and Community Service
10 Columbus Circle, Suite 2030
New York, New York 10019

FEYEN, Cathleen
703 Avenue I
Greenwood, Miss.

FIELDER, Al

Meridian, Mississippi

FINLEY, Mrs. Joycelyn
470-E Ridge Road
Mobile, Ala. 36617

FITZGERALD, Mrs. Lolitta
American Friends Service Co.
52 Fairlie Street NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

FRANKS, Elliott E.
Executive Director
Columbia Urban League
1845 Assembly Street Suite 301
Columbia, S.C. 29211

FULLER, Robert
Principal
Plantation High School
Plantation, Florida

GAGHAGEN, Richard
Student Government Information Service
USNSA
2115 S Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Gannan, Mrs. Yvonne
5742 Ware Ferry Rd.
Montgomery, Alabama 36109

Garner, Mrs. Christene
P.O. Box 623
Pickensville,Alabama

GARTH, Charlotte
5100 Mimosa Circle
Chatanooga, Tenn. 37416

GENDRON, Eldridge J.
Ed. Resources Center
on School Desegregation
Alcee Fortier Hall Room 312
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisianna

GODDELL, Jim
Youth Citizenship Fund
Washington Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

GOOSHE, Mrs.
c/o Brenda Feggins
4739 Farley Dr.
Columbus, Ga.

GOSIER, Dean Wilson E.
Associate Dean of Stuents for Men
Ft. Valley State College
Ft. Valley, Georgia 31030

GRANT, Walter M.
College Press Service
1779 Church St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

GRAYBOSS, Mrs. Marilyn
Morris Brown Education Center
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

GREEN, Alma
Fort Valley State College
Department of English
Fort Valley, Georgia

GREEN, Rev. Charles
1926 Staunton Ave.
Roanoke, Virginia

GREEN, Gwen
c/o Roland Betts
10135 Mansfield
Los Angeles, Calf.

GREEN, Harris
Total Action Against Poverty
702 Shenandoeah
Roanoke, Virginia 24012

GREEN, Winifred
Southeastern Public Ed. Program
52 Fairlie St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.30303

GRUWELL, Melvin
Director
Center For Teacher Education
Tulane University
New Orleans La. 70 118

HALSTROM, Franes J.
HEW Office of Education
Chief, Upward Bound Branch
Division of Student Special
Services
Washington, D.C. 20202

HANNAN, Wallace
Professor-Educational Center
Florida A&M University
Room 305-Gore
Tallahassee, Florida

HARGROVE, Barbara
President
Roanoke Valley Council
on Human Relations
Box 9717
Hollins College, Virginia

HARRISON, Ezekiel
Director
Selma Project Education
Alternatives Center
P.O. Box 1578
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

HENDERSON, Dr. L.B.
114 E. Market St.
Warrenton, N.C.

HENDRIKS, Dan
Palm Beach School Board
Boca Raton, Florida

HENDRICK, Joseph
Dean of Students
Merser University
Macon. Georgia

HEINBURG, Mrs.
2709 Carter Avenue
Mobile, Ala. 36617

HENRY, Dr. Aaron E.
213 Fourth Street
Clarksdale, Miss. 38616

HILL, Edwin
Principal
Toney Jr. High School
Huntsville, Ala.

HOLLER, Carlisle
c/o S.C. School Board Assoc.
1401 Hampton Street
Columbia, S.C. 29201

HOLMES, Mr. Charles
History and Political Science
Jackson State College
Jackson, Miss. 39217

HOOKER, W.T.
504 Plum St.
Grenada, Miss.

HOOTEN, James L.
501 Barberry Road
Savannah, Georgia 31401

HORWITZ, Charles
c/o The Delta Ministry
P.O. Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

HOWARD, Taylor
Vice Chairman
Harrison County Civic Action Agency
1920 25th Avenue
Gulfport, Mississippi

HUDSON, William
The Community Film Workshop Council
112 West 31 St.
New York, N.Y. 1000o

HUFFMAN, Rufus
Education Field Director
NAACP Special Contribution Fund
Education Center
P.O. Box Drawer 190
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

ISALY, Kay
1142 Ionia Street
Jacksonville, Florida

ISQAR, Tom
NSA
2115 S Street NW
Washington, D.C.

ISREAL, John
University of Virginia
Department of History
Petersburg, Virginia

JACKSON, Barbara
608 Albert Street
Mobile, Alabama 36608

JACKSON, Helen
410 Anderson St.
Greenville, S.C.

JACKSON, Lillian (Mrs.)
Asst. Executive
Community Division
National Board YWCA
600 Lexington Ave.
New York, New York 10022

JACKSON, Jessie
c/o Richard Thomas
7941-47 S. Halstead
Chicago, Ill. 60620

JACKSON, Rita
Governor's Office
State Capitol Bldg. 104
Atlanta, Ga. 30334

JACOBS, David
American Friends Service Committee
450-A Belsaw Ave.
Mobile, Alabama

JACOBS, David (Rev.) Sr.
604 Goodpay Street
Mobile, Ala. 36603

Hannegan, Brian
Student Vote
530 7th St S.E.
Washington, D.C.

JACOBSON, Joel
OEO Regional Office
730 Peachtree St.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

JAMES, Father Bill
2034 Saint Stephens Road
Mobile, Ala. 36617

JENKINS, Martin
Director
Office of Urban Affairs
American Council on Education
One Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036

JOHNSON, Carl
Chairman BAC
36 A Hill Crest Apts.
Ashville, N.C. 28801

JOHNSON, Ken
1 S. Calvert Bldg.
Suite 1116
Baltimore, Md.

JOHNSON, Rev. Peter
2606 Forrest Ave.
Suite 209
Dallas, Texas

Jones, Frank
1828 Tricou St.
New Orleans, La. 70117

JONES, Leroy
Educational Coordinator
Canton Public Schools
Canton, Mississippi

JONES, Mrs. Varncel
1004 Church St.
Pascagonla, Mississippi

KEATING, Tom
Director ESAP Program
Atlanta Urban League
Citizen's Trust Bldg.
75 Piedmont Rd.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

KEIRNAN, Dr. Owen
Exec, Sec. of the National Assoc.
of Secondary School Principals
1201 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

KERNS, Pat
Public Relations Coordinator
NEA Miss.-Louisianna Project
1328 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss. 39203

KILGORE, James
Mississippi State University
Afro-American Plus
Drawer NL
State College, Miss. 39762

KING, Al
812 Braeman Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

KURTZMAN, Steve
President
Eastern District, Southeastern
Fed, of Temple Youth
90 Chadwick Drive
Charleston, S.C.

LADT, Carroll
Executive Director
Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc.
2100 M Street N.W.
Suite 306
Washington, D.C. 20037

Landrum, James Rev.
(Mississippi State University)
110 Freeman Avenue
Starksville, Mississippi

LEONARD, Dr. Calvin
University of Miami
Human Relations Program
Miami, Florida

LESSER, Leo
Assoc. Director
Louisville-Jefferson Co.
Human Relations Commission
400 S. 6th Street- Suite 247-254
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

LESUER, Williams
1809 String Street
Mobile, Ala.

LEVENTHAL, Mel
Associated Council
NAACP Legal Defense and Ed. Fund,Inc.
538½ n. Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

LEWIS, James
Attorney
Director of N. Mississippi
Rural Legal Services
108 S. Lamar Street
Oxford, Mississippi

LEWIS, Riley
964 Oak St.
Montgomery, Ala.

LI, Mew Soong
9520 Ferguson Blvd.
Dallas, Texas 75228

Linnon, Mrs. Thelma
State of N.C. Office of Education.
Director of Divsion of Pupil
Personnel Services
Raliegh, North Carolina

LLOYD, John T.
3313 F Davinshire
Charlotte, N.C. 28216

LOEWEN, Dr. James
Chairman
Department of Sociology and Anthropolo
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174

LOWERY, Professor Clift
Guilford College
Greensboro, N. C, 27410

Lusk, Mr.
Principal
Bennettsville High School
Bennettsville, S.C.

MCCAIN, Martina
442 N. Holman
Chicago, Ill.

MCCRAY, James
Black Methodists for Church Renewel
1162 Lucile Ave. #3
Atlanta, Georgia

MCCULLOUGH, Dr. Leonard
Mississippi Educational
Services Center

,Mississippi

MCDONALD, Laughtlin
1611 Crestwood
Columbia, S.C.

MCELHANNON, Bill
Mississippians for
Creative Education
223 W. Rankin St.
Jackson, Mississippi 39202

MCGIRT, Rithia F.
3319E Dawnshire Ave.
Charlotte, N,C,

MANGUM, Jerome
North Jasper Street
Brandon, Mississippi

M.A.N.
600 Cator Ave.
Baltimore, Md.

MARCUS, Sherrill
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

MARRISETT, Andrew
153 7th St.-AFSC
Prattville, Ala. 36067

MATTHIAS, Paul
Executive Director
S.C. Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, S.C. 29201

MELTON, Jim
Vice President
Student NEA
1201 16th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

MARSHALL, Dr. Jesse E.
Dean of Student Affairs
N.C. A&T State University
Greensboro, North Carolina 27411

MAXWELL, Neil
Wall Street Journal
1515 Fulton Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MILLER, Calvin
Department of Political Science
University of Virginia
Petersburg, Virginia

MILLER, Roberta (Mrs,)
Greenville Public Schools
231 Washington Street
Greenville, Mississippi

MILLS, Roger
Legal Defense Fund, Inc.
538½ Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

MITCHELL, Roy
Office of Minority Affairs
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

MIZELL, Hayes
Director
American Friends Service Committee
401 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina

MOSS, Rev. Otis
c/o Ebenizer Baptist Church
413 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

MOORE, Archie
540 Beckwith St.
Atlanta, Georgia

MORSE, Dr. Carlton
Department of Education
Ft. Valley State Council
Ft. Valley, Georgia 31030

MORSE, Rev. Don
Minister
St. Peters Episcopal Church
Oxford,Mississippi

MORSE, Dr. Richard
Education Department
Ft. Valley State College
Ft. Valley, Georgia 31030

MOYER, Richard
Asst. Dean Student
UCLA
Kerckhoff Hall
405 Hilgord
Los Angeles, Calf. 90024

MUNFORD, Luther
5487 Ridgewood Road
Jackson, Mississippi

MYER, Sylvan
Editor MIAMI NEWS
Miami, Florida 33130

MYHRE, Donna
P.O. Drawer KX
Starkville, Mississippi

NAPHLIN, Calvin
HEW
Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

NICHOLS, Roger
University of S. Florida
Department of Education
Tampa, Florida

PARKER, Delores
566 Summer Street
Mobile, Alabama 36617

PARKER, Rev. Henry
CPO 1511 Berea College
Berea, Ky. 40403

PAYNE, Archie
Executive Director
Tallahassee Urban League
323½ North Macomb Street
Tallahassee, Florida

PATTERSOn, Mr. Kay
The S.C. Educaional Association
421 Zimalcrest Drive
Columbia, S.C. 29210

PERKINS, Dorothea
O.E. Youth Progams
Washington, D.C.

PETERSON, John H.
Assistant Professor
Social Science Research Center
Mississippi State University
State College, Mississippi 39762

POOLE, Mrs. Claudia W.
3641 Oak St.
Montogomery, Alabama

PONDER, Anell
1389 Lancing St.
Atlanta, Georgia

POWELL, Bob
18251 S.W. 112 Ave.
Miami, Florida 33157

PRIDE, Richard
Director Upward Bound Project
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

PRIDE, John L.
U.S. Office of Education
7th and D Street S.W.
Washington, D.C.

PRINCE, Hampton
Principal
Bleheim High School
Bleheim, South Carolina

PROCTOR, Natalie
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C.

PURYEAR, Paul
Florida State College
Department of Political Science
Institute of Social Research
Tallahassee, Florida

QUINN, Father
Holy Rosary
HAtties, Mississippi
berg

RAYO, Rochelle
16B Camellice St.
Shaw AFB, S.C.

RECE, Ellis (Mrs.)
3020 Fox Springs Road
Augusta, Ga. 30904

REID, Mrs. Fannie
Jackson Urban League
119 North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

REMBERT, Henry
761-Chin Street
Mobile, Ala,

RHODES, AL
1036 Dalton Street
Jackson, Mississippi

RICHARDSON, Fred
663 Leslie Avenue'
Mobile, Ala.

RICHARDSON, Leo
Savannah State College
Savannah, Ga.

ROBB, Moses
1938 Newcastle Dr.
Columbia, S.C. 29204

ROBINSON, Barbara (Mrs.)
3214 Grand Ave.
Louisville, Kentucky

ROBONSON, Jini
Roseland Apts.-Pressly Road
Charolotte, N.C.

ROBINSON, Trinette
Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, Florida

ROBLIN, John Paul
Program Development and Planning
Project-TENCO-OEO
P.O Box 718
Gulfport, Miss. 39501

ROESSLER, Gus
Exec, Director-Coahoma Opportunities
321 E. Second Street
Clarksdale, Mississippi

RONALD, Kuerner
P.O. Box 2647
Mobile, Ala, 36601

ROUTH, Dorethy
730 Peachtree NE
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

ROWLAND, Connie
Center for Integrated Education
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C. 29208

ROWLEY, Professer Judge
Professor of Education
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

RUNKLE, Terry
Coordinator Equal Opportunity Offices
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

RUTHERFORD, WILLIAM Dr.
808 W. End Ave. at 99th St.
New York, New York

SCOTT, Gwen
Director
Mississippi-Louisianna Project
National Education Association
1335 North Boulevard
Baton Rouge, Louisianna 70821

SCULLY, Dr. Grace
Peterson State College
Wayne, N,J. 07470

SENTERFITT, Walt
2316 20th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

SHAW. S.J.
School of Education
N.C. A&T State University
Greensboro, N.C. 27411

SHIRLEY, Ruth
114 California Place
Jackson, Miss.

SHERMAN, Nadie
Mercer University
Box 1042
Macon, Georgia

SLAUGHTER, Connie
Lawyers Committee For Civil Rights
Jackson, Mississippi

SILVERMAN, Jane
2007 Mass Ave. A-1
Washington, D.C.

SISSION, John
Executive Director
Archdiocese of New Orleans
Human Relations Commission
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orlaens, Louisianna 70125

SMITH, Mrs. C.E.
609 Breland Ave.
Hattiesburg, Miss. 39401

SMITH, Louella
313 Kershaw St.
Aiken, S.C. 29801

SMITH, Richard
8866 Wyoming A-101
Detroit, Mich.

SOLOMON, Julius
Project Upward Bound
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
Blacksburg, Va. 20461

SPLAIN, Barbara
12 W. Shore Dr.
Coventry, R.I. 02816

SPRINGFIELD, Mrs. Senora
719 Pearl St.
Grenada, Mississippi

STANFIELD, Edwin
Southwestern Intergroup
Relations Council, Inc.
1503 Guadalupe
Suite 306
Austin, Texas 78701

STANTON, Mrs. Ora
NCSW
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

STEPHENS, Melvin
ESAP/Community Groups
Room 4158
US Office of Education
400 Maryland Ave. S.W.
Washington, D.C. 2o302

STERN, Vivien
Community Relations Commission
10/12 Russell Square
London, WCI, England

STEVENS, Carolyn
1921 Overbrook Dr.
Jackson, Mississippi

STEVENS, Edward
McIntyre Jr. High
Montgomery, Alabama

STRICKLAND, Rev. Marshall
11o S. Bayou Street
Mobile, Alabama

THOMAS, John Charles
Co-Chairman
National Task Force on Education
1970 White House Youth Conference
514 Brandon Avenue
Charlottesville, Va. 22901

THOMAS, Stanley B.
Deputy Ass"t Secretary
Youth and Student Affairs
330 Independence Ave. S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

THOMAS, William
U.S. Department of Justice
Enforcement Division
7th Peachtree Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

THOMPSON, Bennie
Tri-County Community Center
1036 Dalton Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

THOMPSON, Dr. Cleopatra
Dean of English
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi 39217

THOMPSON, Philones
1113 Chestang Avenue
Mobile, Ala. 36601

THOMPSON, Sherman
Asst. Professor
Department of Education
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

THOMPSON, William-Principal
George Washington Carver High School
Montgomery, Alabama

TOMLIN, Mrs. Elaine
334 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

TOWE, Bill
N.C. Voter Ed. Project
213½ W. Main Street
Durham, N.C. 27705

TRACEY, A.
125 A.W. Paxton Street
Danville, Virginia 24541

TRANQUILLI, MRS. Martha
Mound Bayou Social Service
Community Hospital
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

TUNNER, R.S.
Dean of Students
Allen College
Columbia, S.C.

TUNSIL, Merrill
Florida Presbytarian College
Saint Petersburg, Florida

TUCKER, Nathaniel
Vocational Advisor
City of Tampa Commission of
Community Relations
Citezwns Building room 806
Tampa, Florida

VALDER, Bob
Regional Director
NAACP Legal Defense and Ed. Fund
Southeastern Regional Office
237 West Trade St.
Charlotte, N.C. 28208

VANN, Cleophos
Upward Bound Project
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

VERNON, Sarah
Task Force on Student Involvement
State Department of Public Instructio
Raliegh, North Carolina 27602

VICKERS, Larry
Florida Educational Assoc.
208 Weat Pensacola
Tallahassee, Florida 32304

VOIGHT, Arnold (Rev.)
1703 Stone Street
Mobile, Ala. 36617

VIVIAN, Rev. C.T.
8623 S. Avalon
Chicago, Ill.

WADDELL, Maurice
Principal
Clio High School
Clio, South Carolina

WAGER, Frank
Dean of Admissions
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisianna

WALKER, Emma (Dr.)
Division of Social Studies
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Ga.31030

WALKER, F.B.
P.O. Box 549
Bennettsville, S.C.

WALKER, Saunders
Humanities
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Ga. 31030

WALTERS, Dr. Carl Jr.
300 Hawthrone
Memphis, Tenn.

Ward, Betty
Rankin Independent School of
Education
Route 7
Jackson, Mississippi

WARD. Eugene
613 Lee Avenue
Yazoo City, Mississippi

WASHINGTON, Charles
3421 N.W. 7th Court
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

WASHINGTON, Dr. I.E.
1228 Kent Street
Augusta, Georgia

WASHINGTON, Joseph
University of Va. Mead Black Studies
Petersburg, Virginia

WATKINS, Jane
323 Central Ave.
Greenville, Mississippi

WATTERS, Pat
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

WEBB, Roscoe
Dean Of Students
Florida Memorial College
15800 N.W. Forty-Second Ave.
Miami, Fla. 33054

WEISS, Sarah
Miami Dade Jr. College
South Campus
Anthropology-Social Institute
Miami, Fla.

WELLS, Janet
American Friends Service Committee
1820 S. Boundary Street
Aiken, South Carolina

WELLS, Mrs. Julia
942 South Main St.
Sumter, S.C.

WHEAT, Ocie
860 Summerville Street
Mobile, Ala, 36617

WIGGINS, Lee
Free Breakfast Program
2618 10th Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

WILHITE, Rev. C.H.
414 E. Depot Street
LaGrange, Ga. 30240

WILLIAMS, Clyde
Asst. Professor of English
Mississippi State University
Drawer E
State College, Mississippi 39762

WILLIAMS, Mrs. Jewel
Headstart
213 Wesr Peace Street
Canton, Mississippi

WILLIAMS, Chauncey
2576 West Wood Dr.
Montgomery, Ala.

WILLIAMS, P.E.
Consultant
Technical Assistance Program
State of Florida
Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida 32304

WILLIS, Mrs. Bettye
P.O. Box 78
Róberta, Ga.

WOODS, Edward
George Washington Carver
High School-Fairview Ave.
Montgomery, Alabama

WOODS, Mrs. Sylvia
264 N. California
Chicago, Ill.

WOOTEN, Ed.
Box 7292 Reynolds Station
Winston-Salem, N.C.

WILLIAMS, Hosea L.
SCLC
334 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

WILLIAMS, Morris
323 Executive 10th Ave.
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

WRIGHT, Arthur
Interracial Review
55 Liberty Street
New York, New York 1000 5

YOUNG, Andrew
75 Piedmont Ave. NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

YOUNG, BILL
Political Science Department
Florida Institute of Technology
Melbourne, Florida 32901

YOUNG, Robert
The Delta Ministry
P.O. Box 457
Greenville, Mississippi

YOUNG, Walter
2717 Cascade Rd. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

YOUNGDAHL, James
711 West Third Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

ZANDERS, Willie
Box 154
Loyola University
New Orleans, La. 70118

ZUBRINSKY, Gene
c/o Sociology Department
Vanture College
4667 Telegraph Rd.
Venturo, Calf. 93003

LH
Sept.. 1,1971

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT STUDENT CONTACT LIST

ALABAMA

Patsy Anderson
416 S. Harrison Ave.
Mobile, Alabama 36603

Thelia Bolor
1415 Bullshead St.
Mobile, Alabama 36610

Robert Beacock
P.O. Box 10188
Mobile, Alabama 36610

Gisele Berry
703 Wilkinson St.
Mobile, Alabama 36603

Nathalie Berry
703 Wilkinson St.
Mobile, Alabama 36603

Georgia Bracy
Route 4 Box 140 B
Wetumpka, Alabama 36092

Sophia Bracy
Route 1 Box 222
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Shelia Brooks
1078 Joy Lane
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Ytevia Brooks
1078 Joy Lane
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Barry Brown
1305 Arlington St.
Mobile, Alabama 36605

Jacquelum Burks
307 Plainsman Apartments
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Paulette Burks
307 Plainsman Apartments
Auburn, Alabama 36830

David Cunningham
602 13th Ave.
Jacksonville, Alabama 36265

Tomasene Chapman
251C Simington Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36607

Davis Crenshaw
914 Semler Street
Mobile, Alabama 36610

Marie Daniels
6105 Aaron Dr.
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Merlean Dickerson
2303 Roosevelt Ave.
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Melvin Donald
801 Ava Ave.
Mobile, Alabama 36610

Joyce Edwards
1016 2nd Street North
Birmingham, Alabama 35217

John Eiylarx
Student Government Asson.
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Donald Hall
719 Sandra
Montgomery, Alabama

Hugh Heisler
4527 Kingsway Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608

ALABAMA

Kattie Heisler
4527 Kingsway Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Bernice Jackson
P.O. Box 409
Auburn, Alabama 36830

James Jackson
658 Monday Street
Mobile, Alabama 36603

Ricky Jetter
1304 Avenur J
Birmingham, Alabama 35218

Lois Johnson
Dorm J
Room 311
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Larry Jones
Miles College
Men's Dorm # 1129
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

Augustus Jordon
Box 307 Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama 35160

Ethel Kern
University of South Alabama
Box 47 East Hall
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Mary King
1050 Newson Street
Mobile, Alabama

Sylvia Knight
University of South Alabama
P.O. Box 4-C West Hall
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Nathan Leslie
1557 Robert E. Lee Street
Mobile, Alabama

Mary Malone
University of South Alabama
P.O. Box 49-C West Hall
Mobile , Alabama 36608

Wesley Matthews
2333 W. Main Street
Mobile, Alabama

Clinton Kirsey
30-A Neil House
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Thomastine Leggett
45 Fifth Ave. South
Birmingham, Alabama 35205

Brad Ledyard
Auburn University
Windsor Hall Apt. 23-D
Auburn, Alabama

David Lucas
Tuskegee Institute
6-C Married Students Apartments
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Andrew Marsette
153 7th Ave.
Prattville, Alabama 36067

Elenor Marshall
405 58th Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

Erskine, Mckinnon
Alabama A&M College
Box 309 Hopkins Hall
Normal, Alabama 35762

Cynthia Mcmillian
149 Cox Street
Auburn, Alabma 36830

Tom Merriman
1254 Herman Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36610

Sarah Miles
P.O. Box 6
Sycamore, Alabama 35149

Jeff Mueller
Birmingham Southern College
Box 714
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

ALABAMA

David O'Brier
362 S. Sage Ave.
Mobile, Alabama 36606

Gwen Odom
1104 Joy Lane
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Jo Colesta Petterway
Dorm D-107
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Barbara Pitts
P.O. Box 1547
Auburn Univerity
Auburn Alabama 36830

Lois Richards
P.O. Box 222-C West Hall
University of South Alabama
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Melvina Roberson
912 Carleton Ave.
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Mary Robus
367 McDonald Avenue
Mobile, Alabama 36604

Jane Roerts
8 Macy Place
Mobile, Alabma 36604

Mary Robinson
1456 E. Barkley Drive
Mobile, Alabama

Gloria Jean Sanks
Auburn University
Auburn Hall- Room 128
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Louise Shils
Selma Project
P.O. Box 2628
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Anita Showers
2400 Yerby Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Jeanne Shrager
Box 290
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Roosevelt Simmons
President
Student Government Assn.
Alabama A&M College
Normal, Alabama 35762

Marjean Smith
1511 Pecan Street
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Mark Stewart
P.O. Box 4607
Mobile, Alabama 36604

Oscar R. Sykes
Tuskegee Institute
236 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institue, Alabama 36088

David Tarvin
1704 W. Main Street
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Chris Truss
Box B-284
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Vincent Washington
470-E Ridge Road
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Walter Wells
Tuskegee Institute
236 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama 36088

Frances Whitlock
37 San Juan Drive
Mobile, Alabama 36609

ALABAMA

Paul Whiteurs
1902 Eoline Street
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Mary Witherspoon
University of South Alabama
58-C West Hall
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Donald Williams
221 57th Street
Fairfield, Alabama 35064

Linda Williams
Dorm 5 #206
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Marcia Williams
Birmingham Southern College
Box 271
Birmingham, Alabam 35204

Andrea Yates
Box 462
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Ruby Young
552 Monday Street
Mobile, Alabama 36603

ARKANSAS

Cylde Lee
1801 Jaurel St.
Texarkana, Arkansas

Rodney Sullivan
711 Pecan St.
Texarkana, Arkansas

FLORIDA

Gus Aikens
College of Law
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Ralph Armstead
2241 West Pensacola Street
Tallahassee, Fla. 32306

Gretchen Beckham
Mu Hall
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Canter Brown
1535 McCaskill Avenue
Apartment 1
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Miss Shirley Chennault
Epsilon Hall
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Lynn Curtis
St. Leo College
Saint Leo, Florida 33574

Arnie Davis
Intensive Tutorial Program
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Robert Bell
1335 La Salle Street
Tampa, Florida 33607

Herbert Fluitt
4204 East Grove Avenue
Tampa, Florida 33610

Rick Freidland
College of Law
Florida State University
Tallahasse, Fla. 32306

Joyce Green
Student Community Service Centers
St. Petersburg Junior College
Clearwater, Florida

Ophelia House
2102 29th Avenue Apt. 47
Tampa, Florida 33605

Norman Jackson
Florida State University
220 Bryan Hall
Tallahassee, Fla. 32306

Early Johnson
Student Government Association
Florida A&M University
Tallahassee, Fla. 32307

Brenda Keyes
Edison Junior College
Fort Myers, Florida 33901

Harry Land
2241 West Pensacola Street
Tallahassee, Fla. 32306

FLORIDA

Eugene Lewis
Intensive Tutorial Program
Florida Presbyterian College
St. Petersburg, Florida

Micheal Manzoli
Alpha Hall
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Kitty Majors
B.S.U.
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

George Morton
Iota Hall
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Donald Odem
1760 19th Street
St. Petersberg, Florida

Sylvia Patterson
Box 1804
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Robert Powell
Miami Mitzvah Corps
6795 S.W. 17th Streer
Miami, Florida

Sharon Price
Intensive Tutorial Program
Chaplin;s Office
Florida Southern College
Lakeland, Florida

Everctt Raines
President
Black Students United
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Fla. 32306

Marie Reed
1142 N.W. 2nd Ave. Apt. 6
Miami, Florida 33106

Frank Scruggs
P.O. Box 954
Stetson University
De Land, Florida

Nina Thanz
6220 S.W. 5th Street
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Pattie Jo Thomas
2013 North Rome Terrace
Tampa, Florida 33607

Gary Yellin
Intensive Tutorial Program
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

GEORGIA

Christene Anderson
Unadilla, Georgia 31091

Clifford Armstrong
256 Rawson Street SW apt. 3
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Micheal Alderman
633 Parsons St. SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Elvin Barnes
1156 Piedmont Ave,
Atlanta, Georgia

Mattie Brown
932 Plant St.
Macon, Georgia

Alice Bryant
Route 1
Vienna, Georgia 31092

Raymond Burley
144 Garland Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

Gail Charleston
3088 Hazelwood Dr. SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Calvin Coleman
Route 2 Box 53
Reynolds, Georgia 31076

Carolyn Conley
108 Chappell Road NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Carol Cox
Agnes Scott College
Box 98
Decatur, Georgia

Gwendolyn Elom
1112 Wrightsboro Rd.
Augusta, Ga. 30901

Willie Felder
P.O. Box 241
Marshallville, Georgia 31057

Eddie Felton
P.O. Box 222
Marshallville, Georgia 31057

John Fife
Columbia Seminary
Box 82
Decatur, Georgia

Jacqueline Frederick
316 Riley Street
Montezuma, Georgia 31063

Betheda Fries
Agnes Scott College
Chairman of the Committee
on Community Affairs
Box 168
Decatur, Georgia 30030

Dolly Garrison
Agnes Scott College
Box 189
Decatur, Georgia

Janet Gerson
3046 Westminster Circle NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Laurie Gleason
Agnes Scott College
Box 217
Decatur Georgia

Mary Gooch
P.O. Box 9
Reynolds, Georgia 31076

Mildred Grant
Room 711A Cochran Tower
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Johnny Gray
Route 1 Box 80
Butler, Ga. 31006

GEORGIA

Fannie Green
Route 2 Box 158-A
Montezuma, Georgia 31063

Willie Griffin
Route 2 Box 61
Oglethorpe, Ga. 31068

George Hamilton
P.O. Box 18
Butler, Georgia 31006

Ronnie Harrison
P.O. Box 581
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia 31207

Celestine Henderson
Room 6 Sarah A. Quadrangle
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Virginia Hill
407 Second Street
Vienna Georgia 31092

Annette Howard
P.O. Box 68
Reynolds, Georgia 31076

Barbara Hutchins
410 Temple Street N.W.#3
Atlanta Georgia

Clara Jackson
Route 1 Box 239
Kathleen, Georgia 31047

Rugus Johnson
Mercer University
Box 1008
Macon, Georgia 31207

Wayne Johnson
5752 Webb Avenue
Columbus, Georgia 31904

Herman Kaigler
1152 Lovely Lane
Perry Georgia 31069

Emory Kendrick
Route 1 Box 23
Unadilla Georgia 31091

Gwendolyn Key
508 Fifth Street, North
Vienna, Georgia 31092

Preston King
P.O. Box 116
Marshallville, Georgia 31057

Joanne Kuniansky
1213 Polplar Grove, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Ronald Lackland
542 Park Dr.
Atlanta, Georgia

Horatio Lanier
1108 13th St.
Augusta, Ga. 30901

Virgil Lawson
Route 1 Box 3
Pinehurst, Georgia 31070

Phyllis Lester
Route 2
Unadilla, Georgia 31091

Rosetta Lester
Route 1 Box 35
Byromville, Georgia 31007

Edward Maner
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Judy Masterson
Emory University
P.O. BOx 22647
Atlanta, Georgia

GEORGIA

Ronnie Mathis
P.O. Box 8
Reynolds, Georgia 31076

Bertha McIntosh
Route 1 Box 209
Kathleen, Georgia 31047

Robert Mike
Mercer University
P.O. Box 792
Macon, Georgia 31207

Joyce Miller
AMFSC
202-C
1351 Stadium Drive'
Macon, Ga. 31201

Willie Norwood
124 Vicki Lynn Drive
Warner Robbins, Georgia 31093

Gaynell Morris
Room 711 B Cochran Tower
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Carol Murphy
3566 Paces Valley Rd. NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Jane Murphy
3566 Paces Valley Rd NW
Atalanta, Georgia

Jimmie Ogburn
P.O. Box 164
Ideal, Georgia 31041

Dorothy Pittman
788 Beckwitt Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Annie Rawls
404 East Pine Street
Vienna, Georgia 31092

Susie Roberson
Route 2 Box 47-A
Byron, Georgia 31008

Johnny Ross
Route 1 Box 148
Butler, Georgia 31006

Sandy Ross
P.O. Box 21
Reynolds, Georgia 31076

Nancy Quarles
2224 Johnson Ferry Road Ne
Apartment 6
Atlanta, Georgia 30319

Jimmie Samuel:
1307 Johnson Avenue
Augusta Ga. 30901

Tony Sayer
Emory University
Box 21989
Atlanta, Georgia

Susie Sencer
892 Clifton Rd. NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Gary Smith
Emory University
Box 21136
Atlanta, Georgia

Wallace Smith
Route 1 Box 145
Butler, Goergia 31006

Loisteen Solomon
130 Washington Street
Montezuma, Georgia 31063

A.C. Spann
307 South Monroe
Albany, Georgia

Elizabeth Spraggins
1036 Westmoor Dr. NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Jo Ann Strauss
1681 E. Clifton Rd. NE
Atlanta, Ga. 30307

Georgia

Napolean Taylor
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Lelia Todd
Room 205 Cochran Tower
Morris College College
Atlanta, Georgia

Mary West
501 Eighth Street North
Vienna, Georgia 31092

Roscoe Woodruff
Route 2 Box 127
Thomasville, Ga.

James Wright
P.O. Box 192
Cairo, Georgia

Roscoe Washington
Route 2 Box 127
[illegible]
Thomasville, Georgia

KENTUCKY

LOUISIANNA

Bill Allen
Xaxier
SGA President
Palmeto Street
New Orleans, La.

Donald Parker
B.S.U.
Loyola University
Box 66 -Donne Center
New Orleans, La.

Howard Porter
3320 Republic St.
New Orleans, La.

MISSISSIPPI

Tonny Algood
535 8th Ave. Apt. 1
Laurel, Mississippi

Bob Anderson
415 Manship
West Point, Mississippi

Donna Antoine
3-E-16 Alex W. Hall
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Irma Barnes
Black Students Association
Delta State College
Greenville, Mississippi

Skip Boclair
Route 1
Greada, Mississippi

Joan Bowman
Miss. Council on
Human Relations
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Alice Boyd
Box 15044
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi 39210

Dean Norman Brinkley
Mississippi Valley College
Itta Bena, Mississippi 38941

Beneta Brit
803 Peral
Apartment 106
Oxford, Mississippi

Charlie Broady
Galloway Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Sharon Brown
1342 East Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

Felicia Brown
1342 East Avenue
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Steve Burnett
Box 15048
Millsaps College
Jackson Mississippi

Sandy Byrd
318 47th Avenue
Meridian, Mississippi

Maxine Chase
Box 15069
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Homer Crawford
P.O. Box 581
Cleveland, Mississippi 38732

Mike Denny
Box 15078
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Danny Cupit
Chairman
Young Democrat Assoc.
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Suess Davis
Box 15077
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

John Evans
3530 Holmes Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi

Tommye Finley
Judson Cross Hall-A
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Walter Gant
2916 St. Street
Meridian, Miss.

MISSISSIPPI

Ernest Bracey
2146 Mobile Ave.
Jackson, Miss. 39213

James Evans
P.O. Box 1579
University, Miss. 38677

Carmen Gettis
2213 Queensroad Ave.
Jackson, Miss. 39213

Tyrone Gettis
5 Story Complex For Men
Room 318
Miss. Valley College
Itta Bena, Mississippi 38941

Daphne Gordon
Box 15122
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Joyce Griffith
3-D-1 Alexander Hall
Jackson State College
Jackson, Miss. 39217

Beatrice Hawkins
P.O. Box 2549
University, Miss. 38677

Ken Herman
120 North Ashley St.
Raliegh, N.C.

~~Lowell Hine~~

Anne Horton
Alex 7-F-10
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Odessa Houston
Route 5 Box 17
Oxford, Mississippi 38655

Jean Hudge
3-F-6 Alex W. Hall
Jackson, Mississippi

Marcella Hyde
Jackson State College
Alexander Hall 5-E-13
Jackson, Mississippi 39217

Christine Jackson
Judson H. Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Walter James
201 Minerva Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mary Lynn James
Route 4 Box 5
Jackson, Mississippi

Pamela Jones
Jackson State College
Alexander West Hall
Room 309-B
Jackson, Miss. 39217

Rick Jones
424 Marshall
Jackson, Mississippi

Bessie Jordon
Box 15179
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Jennette Lindsey
1121 W. Pascagoula
Jackson, Mississippi

Annette LeFlore
2127 19th Ave.
Meridian, Miss. 39301

Patricia Arlanda Lewis
1504 Dansby Street
Jackson, Miss. 39204

Mississippi

Quinella Lewis
239 Sugar Street
Canton, Miss.

Wanda Lott
1945 Central
Jackson, Mississippi

Morris Mancure
Box 15112
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Tony Martinez
P.O. Box
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Clinton Mayes
Box 15244
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Delores McClinton
Judson Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Jimmy Metcalfe
25-1st St.
Marks, Mississippi

Gusinette Myers
2256 Whitfield Mills Road
Jackson, Mississippi 39213

Hugh Millory
New Men Dorm
R-1o1 Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi

Emma Miller
Judson Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Barry Newsome
Box 15265
Millsaps College
Jackson ,Mississippi

John Oliver
Box 15274
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Charles Owens
President
Black Students Association
Delta State College
Greenville, Mississippi

John Porter
406 25th Street
Meridian, Miss.

Donna King
7 Dunleith St.
Natchez, Mississippi

Varrie Porter
Judson Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Sandra Quinn
Judson Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Carroll Rhodes
Box 15306
Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss.

Lottie Rhodes
1557 Reddit
Jackson, Mississippi

Mary Sellers

Pascagagnla, Miss.

Cassandra Shelby
4d5 Alex W. Hall
Jackson State College

Micheal Shields
Mississippi State University
Afro-American Plus
Drawer JK
State College, Miss. 39762

MISSISSIPPI

Jerry Smith
Box 2601
State College, Mississippi

Bert Strom
Exec. Asst. to the President
Associated Student Body
University of Mississippi
University, Miss.

Don Sutton
Delta Ministry
1114 S. Theobold
Greenville, Miss.

Ola Mae Thompson
Judson Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Patricia Thompson
1110 32nd Avenue
Meridian Miss. 39301

Mamie Thomas
Judson Cross Hall
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Rowan Torrey
Box 15348
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Lula Tripp
Route 2 Box 328
Jackson, Miss. 39209

Becky Youngblood
Box 15399
Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss. 39210

Leslie Varnado
P.O. Box 17279
New Men's Dorm # 119
Jackson State College
Jackson, Mississippi 39217

Larry Watson
Box 15390
Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss.

Gordon Watkins
323 Central Avenue
Greenville, Mississippi

John White
4063 N. State Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Terry Winstead
Box 15390
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi

Eddie Washington
Mississippi State University
Drawer Y
State College, Miss. 39762

Stanley Wright
3439 Nashville St.
Jackson, Mississiippi

Ernest Bracey
2146 Mobile Avenue
Jackson, Miss. 39213

NORTH CAROLINA

Dan Beerman
Box 24
St. Andrews College
Laurinberg, N.C. 28352

Donna Benson
1805 Madison Ave.
Charlotte, N.C. 28216

Betty Cheek
1013 Spring Garden Street Apt. 3
Greensboro, N.C.

Ellen Clarke
Box 431
St. Andrews College
Laurinburg, N.C. 28352

Bill Darrah
715 Hinton James
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Abbie Dogget
Box 63337
College Station
Durham, N.C. 27708

Stephen Eugstiom
P.O. Box 1889
Davidson College
Davidson, N.C.

Charles Jeffress
209 Graham Memorial Unc.
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dave Kiel
c/o Student Government
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Cliff Lowery
Guilford College
Greensboro, N.C. 27410

Betty Manigo
182 Corben Ave.
Concord, N.6. 28025

Benny Mayfield
N.C. A&T State Univerity
Greensboro, Norht Carolina 27411

Buddy Ray
271 Brooklyn Rd.
Ashville, N.C. 28803

Mrs. Genniene Robinson
4523 Rose Vine Place #9
Charlotte, Norht Carolina 28210

Bill Smith
828 James University of N.C.
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

Joseph Stallings
Student Government Assoc.
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Robert Weinstein
1300 Queens Road
Charlotte, N.C.

Ed Wooters
Wake Forest University
Winston-Salem, N.C. 27109

SOUTH CAROLINA

Barnett Berry
5809 Lakeshore Drive
Columbia, South Carolina

Brian Blakely
118 McQueen St.
Sumter, S.C.

Caron Caplan
1619 Wayndham Road
Columbia, S.C.

Hattie Davis
Voorhees College
New Women's Dorm II
Denmark, S.C.

Timothy Davis
2423 Laurel Street
Columbia, S.C. 29204

Joseph Lee DeShields
341 Kershaw St. NE
Aiken, S.C. 29801

Pat Dragner
Se. Student Government Asso.
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C.

Beth Eaker
1508 Columbia College Dr.
Columbia, S.C.

Horacio Farach
6541 Satchelford Road
Columbia, S.C.

Richard Gergel
20 Mosswood Road
Columbia, South Carolina

Debbie German
410 Morrison Street
Mount Pleasant, S.C. 29464

David Glass
912 Drake Street
Columbia, S.C.

Sharon Forrest Graham
1401 Luarel Apt. 4
Columbia, S.C. 29201

Robyn Graves
1469 Florawood Drive
Columbia, South Carolina

Stanley Hammer
4168 E. Budraman
Columbia, S.C.

Sheryl Johnson
2534 Bachamville Road
Columbia, S.C.

David Karesh
East Lane
Camden, S.C.

Elaine Long
16 Woodhill Circle
Columbia, S.C.

Andrew Marrisett
P.O. Box 218
Frogmore, S.C. 29920

Owen Mason
Route # Box 477
Aiken, S.C. 29801

Rose lee Mason
Route 3 Box 477
Aiken, S.C. 29801

Robert Michalove
University of South Carolina
Apt. A-101
Columbia, S.C.

Gloria Middleton
Voorhees College-New Women's Dorm #1
Denmark. S.C.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Gary Myers
1624 Broadland Ave.
Columbia, S.C.

Barbara O'Hanesian
D-3 Gorzales Gardins
Columbia, South Carolina 29204

Joy Phelan
1431 Medway Road
Columbia, South Carolina

James Robinson
501 Whiden St.
Mt. Pleasant S.C. 29464

Sylvia Simpkins
1317 Park Ave. SE
Aiken, S.C.

Eddie Lee Smith Jr.
~~South Carolina~~
313 Kershaw St. NE
Aiken, S.C. 29801

Reginald Smith
Voorhees College
New Men's Dorm I
Room 209
Denmark, S.C.

Harry Walker
Student Government Assoc.
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Oliver Washington
Student Government Assoc.
Univerity of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C.

TENNESSEE

Patricia Arnald
103 Colston Hall
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tenn.

Karen Askew
101 Colston Hall
Knoxville Cllege
Knoxville, Tenn.

Micheal Patton
P.O. Box 1889
Southwestern College
Memphis, Tenn. 38112

William Seeto
1240 Court St. Apt. 4
Memphis, Tenn. 38104

TEXAS

Bride Doyle
Campus Box 240
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio, Texas 78207

Mary Quinlan
Campus Box 299
Our Lady of the Lake College
San Antonio, Texas 78207

James Yeager
5095 Fieldwood'
Houston, Texas 77027

VIRGINIA

Ron Bunch
Old Domonion College
Norfork, Virginia

James Corrigan
George Mason College
Bailey's Crossroads, Virginia

James Elam
Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia

Aharon Forrest
Box 173 Southwestern
Memphis, Tenn. 38112

Bobby Hill
Box 351
Glade Springs, Virginia24340

Kirk Holman
University of Virginia
Charlottesville Virginia

Lavonne Parker
Virginia State College
Petersberg, Virginia

Monroe Preston
P.O. Box 373
Glade Springs, Virginia 24340

Tom Reese
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia

Chenner Smith
S.G.A. President
Virginia Union
Richmond, Virginia

Larry Williams
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

WASHINTON D.C.

Mel Helgenberg
President Student NEA
1201 16th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

David Stebsy
1701 16th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

NORTHERN STATES

B.W. Powell
17-A Broduate College
Princeton, N.J. 08540

Mr. Townsend L. Walker, Sr.
7608 Saxon Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35802

Mr. James Kidd
1504 First Court, West
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

Miss Willa Admas
14-12th Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Miss Willa Adams
14-12th Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama 35204

Dr. Roger Woodworth
343 Lucas Street
Florence, Ala. 35630

Mr. Lee A. Sawyer
1712 Fifth Avenue South
Pell City, Ala. 30125

Mr. Rufus Huffman
NAACP Regional Education Director
P.O. Box 190 36088
Tuskegee, Institute, Ala

Miss Willa Adams
14-21th Avenue, North
Brimingham, Alabama 35204

Miss Frankie King
P.O. Drawer 1632
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Miss Frankie King
P.O. Drawer 1632
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Miss Frankie King
P.O. Drawer 1632
Auburn, Alabama 36830

The Rev. Jerry Ridling
P.O. Box 1949
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Rev. Duncan M. Gray
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
116-23rd Avenue
Meridian, Miss. 39301

Rev. Colton Smith
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Hattiesburg, Miss. 39401

Mrs. Emanuel Crystal
4135 Honeysuckle Lane
Jackson, Miss. 39211

Mrs. Emanuel Crystal
4135 Honeysuckle Lane
Jackson, Mississippi

Allan

CONTACTXXXX PEOPLE

Mr. Peter Stewart : Comm.
Caolition for Public Schools
C/O Mr. John Maxey
P.O. Box 22517
Jackson, Mississippi 39205

Mrs. Charles Hughes
227 Allstate Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Charles Hughes
227 Allstate Drive
Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Charles Hughes

Mrs. Marilyn Feaver
229½ South Jackson St.
Albany, Georgia 31706

Dr. David Dwinnell
125 Curtis Drive
Athens, Georgia 30601

Mr. James White
1975 Oglethorpe
Milledgeville, Ga. 31601

The Rev. James Hoaten
11 West Park Avenue
Savannah, Georgia 31401

Mr. William Markley
110 Kamay/Wall Street
Warner Robbins, Ga.31093

Mrs. Yvonne Gannon
5742 Wares Ferry Road
Montgomery, Alabama 36109

Rev. James Marshall
1056 Washington Street
Montgomery, Alabama 36104

Mr. Henry Rembert, Dir.
ACT Educational Program
2450 St. Stephens, Road.
Mobile, Alabama 36617

[redacted]

Mrs. Alberta Murphy
13 Hillcrest
Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401

Mrs. Alberta Murphy
13 Hillcrest
Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401

Mr. Ezekiel Harrison
Selma Inter-Religious Pro.
P.O. Box 2628
Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401

Mr. Ezekiel Harrison
Selma Inter-Religious Prol.
P.O. Box 2628
Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401

Mr. Alfred Radney
9 Church Street
Talladega, Ala. 35160

Mr. Olin Beall, Jr.
C/O Rev. Olin Beall, Sr.
Church of the Redeemer
Biloxi, Mississippi 39533

MISSISSIPPI

BILOXI

Biloxi High	Harrison, Biloxi	Mr. Oilin Beall, Jr.
d'Iberville High	Harrison, Biloxi	
St. Martin	Jackson, Biloxi	

MERIDIAN

Southeast High	Lauderdaele	Rev. Duncan Gray
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North Forrest	Forrest, Hattiesburg	Rev. Colton Smith
Rowan High	SAME	
Runnelstown	Perry, Hattiesburg	

MISSISSSIPPI

School	City County &State	Contact
McComb High	Pike, McComb,	Mr. Spenser Nash Martin Luther King Com.Cen 601 Old Summit Road McComb, Miss. 39648
Central High Brinkley High Hills Lanier High Pearl-McLaurin	Hinds, Jackson	Mr. Peter Steward Community Coalition for public schools, C/O Mr. John Maxey, P.O. Bx 22571 Jackson 339205 Mrs. Charles Hughes 227 Allstate Drive Jackson 39211

~~XXXX XXXXX~~ GEORGIA

Clarke Central High	Clarke, Athens	
Baldwin	Baldwin, Milledgeville	
Westover High	Doughterty, Albany	
Monroe High	SAME	
Albany Highn	SAME	
~~Daughtery~~ Dougherty	SAME	
Windsor Forest High	Chatham, Savannah	
Jenkins High	SAME	
Grove	SAME	
Savannah High	SAME	
Warner Robins High	Houston, Warner-Robins, Ga.	
Northisde High	SAME	

ALABAMA

6

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Robert E. Lee	SAME	Rev. James Marshall
Sindey Lanier } 1st mailing w label	SAME	
G.W. Carver	SAME	

Neenah Bond

ALABAMA----MOBILE

-- School	County & City	Contact
Murphy High	Mobile, Mobile (4)	Mr. Henry Rembert
Central High	SAME	
Baker High	SAME	
Davidson High	SAME no label i.e. 1st mailing	
Toulminville	SAME	
Luverne High no label	ALABAMA---LUVERNE (3) Crenshaw, Luverne	Mr. James Kolb
	TUSCALOOSA (7)	
Druid High	Tuscaloosa County, Cnx	Mrs. Alberta Murphy
Tuscaloosa High	SAME	Mr. Ezekiel Harrison
	TALLADEGA (6)	
no label 1st mailing Talladega High	Talladega County Talladega City School	Mr. Alfred Radney
	(2) HUNTSVILLE	
Lee High School	Madison County	Mr. Townsend L. Walker, Sr
Butler High School	Huntsville City	
Huntsville High	Schools	
no label 1st mailing		
	(1) BIRMINGHAM	
Westerh High		
Phillips High, Vestavia Hills	Jefferson County	Mr. James Kidd
no label Huffman	Birm City	
Carver		
Shades Valley		
Wenonah	Birm	

2nd Contact 1st meeting

FLORENCE

Bradshaw	Florecene City		
Coffee	Same	--Florence,Ala.	Doctor Roger Woodwort
Central	Lauderdale		Woodworth
[redacted]	SAME		
Bradshaw			

TUSKEGEE

Tuskegee Hgih School	Macon County	Mr. Rufus Huffman
Tuskegee Institute High		

PELL CITY

Pell Cith High	St. Clair County	Mr. Lee A Sawyer

CONTACT PERSONS MISSISSIPPI ONLY

Rev. Colton Smith
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Hattiesburg, Miss. 39401

Mr. Olin Beall, Jr.
C/O Rev. Olin Beall, Sr.
CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER
Biloxi, Miss 39533

Mrs. Jane Watkins
C/O Atty. Wesley Watkins, III
May Building
Greenville, Miss. 38701

Mr. Peter Stewart
Community Coalitons for
Public Schools, C/O Mr.
John Maxey
P.O. Box 22571
Jackson, Miss 39205

Mrs. Emanuel Crystal

4135 Honeysuckle Lane

Jackson, Miss 39211

~~Atty Hermen Johnson~~
~~Education Resource Center~~
~~Old LCDC North Farish~~
~~Jackson, Miss 39206~~

McComb High School-----
Mr.-~~j~~--------

McComb High School
Mr. John Lowery, Principal
310-7th Avenue
McComb, Miss. 39648

McComb High School
Mr. John Lowery, Prin.
310-7th Avenue
McComb, Miss. 39648

Rev. Duncan Gray
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
116-23rd Avenue
Meridian, Miss. 39201

~~Ruleville Central High S~~

Ruleville Central High
School
Mr. H. R. Smith, Principal
Ruleville, Miss. 38771

~~West Point High School~~

West Point Junior High
School
Mr. William Stafford, Prin.
634 E. Westbrook
West Point, Miss. 39773

~~Mr. Peter Stewart~~
Community Coalition for
~~Public Schools~~-

Mr. Peter Stewart
Community Coalition for
Public Schools, c/o
Mr. John Maxey
P.O. Box 22517
Jackson, Miss. 39205

Mr. Peter Stewart
Community Coaliton for
Public Schools, c/o
Mr. John Maxey
P.O. Box 22517
Jackson, Miss. 39205

Mr. Peter Stewart
Community Coalition for
Public Schools, c/o
Mr. John Maxey
P.O. Box 22157
Jackson, Miss. 39205

Mrs. Emanuel Crystal

4135 Honeysuckle Lane

Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Emanuel Crystal

4135 Honeysuckle Lane

Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Emanuel Crystal

4135 Honeysuckle Lane

Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Charles Hughes

227 Allstate Drive

Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Charles Hughes

227 Allstate Drive

Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Mrs. Charles Hughes

227 Allstate Drive

Jackson, Mississippi 39211

Atty. Hermel Johnson
Education Resource Center
Old LCDC N. Farish
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Atty. Hermel Johnson
Education Resource Center
Old LCDC N. Farish
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

Atty. Hermel Johnson
Education Resouce Center
Old LCDC N. Farish
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

MISSISSIPPI

Columbus
Starkville
West Point

Mrs. Donna Myhre
~~Tom Bigby~~ Council on Humam Relations
Drawer KX
~~State College, Miss. 39762~~

?

Tombigbee

specifically asked us to send packets to:
Starkville High
W. Point High
Lee High

(address)

Mrs. Jane Watkins
Greenville

Greenville HS
Weston HS

McComb HS

Mr. Spenser Nash
Martin Luther King Community Center
601 Old Summit Rd.
McComb, lMiss. 39648

or ~~Mr. Curtis C. Bryant*~~
~~NAACP~~
~~Venerable St.~~
~~St. McComb, Miss.~~

~~*doubtful because just caused loss of MDS funds there~~
~~ESAP (X)~~

Ruleville H.S.

~~Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer~~
~~723 James St.~~
~~Rulville, Miss.~~

NO

Mr. Peter Stewart
Community Coalition for Public Schools
% Mr. John Maxey, Community Legal Services
P. O. Box 22571
Jackson, Miss. 39205

done

Brinkley HS
Central HS
Lanier HS
Hill HS

check

att. Hermel Johnson
Education Resource Center
~~% M.F.A.~~ OLD LCDC office N. FARRISH
Jackson, Miss

Meredian - miss
Duncan Gray

~~Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer~~
~~723 James St.~~
~~Ruleville, Miss.~~

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: W in ifmed Bren Secretary

Emory F. Via

ALA.

1) MONTGOMERY – MRS. YVONNE GANNON complete

2) OPELIKA – FRANKIE KING complete
P.O. Drawer 1632 – Auburn 36830 C/o LEE CO. HEADSTART ESAP Ala

3) TUSCALOOSA – EZEKIEL HARRISON SPEAK Selma Proj. Project
(Completed) C/o SIP P.O. Box 268 35401

GEORGIA

1) MACON – JOE HENDRICKS

2) SAVANNAH – MERCEDES WRIGHT

MISSISSIPPI

1) BILOXI – OLIN BEALL, JR. complete
C/O Sr. Church of the Redeemer

2) MERIDIAN – DUNCAN GRAY complete
Rev.

3) HATTIESBURG – COLTON SMITH
Rev. Episcopal Church

4) JACKSON – MRS. EMANUEL CRYSTAL

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

done

MRS. CHARLES HUGHES
227 ALLSTATE DRIVE
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Winifred Green's
Sister — Send
Complete packet &
letter from J. W.

6
5
11
+1
13
2
15
6
21
+1
24
~~5~~
~~26~~
2
33

(23) retro

ALABAMA * all are pres. of local human relations councils unless otherwise specified

Jefferson Davis
Sidney Lanier
Robert E Lee

Rev. James Marshall
1056 Washington St.
Montgomery, Ala. 36104

Jerry Roden wants a copy of materia

Baker HS
Central HS
Davidson HS
Murphy HS
Toulminville HS

Henry Rembert
Director, ACT Educational Program
2450 St. Stephens Rd.
Mobile, Ala.

~~Rev. Jerry Ridling~~
~~P. O. Box 1949~~
Auburn 36830

Auburn H.S.

Mr. James Kolb
Pres., Human Relations Council chapters
Rt. 2, Box 90
Luverne, Ala. 36049

Luverne HS

~~NANCY~~ Mrs. FRANKIE KING at Lee Co Headstart who in ESAP

David HS
Tuscaloosa HS

Mrs. Alberta Murphy
13 Hillcrest
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Talladega HS

Mr. Alfred Radney
9 Church St.
Talladega, Ala. 35160

Butler HS
Huntsville HS
Lee HS

Mr. Townsend L. Walker, Sr.
7608 Saxon Dr., SW
Huntsville, Ala. 35802

Carver HS
Huffman HS
Phillips HS
Western HS

Mr. James Kidd
1504 First Court West
Birmingham, Ala. 35208

Eileen Walburt *

Willa Adams
14 12th Ave. N.
B'ham

Brookshaw HS
Coffee HS

Dr. Roger Woodworth
343 Lucas St.
Florence Ala. 35630

Tuskegee Institute HS

Mr. Rufus Huffman Regional Education Director, NAACP
P. O. Box ~~XXX~~ 190
Tudkegee Institute, Ala. 36088

Tuskegee HS

Mr. Lee A. Sawyer
1712 Fifth Avenue South
Pell City, Ala. 30125

Pell City H.S.

~~Dr. Glen Howze black school superintendent~~
~~P. O. Box 1096~~
~~Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088~~

SDP

D R A F T

MEMORANDUM

TO: Emory F. Via
FROM: Leon Hall
DATE: June 23, 1971
RE: SOUTH CAROLINA SUMMER STUDY FOR STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

STAFF: Paul Beasley, Adult Director, South Carolina Summer Study for Student Involvement. A former Presbyterian Minister

Richard Gergel, Rising Senior, J.W. Keenan High School, Senior Co-Student Director

Gary Myers, Rising Senior, J.W. Keenan High School, Senior Co-Student Director

This past Friday, June 18, the eight member group and adult director met with state representatives of the Office of Education, State Title I Director., an advisory committee in the State of South Carolina on the unitary school system, Mr. Davis, Chairman, as well as the wife of the publisher of the state newspaper, The State. Other participants in the meeting were:

Dr. William Dufford, who is the director of the Field Operations Center for Continuing Education, USC (Title IV Center), Harry Walker, President of the student government at the University of South Carolina, and other members of the State Office of Education, including representatives of the Secondary School Principals Association of the state, and Leon Hall, Southern Regional Council, School Desegregation Project. The group has received a letter of recommendation from the State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Busbee.

They received wholehearted endorsement from the group present as well as recommendations and committments for publication dissemination, etc. once the study is completed as well as suggestions that they should look into the feasibility of producing 30 minute documentaries to be viewed on ETV on the subject of student involvement in secondary education.

Other recommendations made to the group were that they ask for a meeting with the president of the Secondary School Principals Association asking for endorsement and support. There recommendations were followed-up on Tuesday, June 22, and a meeting was held with secondary school principals from around the state. The results from this meeting have not been learned as yet, but we are certain that they will get the support and endorsement of this group.

All in all, given the caliber of the students and adult director, we feel that the group will be successful, will put forth a comprehensive study for recommendations to secondary school principals, superintendents and other administrators by the end of the summer.

The project has been given office space and the use of office materials by the Center for Continuing Education,

University of South Carolina
503 South Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29208
Phone: 777-4837

A PROPOSAL FOR

A

SUMMER STUDY ON STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

The Summer Study takes as its subject "student involvement," Stirred by the example of the North Carolina Task Force on Student Involvement, the summer study seeks first to listen and then to compile the concerns, comments, and suggestions of students with regard to seeking constructive avenues for student involvement. The study's report will not only provide a current assessment of student thoughts and school programs, but will serve as an example . . . that students can offer important insights into many problems confronting high school students today; and that students, working with faculty members and administrators, can contribute to the designing of effective practical solutions.

This study is a terminal summer project and, while it is hoped that its results will merit futher attention, discussion of its future as a program must await assessment of its need.

The Summer Study on Student Involvement will be an eight week program which will be broken into two parts. The first 4-6 weeks will be dedicated to listening to students, teachers, administrators, etc. The final few weeks will be spent compiling the materials into a report.

While the planning for the study is still in the preliminary stage, a number of objectives have been selected as primary.

1. Gather information and opinions from as many students as possible.

2. Compile and interpret this information and propose a concrete plan for positive student involvement.

3. Distribute the findings in report form to superintendents, principals, and other people in secondary education.

BACKGROUND

Several months ago, Richard Gergel, the past president of Keenan High School, and Gary Myers, the present president of Keenan High School, became interested in the idea of more positive

student involvement with the educational system. They read some of the North Carolina Task Force's literature and immediately decided that they should visit the North Carolina office. They asked David Abel, a doctoral student on leave from Harvard University, to accompany them. They met with the former director and the present student and adult directors and spoke to them about a similar program in South Carolina. After coming home, it was decided that a summer study was more practical than a task force. Since returning from North Carolina, there have been several meetings with students and adults. Those attending included Dr. Holler, Executive Director of the South Carolina Association of School Boards; Dr. Kitchens, Assistant Superintendent, Richland County School District #1, Dr. Dufford, University of South Carolina School Desegregation Center, Mrs. Moxon, President of the League of Women Voters; Mr. Coles, Deputy Superintendent of the State Department of Education; Regina Davis, a member of the Superintendents' Student Advisory Committee; and Mr. Gross from the Governor's Office.

STAFF

The staff will consist of eight high school students and one full time adult director. The eight students will receive $300 fellowships and the adult director $550 a month. These salaries are being paid in part by the Youth Project in Washington, D. C. The adult director is Paul Beazley, a graduate student in guidance and counseling at the University of South Carolina. Gary Myers and Richard Gergel will serve as co-student directors.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

To assist the students in their summer's efforts, it is being proposed that an advisory committee be formed composed of educational and lay leaders concerned with fostering positive student involvement. The committee will meet periodically with the students to provide guidance and, where appropriate, assistance. A number of individuals have listened to the summer proposal and been helpful in providing direction and counsel. The have stated that if the State Department of Education sees fit to support the program, they would be willing to serve, if requested, as an advisory committee. They include Dr. Holler, Dr. Kitchens, Dr. Dufford, Mr. Kay Patterson, Mrs. Moxen, Mr. Phil Gross, Mr. Travis Medlock.

STUDENT SELECTION

Selection of the other six student members of the summer study will be the responsibility of the two student directors and the adult director with the counsel of the advisory committee. The basic criteria for selection is as follows:

1. Broad geographical representation
2. A cross section of student organization representation
3. Class standing to be either rising juniors or seniors
4. Appropriate bi-racial composition
5. A student's demonstrated interest in positive student involvement

PRE-SERVICE TRAINING

During the first week of the study, the eight students will participate in a pre-service training program. Training will include exposure to: interview techniques, listening exercises, human relations and communication skills. An interview-schedule will be composed for the purpose of standardizing the questions asked. This week's training will be conducted by competent, professional personnel preferably from the university.

STUDY DESIGN

The State will be divided into four regions: Piedmont, Peedee, Central, Lowlands; . . . within each region two high schools will be selected from each of the four catagories of high schools: A, 2-A, 3-A, 4-A. From enrollment lists a representative sampling of students will be selected for interviewing.

SUMMARY

While still in the early stages of planning, this proposal seeks to define the purpose, scope, design, and mechanics of the Summer Study of Student Involvement in South Carolina.

Budget

Staff:	
Adult Director	1,100
Student Fellowships	2400
(eight students x 300 dollar stipends)	
Expenses:	
Travel	864
(200miles/wk x 6¢ miles x 9 people)	
Telephone	200
Materials	25
	4,589
Contingency (2%)	92
Fringe Benefits (10 on Adult Dir. salary)	110
	4,791
Grants to date:	
The Youth Project	2,500
Possible funding: (Farm Workers Commission)	1,000
	3,500
BALANCE NEEDED	1,291

Primarily for Directors salary

70 - SDP

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C. 29208

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Center for Educational Development
S. C. SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
CONSULTING CENTER
Columbia Hall

June 30, 1971

Mr. Leon Hall
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leon:

Since I talked with you on the phone I've taken a close look at the budget. It appears that we have enough funds available or promised at this time to meet our needs.

It will be pretty close on some items, but without unforseen expenses we can make it up to the point of publishing the final report. You are aware of the options there and, should none of them materialize, I may need to call on you again.

Thank you for your efforts on our behalf and you interest in the project. Hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Paul W. Beazley

Paul W. Beazley
Adult Director
Summer Study on Student
Involvement

Enclosure

SUMMER STUDY ON STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

BUDGET

Staff:

Adult Director	$1,100
Student Fellowships (eight students x $300 stipends)	2,400
	$3,500

Expenses:

Travel (200 miles/wk x 6¢/mile x 9 staff)	$865
Tape Recording	300
Telephone	200
Materials	50
Retreat	150
Brochure	250
Postage	50
	$1,865

Miscellaneous:

Contingency (2%)	$110
Fringe Benefits	100
	$210
Grand Total	$5,575

Funding:

The Youth Project	$2,500
S. C. Commission on Farm Workers	1,100
New World Foundation	1,500
American Friends Service Committee	500
Total	$5,600

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 21, 1971

Mr. Hayes Mizell
Community Relations Project
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
401 Columbia Building
1200 Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Hayes:

This will be an apology in advance. After a long-standing decision not to give publicity to our School Desegregation Project (feeling that the main focus should be on those students who actually are doing the work), South Today and one of its writers decided to focus on the Project by looking mainly at what some of the students are doing, particularly in South Carolina. You will see when your South Today arrives that the story starts with a look at the South Carolina summer project. Although we do not take credit for the project, we associate ourselves with it and fail to make mention of other organizations. I am personally distressed, as are Leon and Butch, that AFSC's role was not somehow mentioned. Unfortunately, in the writing and editing the matter did not come to our attention until too late to change the type.

I wanted you to know how much we appreciate your own role and that of David Able in making the South Carolina effort possible and how sorry we are for the inadvertent misimpression (by omission) possibly created by our story.

Best personal wishes and keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via. Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
cc: David Able

Hayes Mizell Not for nearly file

Dear Hayes:

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Best personal wishes and keep up the good work.

Sincerely

c.c./sto

Mizell

[redacted]

Done Able

August 11, 1971

Mr. Paul Beazley, Director
South Carolina Summer Study on
Student Involvement
503 South Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Beazley:

It has come to my attention that a story carried in our publication, South Today, which discussed the South Carolina Summer Study on Youth Involvement is subject to misinterpretation. We pride ourselves on fairness and accuracy and are distressed when any error of fact or interpretation occurs. We also exercise considerable care in not claiming credit beyond our due and certainly not for someone else's work.

We agree on re-reading the story that by associating our interest in student involvement with your project, that it is quite possible for a reader to imply that the project was of our doing. I want to assure you that any such implication was inadvertent and greatly regretted by us.

Of course, we favor the kind of thing that your project is attempting. It makes good sense to involve students as a constructive resource in making the educational environment increasingly wholesome and conducive to learning.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV:jb

F: 20 - SDP

Jim:
I'll send you all other materials as they come in.
Richard
P.S. Give a copy to Pat Watson Matthews

A PROPOSAL FOR

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Task Force and now a graduate student at the University of North Carolina. Her experience will be invaluable to the project. Gary Myers and Richard Gergel will serve as co-student directors.

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SUMMARY

While still in the early stages of planning, this proposal seeks to define the purpose, scope, design, and mechanics of the Summer Study of Student Involvement in South Carolina.

Gwen:

Please copy TG letter and return book with copy of letter to Leon.

[illegible]

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... A 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Lear: Thanks for sharing the book with me. I asked Judy H. Porter to look it over and give me a comment. This is it. Jay

Emory:

The value of Problems in Student Rights and Freedoms is substantially weakened by the age of most of the included material. Most articles were written in the early sixties and therefore lack any examination or analysis of more current developments and theories. As a result, the chapters "Where We Now Stand" and "Legal or Judicial Protections" suffer greatly from their outdatedness, whereas selections pertaining mainly to theory have fared better through time.

The main strength of this publication is the diversity of approaches to the area of students' rights and freedoms: from straightforward legal case presentations to predictions of future legal developments, definitions of the university's purpose and fundamental student rights, and Basil's contention that the university must excel in turning "nobodies" into "somebodies." The publication provides good background reading for further study in the subject area.

Judy

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: WHAT'S NEXT?

Prepared by:

JIMMIE SAMUEL
WILLIE L. SANDS
MARGARET M. SANDS

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V. ---- Footnotes and Bibliography

POLITICAL CONTROL IN DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS

"In 1963, after nine years of court litigation following the 1954 Brown decisions, only 1.17 per cent of the black students in southern states were attending school with white students. Five more years of administrative enforcement authorized by Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act placed 20.3 per cent of the region's black children in desegregated schools during the 1968-69 school year." [1]

As the 1968 elections approached, southern segregationists, encouraged by the apparent influence of some southern senators at the republican National Convention, were urging local educators to hold back on further desegregation plans. In South Carolina, television commercials showed Senator Strom Thurmond endorsing Nixon and reporting that the candidate favored freedon-of-choice plans.[2]

Mr. Nixon gave little indication of what his schools desegregation policies might be. He was sufficiently ambiguous as to satisfy southern segregationists without fatally damaging his support among northern republicans. In news conferences in Anaheine, California, and Detroit, Nixon stated that federal aid should be denied in a "... clear case of segregation." At the same time, he claimed that HEW had excedded the intent of congress and was trying to implement "enforced integration."[3]

Noting the logic of such statements, one southern paper editorialized, "Nixon endorsed the 1954 Supreme Court decision

.... however, he opposed virtually every effort short of devine revelation for stepping up the desegregated process." [4]

An editorial in the Columbia, South Carolina State used selected quotations from Nixon's speeches to portray the candidate as favoring "quality education" without a federal agency punishing" local communities and as being against bussing. [5]

In 1968 Mr. Nixon was elected President of the United States with all his vagueness, political minorities and southern stradegy. In 1969, there seemed to be a deliberate effort at work in the federal administration machinery to reverse such progress in school desegregation as has already been so dearly won. That effort, if not demonstrably successful in diminished precentages of students in desegregated school, had cycically held out the hope to southern segregatinist that the law of the land would not really have to be obeyed. Even with the U.S. Supreme court ruling on 30 mississippi school cases, ordered immediate end of segregation, the likelihood, sadly, seems to be that the false hopes engendered by the administration has laid the seed for new resistance in the Deep South. [6]

"Under the present administration, key positions in the Department of Justice and in Department of Health, Education and Welfare have been filled by men with contrasting viewpoints an what the government should do about desegregation of schools." [7]

In the HEW's office for Civil Rights, Robert C. Mardian filled the position. He expressed publicly his dislike for termination of funds as means of enforcing Title VI. In March 1969, someone leaked to the press a Mardian memorandum to Robert Finch, Secretary of HEW, in which Mardian suggested that the department's desegregation guidelines be eased-but without and public notice. In the Justice

Department, Attorney General John Mitchell and Jerris Leonard,head of the Civil Rights Division, reportedly favor a "go slow" approach to desegregation.[8]

Another administration official apparently having a very influential voice in the determination of southern desegregation policies is Harry Dent. Both Mitchell and Dent have been reported as favoring a "Southern Strategy" for the Nixon administration which will combine the strength of Richard Nixon and George Wallace into a National Republican majority.[9]

Leon Panetta, Finch's choice as director of OCR had been a fine advocate of strong civil rights action. Later to be fired from his position. Other appointments buttressing the liberal side included under Secretary John G. Veneman, who believed "HEW had a 'social' as well as a legal duty to push ahead on desegregation", and James E. Allen, former commissioner of education in the state of New York. The administrators and staff personnel wanting to enforce the law consistently faced overwhelming political opposition within and without official administration circles.[10]

The first official signal of retreat came when new desegregation policies were issued in July 3, 1969. "It is not our purpose here to lay down a single arbitrary date by which they desegregation process should be completed in all school districts."[11]

The thrust of the announcement was simultaneously to declare that the 1969-1970 deadlines would be both relaxed and, maybe hopefully enforced. Jerris Loenard, sagely noted, "I assume that there are people who can read it any way they want to read it, and undoubtedly they will."[12] Deliberate signe of confusing policy statements.

Like the Johnson administration, the Nixon administration has allowed certain districts to escape with a minimum of progress. That

is, select districts have received very special consideration due to what can only be called "political circumstances."

In Chester County, Tennessee, their funds were to be terminated because of the slow rate of school desegregation. In the face of political pressure from Tennessee's senator Baker and others, HEW accepted a plan that could be depended only as being legal. Senator Baker announced Finch's decision to restore funds to Chester County district march 19, six days before voters in the adjacent congressional districts went to the polls in a special congressional election.[13] Deviations from established policies due to special political circumstances were not initiated by the present administration. Panetto points out that in July; 1968, the Johnson administration's reaction to a situation involving a Columbus, Mississippi, district was similar to Finch's response to Chester"[14]

There were special inadequate plans accepted even though direct political intervention was not so readily apparent. In Gulfport, Mississippi, the student population is 22 per cent Black and no serious construction problems prevented full desegregation in 1969. In Febuary 1969 Gulfport reneged on 1968 plan and requested until 1970 to complete its desegregation program. The outcome was that they were allowed to have a 1970 terminal date, a clear violation of established regulation.[15] The same violation occured in Aiken, South Carolina , (Senator Strom Thurmand's district).

The administration also has ignored at least 80 school districts with majority Black population, premitting continued segregation. The Nixon administration policies have been terribly inconsistent. Another clue as to the administration's attitudes on Title VI enforcement was its initial failure to oppose the Whitten Amendments in the House. The Whitten Amendment would stop the termination of federal funds

as a means of enforcing desegregation guidelines. This was later opposed by Finch's department publicly. [16]

Delays were inherent in the administrative process; also the average time lapse since the hearing examiner's decision was six months. These were the cases appealed to the Review Authority. Because of this inefficiency, districts were allowed to begin a new school year, still receiving money under a plan OCR considered to be a violation of the law. [17]

"To most southern veterans of the school desegregation struggle, the Aministration in 1970 appeared to be playing a deceptive game of numbers. To report desegregation progress in terms of districts said to be in compliance results in high figures but said nothing about the desegregation of schools. It obscured the fact that the pattern of segregation within so-called desegregated districts was widespread and reinforced the fear that the administration's retreat from school desegregation, begun in 1969, was in 1970 going to be frozen into a policy that would condone extensive segregation as a permanent condition in the region." [18]

Not until mid-January 1971, months after the original data had made their impact - did HEW release figures concerning the actual extent of school desegregation. According to these preliminary estimates, which may not be accurate but are the only comprehensive ones available , 38.1% of southern Black Students are enrolled in schools with a predominantly white student body, 20.4% attending predominantly Black Schools ranging from 50% to 79.9% Black; 23.1% attanding desegregated schools in which the enrollment is 80% or more Black and 18.4% attending all Black schools." [19] These figures do in fact reflect a significant increase in school desegregation. It can be

said that, for the first time, school desegregation in the south is the rule rather than the exception.
But this is far from dismantling the dual system; and the mere numbers which the Administration celebrates scarcely justify Secretary Richardson's boast that they "show clearly and dramatically that unprecedented progress has been made in school desegregation since 1968." [20]

Obsessed with inflation, unemployment. polution of the air and water drug abuse, a baffling and irrevesent youth culture - not to mention crime in the streets, revolts on the campuses, ponography at the movies and the war in Vietmam - most white Americans in 1970 seemed eager to believe that school desegregation in the south was one thing that could be written off their list of concerns. Also with the shifting natural concerns, the long standing alliance between civil rights forces and the federal government weakened in the last years of the Johnson Administration and shattered in the first years of the Nixon administration, and has shown no signs of coming back to life." [21]

"The frustration of court orders and HEW -approved plans was widespread. Governor Holton tried to set a good examply by sending his daughter to a predominantly Black school, but other leaders were defiant. George Wallace advised Mobilians to defy the law by placing their children in schools of their choice; Lester Maddox told Georgians to exercise "freedom of choice, whatever the courts might have ordered;" and John Bell Williams, Governor of Mississippi both counseled resistance and dramatized his personal opposition to desegregation by putting his children in provate school."

The examples set by these and other reconstructed leaders were taken to heart by thousands of provate citizens and hundreds of public officials, and they found many ways to prevent enforcement of the Law. [23]

"Charlotte, North Carolina, allowed itself in 1970 to become a symbol and perhaps a scapegoat in the national hysteria over "busing" as a means of achieving school desegregation. With a federal court order for immediate extensive cross-city busing extant in Charlotte, the President of the United States himself lambasted busing to achieve "racial balance." Robert Finch, then Secretary of HEW specifically denounced the Charlotte court order and one in Los Angles calling them "totally unrealistic." This further indicated the inconsistency and confusion created by administrative official even in the face of court orders.

"There seemed little doubt that the furor and hysteria over busing contributed to, if not directly caused - the emotornal climate which produced in February 1971, the burning of the offices of the law firm which had pushed the school and other desegregation cases. Here, as through the tragic history of southern racial struggle, was expression of the ultimate savagery and lawlessness that underlies the most subtle and sophisticated racism, the political exploitation of the race issue by prestigious leaders and average citizens susceptibility to such manipulation."[25]

"Out of the furor of 'busing' there was formed the Concerned Parents Association in Charlotte and other city across the country. The question came to the fore-front over the court order which called for the busing of elementary school children in and out of the black section of Charlotte.

BUTLER, Ga. (AP) — The superintendent of schools in Taylor County, Norman Carter, said Tuesday that the school system's transportation system being boycotted by black pupils is operating under a federal court order.

An estimated 600 black pupils have refused to ride the buses or to attend school since April 19.

The county has approximately 1,800 school children, of which approximately 55 per cent are black.

"This court order was an amendment to the original order which covered 81 school systems in the state," Carter said in a telephone interview with The Associated Press.

"The amendment brought transportation into the suit and said that all systems involved must end the dual transportation system, which was transporting students by race to school."

CARTER said the county operates 24 school buses with 12 white drivers and 12 black drivers.

To reach a solution, he said, the 12 black drivers are hauling all of the boys to school and the 12 white drivers are hauling all of the girls to school.

"We felt that since the boys attended one school and the girls attended another, then the logical method would be to transport the boys on one set of buses and the girls on another," Carter explained.

Carter said among the complaints, Negro parents are asking that Negro drivers be allowed to transport white girls as well as Negro girls.

A spokesman for the parents, Mrs. Sara Mathis, declared, "What they are really saying is that black drivers aren't good enough to drive white girls to school. What we want is opportunity for our bus drivers. Our children won't go back to school until our drivers get equal opportunity."

Carter said the school board was given a list of five demands three days after the boycott began. They are:

—That absenteeism of students in the boycott not be used against their graduation or promotion.

"I've not commented on this, because this has been a policy of the school board since 1967," Carter said.

—That an equal number of bus drivers be assigned to pick up students, boys and girls; they want distribution of races among drivers assigned to all the students.

"Black drivers told us they would rather pick up the boys," Carter said.

—Objections to seat assignments on the part of the bus drivers.

"You have to give the drivers authority to seat them anywhere to maintain discipline," Carter said. "We wouldn't tolerate any abuse of the seating assignments. The boycotters indicate that only white drivers have this authority. This is not so. All drivers have this authority."

—Demands that all students be treated humanely at all times.

"I asked them to cite a specific incident where a child was treated inhumanely, and they could cite no such instance," Carter said.

—Buses should stop at every house where students are waiting, and students should not have to walk to meet the bus.

"The state patrol tells us no to stop except for every few hundred feet," Carter said.

"All of these complaints were based on the operations of one day," he said. "They rode those buses one day and then they boycotted.

"There are 24 drivers on new routes. I knew they would miss some children. They were bound to miss a few. We missed some black ones and we missed some white ones. We want to be fair; we've tried to be fair."

Carter said that earlier a group of parents sued the school system in an effort to have its separation by sexes knocked down, but it was upheld by U.S. District Court Judge Robert J. Elliott of Columbus.

Macon Telegraph

Warner Robins Speech

Thompson Maps Anti-Busing Plan

By HOWARD COLLINS

Telegraph Houston Bureau

WARNER ROBINS — U.S. Rep. Fletcher Thompson said Friday that he will offer a constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court's ruling which allows the busing of children to achieve integration.

Thompson, speaking to a group of Republicans here, said the amendment is the only way to overturn the court's ruling. With the attention of the court now turning toward the situation in Northern schools, Northern congressmen may support the amendment, he said.

THE FIFTH District congressman, now in his third term in the House of Representatives, said he has sent memos to his colleagues telling them that something important to their constitutents will take place May 11.

At that time, Thompson said, he will announce the amendment.

Thompson said his amendment will provide that no child shall be assigned to a school because of his race, creed or color; that no federal employee will be hired because of his race, creed or color; and that no promotions in federal jobs will be made because of race, creed or color.

He said that the Federal Aviation Agency circulated a memorandum recently calling on its offices to try to employ 20 per cent Negroes.

The official policy, which was later rescinded after Thompson complained to the FAA director, caused some better qualified persons not to get jobs in the agency because of it.

THOMPSON said the actions of some congressmen during the antiwar demonstration in Washington last week caused him to question their allegiance to the country.

While there is no evidence of police brutality in handling the mass of demonstrators, some congressmen have complained about brutal treatment in arresting demonstrators.

"I frankly question the loyalty of some of my fellow congressmen in this regard," he said.

The white citizens took a totally one sided view on the issue of busing without considering the "unconvenience" placed expccially on black children and also white children to maintain the segregated school systems. Now the same white citizens were expecting desegregation to proceed in the same fashion and which in many areas in the south is the case.

"But local and state politics suffered erosion from the furor over busing. Two-way reenforcement was evident; the people influenced the leaders who in turn further inflamed the people. Governor Scott for a time seemed to take hands off position on busing, but as public sentiment grew hotter in Charlotte, he became an avid anti-busing spokesman. This is familiar enough in southern racial demagogic politics; what made it different this time in Charlotte and other parts of the South was that the highest official in the country seemed to be involved in the process."[26]

"It is in the light of so much of Charlotte's adult response to school desegregation, and the failure of so much adult leadership, from the president on down, that the disturbances among the young people in the schools in February must be judged." School desegregation, after assessing problems, was succeeding, despite adults.[27]

"In ultimate terms of real education, the important thing to have seem in Charlotte was the resilience of the young people. The"love in" rallies that followed the disturbances in February were a magnificent display of the will of a majority of them to work things out for themselves, to escape past patterns of distructiveness, to deal creatively with a situation made unnecessarily difficult by those past patterns."[28]

The Charlotte situation indicates the existence of a children culture and adult culture in America with very little permeability between their membrances. In these new educational and social realities there must be active efforts to understand by both and a more substantive part in the

1. What is your classification? (check one)
   a. freshman ____ c. junior ____
   b. sophomore ____ d. senior ____

2. Sex (check one) Male_____ Female_____

3. Race (check one) Black____ White ____ Other ____

4. Is this your first experience in a desegregated school?
   a. Yes
   b. No

5. Which school did you attend before entering this complex?

   _____

6. What are your personal feelings toward attending a desegregated school?
   a. No feeling
   b. Hostility
   c. Dissatisfaction
   d. Pleased
   e. Would prefer private school
   f. Other _____

7. Why are you attending this complex? (check one or more)
   a. Your choice
   b. Closed or transformed your old school
   c. Close to your neighborhood
   d. Parent's choice
   e. Other _____

8. For what reasons are schools being desegregated? (check one or more)
   a. To end racial discrimination in education
   b. To futher the socialization of races
   c. To force the mixing of races
   d. To raise Blacks to the level of Whites in education
   e. To discriminate against Southern schools
   f. Other _____

9. Do you think there have been problems resulting from school desegregation?
   a. Yes
   b. No

10. If answer to question 9 is yes, what is the nature of those problems?
   a. Lack of communication between races (students)
   b. Academic
   c. Lack of communication between faculty and students
   d. Discipline
      1. Major disorder_____
      2. Minor disorder _____
   e. Everything
   f. Other _____

11. For whom has desegregation been most helpful?
   a. The government
   b. Both Blacks and Whites
   c. Mostly Whites
   d. Mostly Blacks

12. What effect does desegregation have on classroom learning?
   a. None
   b. Brought down the value of education
   c. Raised the value of education
   d. Learning environment good for Whites, but not for Blacks
   e. Learning environment good for Blacks, but not good for Whites
   f. Other_____

13. Are there any classroom situations that help communications between races?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Some
   d. Very few

14. Are the cultural backgrounds of all students presented in the curriculum?
   a. Yes b. No

15. Would you like to learn about cultures other that your own?
   a. Yes
   b. No

   If yes, why? _____

   If no, why? _____

16. If you answered yes to question 15 , which of those cultures would you like to study?
   a. African
   b. Chinese
   c. Jewish
   d. American Indian
   e. Spanish American
   f. Other _____

17. Does the school administration deal with discipline problems fairly?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   If no, against whom is the prejudice directed?
   a. Whites
   b. Blacks
   c. Others

18. During the process of school desegregation, how were the students treated?
   a. Given just consideration
   b. Given some consideration, but not enough
   c. Completely ignored
   d. Other _____

19. Do you feel that students should have been included in making the initial plans for school desegregation?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Other _____

20. What is the role of the high school student in the schools of today ?

   _____

   _____

21. Are Black instructors racially prejudiced?
   a. Yes
   b. No

   If yes, against whom?
   a. Blacks
   b. Whites
   c. Others_____

22. Are White instructors racially prejudiced?
   a. Yes
   b. No

   If yes, against whom?
   a. Blacks
   b. Whites
   c. Others

23. If you were in power, what would you do about the present school situation?
   a. Re-segregate the schools
   b. Let them remain as they are
   c. Let students become more involved in the educational process
   d. Further desegregation
   e. Other _____

THANK YOU !!!!!!!

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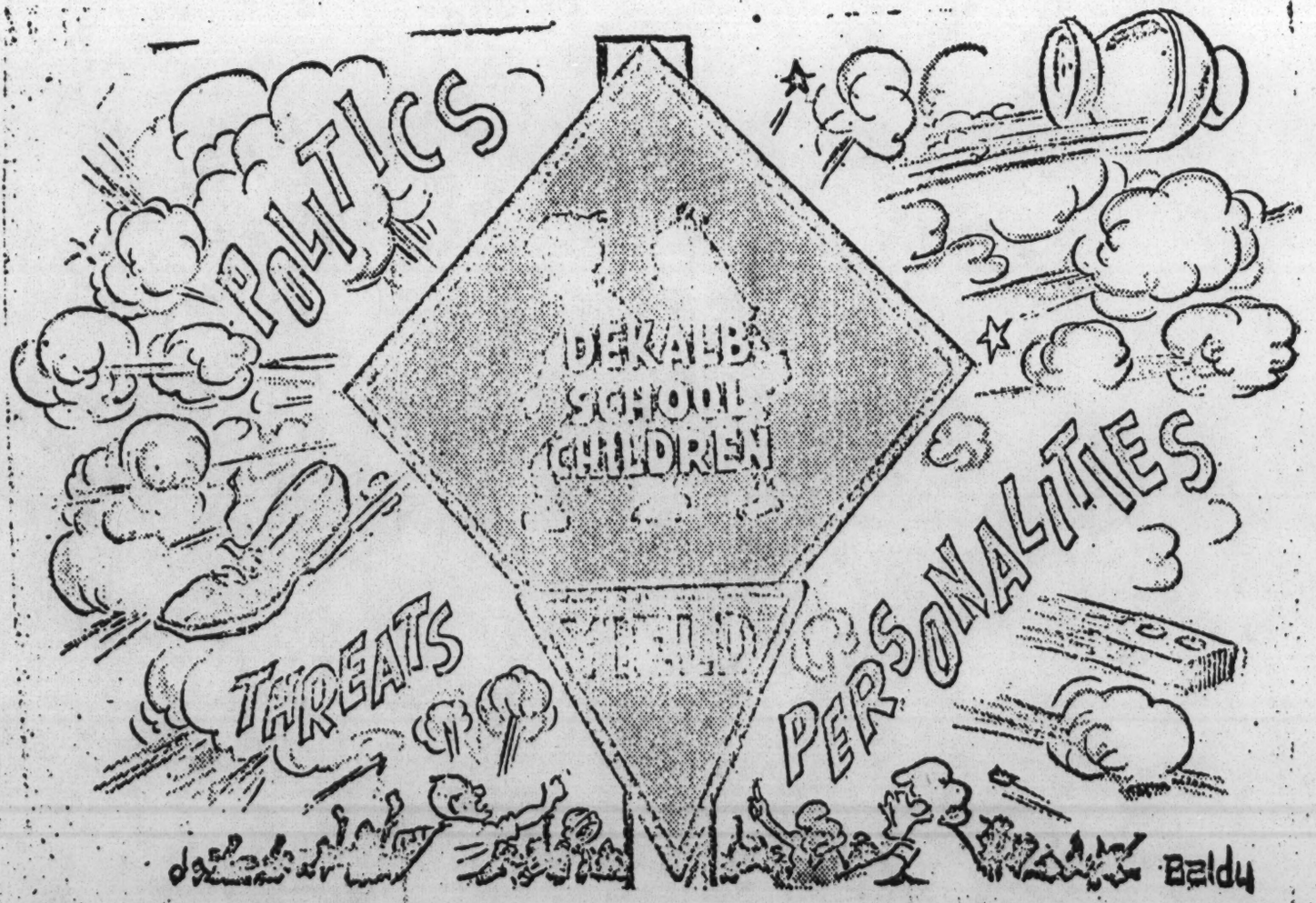

POLITICS
DEKALB SCHOOL CHILDREN
PERSONALITIES
THREATS
Baldy

decision making by students especially when it effects them. The desegregation of school effects students more than anyone else in the country and its time to end this political chess game with education.

"Even now, not only do segregated schools exist on a wide scale within many "unitary" districts, but even within desegregated schools, methods both ingenious and disingenious have been used to separate blacks from whites and to place both psychological and physical burdens on black students. Classroom segregation was discovered in 273 of 467 districts monitored in September for one major study of compliance in the region. An expanded "ability teaching" system is used as a method of assignment to perpetuate segregation. Under the unitary system presently in operation, desegregation has all too frequently substituted new forms to perpetuate old injustices."[29]

Tensions produced by in-school discrimination have caused most of the confrontations and violence accompanying the expansion of desegregation. The "Dixie" issue, which has wracked schools in all parts of the region, is a distinctive example.[30]

"Much of the violence that has taken place this fall stems from the wounds of black sensitivity inflicted by schoolmen either unable or unwilling to come to terms with the racism in their institutions. Consider, for example, the case of Earle Arkansas. The mascot of the black school was dropped in favor of the mascot symbol of the white school. The principals of the formerly all black schools became assistant principals of the elementary school and the combined junior high school and on down the line."[31] Similar things happened in Caffeville, Mississippi; East Tallahatchie, Mississippi; Bogalusa, Louisiana; Jacksonville, Florida; and many other cities.

Occuring at an increase as a method of resistance to school desegregation are private schools or academies. This running away from reality, manifest

by irrational fears and a deep inferiority complex, is typical of the methods white America uses in dealing with questions of racial justice.

"But when all has been accounted for, the most important factor contributing to the growing resistance to desegregation has been the absence of leadership on the part of administration officials. The president, never articulating clearly his own views at the policy level had let the words of men such as Senator Thurmond stand in the South as the position of his administration."[32]

EDUCATION OR DESTRUCTION ?

With the implementation of school desgregation in the Southeast has arisen many changes in the structure of the schools. Most of these changes are problems; they are the symptons of earlier social diseases come to full fruition. In the years prior to 1969-70, public school systems have avoided the issue of desegregation by many methods; some of these methods include: the adaptation of the seperate but equal policy; sexual segregation of the schools to avoid intersexual contact between races; the haphazard desegregation achieved by neighborhood zoning; and the token desegregation possible through the policy of freedom of choice. All of these methods succeeded in confusing the issue, and frustrating all efforts to implement meaningful interracial balance within schools. The problems of racial inequality continued to be inextricably bred into the eduation systems. Racial seperation of school children in their formative years continued to be the primary instrument for fostering the delusions of the innate superiority of Whites, with the complementary inferiority of Blacks. In the segregated schools were sown the seeds for continual social stratification- fears and insecurities are nourished, effecting the usual result of racial hatred, skepticism, and distrust. Students emerged from thes sterile institutions with a knowledge (more or less) of grammatical principles, Hamlet, the immediate cause of the French-Indian War, a foreign language, and $E=MC^2$. The true purpose of education was conviently ignored, and the skills gained in high school were of little or no use except in a disparate society-that type

with unequal citizens- the kind produced by the education systems in America. For this obvious reason, pressure groups from Black and White communities urged the implementation of interracial education, seeking to affirm the equality of all citizens, and the right of all to the type of education that enable all to live an effectual life in a just society. On this premise was based the the decision to effect interracial desegregation of the schools, gaining and maintaining a balance relative to societal structure. Unfortunately, this act has met with opposing views and countermeasures - layovers from the type of society opposing factors sought to perpetuate. School desegregation was cited by many as destructive to Whites, and an ineffective aid to Blacks. The best possible results (according to those views) would be the lowering of the standards of Whites, and the maintenance of Black inferiorty. In effect, white parents feared that their sins would be brought on their children; there was widespread fear of Black violence in the forms of rapings, cuttings, and mental damage to White children. Few people realized that the greatest violence had already been committed. The overall attitude toward school desegregation was one-sided- the sacrifice of unwilling Whites to aid the inferior and ill- deserving Blacks. Amid these fears, prejudices, and delusions, the quest for racial equality in education was begun. Accordingly, the schools are now experiencing a past due turmoil.

One of the most obvious results of school desegregation is the change in the physical environments of the schools. According

to governmental provisions, each school is to maintain a ratio of Blacks to Whites- a measure intended for both faculty and students. Blacks and Whites in this measure are placed in situations that emphasize social parity. However, because of the existing attitudes that are a part of historical tradition, that type of equitability has not been effected. Within the schools, there still exist the instruments that are reminiscent of the conditions of segregation. For example, though the physical suggestion may be one of social parity, the conditioning of Whites and Blacks from their homes and schools and churches are still controllers of their activities, thus preventing the implementation of social equality.

One of the changes of the physical environs caused by school desgregation resulted in the maintenance of previously all-White institutions and the phasing-out or the degrading of the previously all Black institution. Again, these acts are reflective of the one-sided nature of school desegregation as has been implemented in the American schools. In most Georgia counties, high schools that prior to desegregation had been all- Black, have been converted to junior high or elementary schools. In some instances, they have been completely abolished. These measures are inextricably bound in county politics that are influenced by the cultural heritage andsocial traditions of the White majority. Exemplary of this trend are Bibb, Houston, and Jones counties. Similarly, the principal, and head administrators taking assistant and figurehead positions. It has been found that in some Georgia

White Mother Charged

Negro Teacher Suffers Beating

CALHOUN, Ga. (AP) — The white mother of a third grade male student at Sugar Valley Elementary School Monday was charged with beating a 64-year-old Negro teacher who allegedly paddled the pupil as a disciplinary measure.

The youth's father and an older brother also were charged in the incident after witnesses said the two physically detained the school principal and another teacher from assisting the elderly black teacher, Mrs. Odessa Gardner, during the confrontation.

Mrs. Gardner, the school's only black teacher and a veteran of 32 years in teaching, was hospitalized, authorities said.

HER HUSBAND, the Rev. Ralph Gardner, said er injuries include a lacerated lip, two chipped teeth and a broken upper dental plate.

Charged with aggravated assault, disturbing the peace and trespassing were Mr. and Mrs. Frank Raines. Mrs. Raines told a newsman, "I doubled up my fist and hit her (Mrs. Gardner) as hard as I could" during the confrontation in the principal's office.

Mrs. Raines said her husband and an older son, Jimmy Mathis, 24, held the principal and another teacher during the incident. Mathis is charged with feloneous assault, disturbing the peace and trespassing.

When the other teacher, who was identified as Mrs. Jerry Stanfield, tried to assist the Negro teacher, Mrs. Raines said, "I let her have it too."

The arrest warrants were signed by the Rev. Mr. Gardner and School Supt. Way Ashworth.

Columbus

Ruckus Shuts Baker High

COLUMBUS, Ga. (UPI) — White students, angered by an administration decision to add two black cheerleaders, walked out of Baker High School Wednesday and classes were suspended indefinitely.

The demonstration involved about 80 per cent of the 1,200—1,500 students at the school which is located near Ft. Benning and includes many sons and daughters of soldiers at the infantry center. Black students showed up for classes.

There was no violence and school officials scheduled a late afternoon meeting to work out the dispute.

Baker Principal Oscar Boyles had agreed Tuesday night at a mass meeting with Negro parents to submit the names of five black students from which two cheerleaders would be chosen. All of the eight cheerleaders at Baker now are white.

Dr. William H. Shaw, supertendent of Muscogee County schools, said the decision "upset the white students at Baker to the extent that all of the whites refused to go to school this morning."

He informed school board members that in view of the walkout, he supported Boyles' decision to close the school indefinitely.

Shaw urged black and white parents to "keep their children under control and send them back to school when this problem has been worked out by Mr. Boyles and a committee."

counties, teachers with years of experience and graduate degrees are made assistants to young white teachers. Their actual responsibilities in such cases are monitorial. In those counties with an overwhelming Black majority, some Black schools and principals were retained. They are, however, subject to the demands of an all-White school board, threats of withdrawals from affluent Whites, and pressures from the Black community. In such instances appointments are basically token grants with no actual power afforded by the appointment. The identities of Black schools are discredited, and the identities of White schools through county politics and more subtle methods are maintained. For instance, in County A, the high schools have been incorporated into complexes. Most of the previously all-Black schools have changed face in terms of mascot, school colors, anthems, etc. Although this seems to be a policy, the tradition of Landers High marches subtly on, personnified in the Big Orange and the big "L" on the auditorium curtains. Even though such subtleties seem insignificant, they carry a profound impact on the students. Former students are well aware that the school is "theirs", and new students are poignantly aware that they are in "Big Orange Country". Black students experience the destruction or the degradation of most of their significant symbols, thus affecting their concept of identity in desgregated schools. In reality, the situation of the schools is reflective of the super-imposition of racial desegregation of the schools.

Another physical fact in the changing environment of the schools with the imposition of racial desegregation is the exodus and middle class Whites from the public school system. It is for this reason that many of the public schools exhibit a Black majority. For example, in County B most of the Whites were included in the plans for the makeshift private schools, and provisions were made for most white families to afford the tuition of the private institution. Thus with the conversion of the Black high schools to junior high schools the former White schools were bequeathed (along with the White administrators) to

a majority of Black students who were well aware of the reasons for the sudden growth in the contracting industry. Thus, the face of school desegregation across the state.

With the change in the physical environs of the schools, school policies with regard to students and student activities have been strained to meet or defray the needs of a desegregated situation. Across the state there are reports of disruption in the school organization with the desegregation of schools. In the schools of County A, there has been little adaptation to meet these needs. For example, there has existed in County A system school sponsored fraternal organizations. With the desegregation of schools, there has been no attempt to rid these organizations of their racist policies. In a recent school election at the Central complex, the type of student government was changed when a Black student was elected to the top office. The resulting government was a Senate composed of only White students, this type of racist behavior pervades matters of even smaller consequence. An incident in Chesterfield High School brings this matter to view. A school was closed because of a fear of racial violence when white students protested the appointment of two Black cheerleaders to the varsity team. Accross the Southeast are reports of the cancellation of social activities, Homecomings and Homecoming queens, senior bonfires and proms. One such incident is recounted by the Raleigh News and Observer (Sept. 28, 1970). A demonstration of black students at South Iredell High School protesting the absence of Blacks from the fifteen girl Homecoming court led to the suspension of 120 students, 22 arrests, and the cancellation of Homecoming festivities. On September 29, 1970, a simlar incident was reported by the same newspaper, but with a significant difference. At South Rowan High School in the neighboring county, the school decision to ban "Dixie" as the fight song for the "Rebels" led to a protest by white students supported by their parents. No Whites were arrested, and the ban on "Dixie" was lifted. This situation is present in more or less

blatant forms throughout. Another example of this situation is the 1970 Christmas activity of County B High School. Because of the number of Blacks on the official program, there was an activity entitled "White Christmas" that was sponsored by the White minority. The implications of this activity was clear to all observers in the surrounding communities. This type of social conflict is typical of the school activities and organizations in the newly desegregated schools.

With the desegregation of schools teachers need to adapt to the demands of multi-ethnicity. Unfortunately, such adaptation has not been satisfactorily effected. Teachers who previously catered to middle and upper class values and needs must adjust to be able to communicate effectively with all students without producing a strained atmosphere. The failure to commu-

nicate and satisfy the needs of students is a problem throughout the area. One instance is cited from the Richmond County schools about a teacher who found close proximity to her Black students repulsive. She constantly remonstrated when she was touched by a Black Student;the students were aware of her attitude and retaliated by calling her "Get back". From other reports this type of situation is characteristic of the newly desegregated schools, though usually in more subtle forms. According to many recent surveys, there exists a communication gap between students and teachers, which is largely derivative of disparity of attitudes values. These attitudes are responsible for the decline of communication in and out of schools.

In the desegregated classroom, there is a need to utilize new methods. According to Childhood Education (Feb.,1971), few teachers have made the effort to effect the necessary changes in methods. Classrooms that demand more conscious attention and understanding are being neglected and answered by cold rejection of the teachers. There seems to be (as paraphrased from John Holt) a flat refusal of the classroom teacher to become involved and meet the demands of the students. Recent observations reveal that the average classroom teacher considers her students as tools with which she must perform her perfunctory duties. That is, a job that begins at 8A.M. and ends at 3P.M. There seems to be little or no student-teacher involvement in an interracial setting. It was revealed also, that when there was involvement, the atti-

tude was often one of condescension. At a conference of student teachers, this attitude was expressed in such terms as:"They smell so bad"; "They just can't get it"; "They're underprivileged"; and the classic: "It's such a challenge to work with the culturally deprived. Others simply say: "I just go to teach- what else can I do?" (Conference of Mercer Student Teachers, May 13,1971).

Teachers in desegregated situations are under special strains from different groups. Black teachers have to decide whether they will meet the challenge to adapt to new situations- a task which means the cessation of emphasis on upper and middle class values in an effort to communicate with students. White teachers face the demands of their White colleagues and those of their Black associates. Those demands are pressing in areas of social engagements, disciplines and extra-curricula activities. In some cases adaptation is occurring; in others, the atmosphere at best is strained. Parents are refusing to cooperate with willing teachers. In one instance in A County , a white parent sought to extract his child from the Southwest Complex because the administration had imposed disciplinary action. He prepared to effect his aim by arriving at the complex armed with a gun. A more blatant example of the conflict between parents and teachers is represented in a conflict reported in another Georgia school in which a Black teacher was assaulted by a White parent for disciplining her third grade child. School desegregation as it pertains to teacher expectations and performance is moving along confusedly. There seems to be little adaptation to the needs and demands of school desgregation.

Exercises Planned at NE

As plans for graduation exercises are finalized, Northeast High School has named 1971 honor graduates and the valdictorian and salutatorian.

Gary Bohannon, son of Mr. and Mrs. Bob W. Bohannon was named valedictorian.

Gary is a tentative 1971 honor graduate pending final grade averages, a member of the Northeast Honor Society, Vice President of the Math Club and Classes Editor for the Northeast annual, Valhalla.

He is a member of the Vineville Baptist Church where he is affiliated with the Brass Choir.

After graduation, he plans to attend Mercer University. At present, he is undecided about a major.

Chosen as salutatorian was Sharon Turner. Sharon is the daughter of Mrs. Annie Pearl Turner. She is a member of the Swift Creek Baptist Church where she is a Sunday School pianist, Junior Mission Treasurer and a senior chorus member.

At Northeast, she is a tentative 1971 Honor graduate pending final grade averages, a senior Superlative, Assistant Editor of the Valhalla, a member of the cast of the school play "Our Miss Brooks" and a member of the Dramatics Club.

She enjoys sewing, playing the piano, and meeting people. After graduation, she plans to attend Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn.

The valedictorian and salutatorian were selected from among the school's honor graduates by the honor graduates themselves. The Bibb Board of Education required, however, that one speaker be white and the other black.

In order to be an honor graduate, a student must acquire 58 honor points by the end of his senior year. For this reason, most students who will become honor graduates are now officially termed tentative honor graduates pending the averaging of final grades.

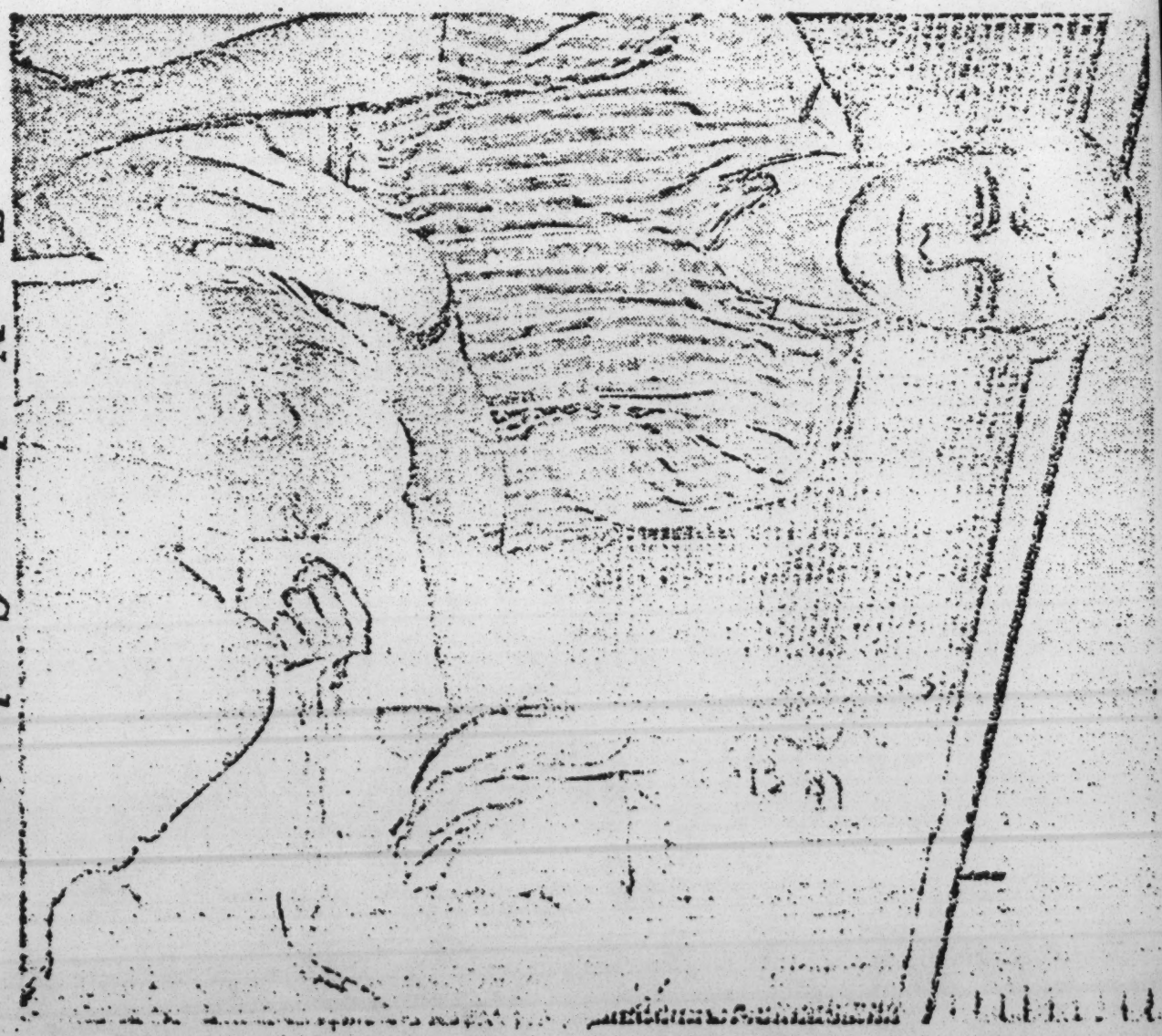
Honor points are awarded for academic courses in grades 9-12, with 4 honor points for each A, 3 for each B, 2 for each C, and 1 for each D. No points are allowed for F's.

Northeast seniors will hold graduation ceremonies June 4 in the Macon Coliseum, with students from both buildings in the complex graduating together.

Lasseter senior class president Jacqueline Redd will deliver the invocation, and Mark Smith senior class president Tommy Weber is to deliver the benediction.

Honor graudates will wear gold tassels on their mortarboards, and members of the Northeast Honor Society will wear gold honor cords as evidence of their academic achievement. Beta Club members will have seals of academic excellence on their diplomas.

Diplomas are to be presented to the graduates by a representative of the Bibb County Board of Education.



Top Northeast Graduates

Bibb School Board In Dark On PE Study Policy Shift

By HARLEY BOWERS
Telegraph Sports Editor

Course of study slips listing physical education as elective instead of compulsory in the 9th through 12th grades were handed out to students in the various Bibb County public high schools several weeks ago but at least some members of the Board of Education weren't aware of this change in policy until it was reported in Wednesday's Telegraph.

Several insisted that the matter had never been brought before the Board and that any such change, if initiated by the supervising principals of the various school complexes, as apparently is the case, was made without proper authority.

Among those who said he knew nothing about the change in physical education requirements was Dr. Earl Lewis, chairman of the Board of Education.

When contacted about reports that the supervising principals had agreed to eliminate the requirement for physical education, Dr. Lewis said, "you're telling me something that I have heard nothing about." Dr. Lewis said that the matter had never been brought before the Board.

Judge Hal Bell, chairman of the Athletic Committee, said virtually the same thing. "One person said something about this to me," he recalled, "but I simply dismissed it as rumor. I am sure it is that and nothing more."

After the initial Telegraph report on the matter, which quoted Judge Bell, several parents telephoned to say that they had received pre-registration slips for 1971-72 which listed physical education as an elective.

Called again, Judge Bell said he still knew nothing about it. "Matters like this certainly must be handled through the Board," he said.

Emory Greene, chairman of a committee that is going over recommendations that are being made by a study group regarding the school system, said yesterday when called for the first time about the matter that it was all news to him and that he would look into it immediately.

"As far as I am concerned," Greene said, "physical education must be mandatory in all our high schools and all grades of our high schools. If there are supervising principals who have taken it upon themselves to do this, the Board is going to find out about it.

"Physical education is a must. We are looking for ways to strengthen this program, not weaken it."

Julius Gholson, who will retire as Bibb County school superintendent at the end of the current term, said that the report about physical education being made an elective was also news to him.

"THIS SORT of thing would certainly have to come through the Board," he said. "I'll check into this and find out what it is all about."

Gholson didn't waste any time. He called one of the supervising principals, Miss Ann Henry of the Northeast complex.

Miss Henry later told The Telegraph that when the various Bibb County schools merged last year a great diversity in the curriculums was found, not only between black and white schools, but between the different black schools.

"We began a year ago," she said, "a study of the curriculum course in all the schools. We had committee chairmen in each department of each high school and one person from each school who represented that school on an overall committee.

The desegregation of schools in the Middle Georgia counties has resulted in the changing of the grading policies in the schools; the grades themselves are not affected but the meaning and distribution of grades has undergone major revisions. In the A County system, the consolidation has brought to fore such conflicts of grades and credits. To cite one example- before the desegregation ofschools, there were differences in the amount of credit given for courses in P.E. and Music Activities. With the desegregation and consolidation of schools, this conflict had to be reconciled. The credit that had been accorded by the previously all Black schools was adopted, and many Black seniors, because of the disparity in credits, will not graduate. The resulting pressure has caused much controversy over the Physical Education program in A County. Such an article was printed in a May edition of the Macon Telegraph. In this article, the problems of disparate credit in Physical Education is discussed with solutions to the problems.

Also reflective of the conflicting grading policies caused by school desegregation is the policy adapted by the school board for awarding 1971 honor graduates. These students are not chosen by the usual method of grade point evaluation, but by election sponsored by honor graduates. The policy requires that one student be White, and one student, Black. One must be male and one must be female. The two chosen draw straws to determine first and second honor student. An article in the Macon Telegraph displays the Black female salutatorian, and the White male valedictorian. Theses students are products of school desegregation as implemented by the A County system.

New Vocational Programs Begin

The course of study for the Bibb County Vocational-Technical School has been worked out for the 1971-72 school year.

English, Mathematics, Civics/Ga. History, and Science are required on the eighth grade level. A student may choose one subject from among the Home Economics (boys and girls), Industrial Arts/Drafting (boys and girls), and Program of Educational and Career Exploration (P.E.C.E. boys and girls) group. P.E.C.E. seeks to establish exploratatory settings so that students may get on-the-job experience in all occupational areas.

A student may also elect a subject from the Chorus, Art and Physical Education group.

On the ninth grade level, English, General Math or Algebra I, and General Science are required. A student may elect one from the Drafting I, Home Economics I, General Business, and Coordinated Vocational and Academic Education Program C.V.A.E.) group. C.V.A.E. attempts to develop communications, math, and vocational skills needed for success in getting and keeping a job.

A student may also elect one from the Chorus, Art, Physical Education, and Drivers Education group.

English is the only required subject on the tenth grade level of the vocational program.

A student must elect at least three subjects from the Biology, Earth Science, World History, Economic Geography, Business Math, Algebra I or II, Geometry, Home Economics II, Typing I, Spanish I, Advanced Drafting, Wood Shop, Print Shop, Electric Shop, Auto Mecnanics, Refrigeration Shop, Machine Shop, and C.V.A.E. group. He may select one course from the Chorus, Art, Physical Education, and Drivers Education group.

On the eleventh grade level of the vocational program, English and United States History are required.

From the Typing I or II, Business Principles and Management, Shorthand I, Bookkeeping, Office Machines, Clerical Practice, Home Economics III, Diversified Cooperative Training Class, Distributive Education, Cosmotology, Print Shop, Electric Shop, Wood Shop, Auto Mechanics, Refrigeration Shop, Machine Shop, C.V.A.E., General Work Program, and Food Service Training group a student must choose at least two courses.

The General Work Program or G. W. P. permits a student to work half a day and attend classes the other half of the day.

The course carries one full unit of credit. Upon request, school officials will help in job placement. Food Service is a work program involving food serving and preparation. Students enrolled in the course will be offered work in various food businesses. If the student attends class and works, he will receive two units of credit. If he only works, he will receive only one unit of credit.

A student must be at least 16 years of age to enroll in the course. The eleventh grade student may also elect one course from the Chorus, Art, Physical Education, and Drivers Education group.

From the Business English, English 12, and Speech group, a student may choose one, but at least one is a requirement. A student may elect at least three courses from the group which includes Typing I or II, Shorthand I or II, Bookkeeping, Clerical Practice, Office Machines, Business Principles and Management, Vocational Office Training (V. O. T.), Distributive Education, Diversified Cooperative Training, G. W. P., Food Service, Cosmotology, Print Shop, Wood Shop, Electric Shop, Refrigeration Shop, Machine Shop, Auto Mechanics, and C. V. A. E.

One course must be chosen from the Chorus, Art, Physical Education, and Drivers Education group.

Distributive Education or D. E. is a work program involving wholesale and retail selling and services. Juniors and seniors employed at wholesale, retail, and service businesses are eligible for the course.

Diversified Cooperative Training or D. C. T. is a work program involving servicing and manufacturing of products. It is designed to provide training in working with other people.

Vocational Office Training or V. O. T. is an occupational course involving clerical and secretarial work. Only seniors who plan to take office jobs after graduation are eligible for the course.

The D. E., D. C. T., and V. O. T. programs carry two units of credit. Students enrolled in either of these courses will attend school for half of the day and work the other half.

One of the most crucial problems of school desegregation is the inadequacy of the old curriculum to meet the demands of the new situation. It has been found that during the first year of school desegregation, the the school curricula remained virtually unchanged. When there was change, the policy was simply to adapt the standards of the previously all- White schools, and impose them on a desegregated situation. The resulting problems are inevitable and are indicative of multi-causation. First of all, schools in the segregated situation differed in emphasis, The strengths of the schools lay in different areas, be it English, science, or sports. The curriculum needs to cater to the capabilities and weaknesses of these students. There is now in A County a program to revamp the school curriculum. This program seeks to incorporate the Vocational and technical training into the regular curriculum. It was designed to meet the needs of those students who have no interest or will be detained in some other way from obtaining a college degree. There is still, however, a need for counselors to to place emphasis on the word "aptitude" in order to erase the stigma often attached to students who do not go to college. Since many Black and White students would profit more from an acquired technical skill, they should feel comfortable in doing so. Based on an interview and observation of high school students, there has been and continues to be a subtle attitude of condescension toward those students who do not pursue a college degree. The courses labeled "college prep" are reserved for the elite intellegensia, and a certain respect is accorded those students who undertake such a task. Those

Schools Plan New Programs

By Felicia Bowens
Tween Teens Assistant Feature Editor

In addition to changes in academic curriculum for the 1971-72 school term, the Bibb County Board of Education has announced several new courses in areas that have been considered extra-curricular activities.

The new courses in Bibb high school include work in the arts and in areas of technical skills.

In seeking to relate courses to the needs of individual students, the Board of Education has offered several new courses and altered others.

In the area of music, Stage Band has been added.

This course is designed to meet the needs of a student interested in jazz, rock and other contemporary forms of music. It will now be offered during school, carrying one-half unit of credit, instead of after school without any credit.

This course will be offered to senior high students.

On the eighth grade level, a course known as General Music will be offered.

It will provide the student with music appreciation, theory and playing ability.

In art, a course known as Explaratory Art will be included as an academic elective for eighth grade students.

This course will aid the student in determining whether or not he wishes to pursue a study of art in ensuing years. It is non-academic and will carry one-half unit of credit.

Occupational Home Economics will involve the study of food services, child care, and helath and home nursing. This course will be a work-study class.

Students enrolled in it will undergo classroom instruction in each of the three areas mentioned.

After s ool, they will be employe h a local business in one of these areas.

some of the topics discussed. This course is an academic elective carrying one unit of credit and will be offered to juniors and seniors.

Advanced Woodworking will provide juniors and seniors taking it with carpentry skills. Carving and cabinet work are only two of the areas to be explored. It is an academic elective and carries one unit of credit.

As an addition to the courses presently being offered in the English department, Speech and Dramatics will be included.

This course will require that students give impromptu and prepared speeches and study and produce plays.

It will give Bibb County students the opportunity to complete in the State Literary Contest.

Being offered as an academic elective and not a replacement for a required English course, Speech and Dramatics will carry one full unit of credit and the course will be offered to juniors and seniors.

offered courses in vocational and technical training, students in the desegregated school situation are often unaware of the dignities that accompany these courses.

A major flaw in the curricula of desegregated schools is that they fail to meet the demands of multi-ethnicity. In most areas, there has been a failure to present the cultural experiences of those that differ from the White majority. The English program in the A system requires one course in American literature. The periods covered as represented by authors range from James Cooper to Carl Sandburg. With the exception of the token presence of one Black author(usually James Weldon Johnson) the Black experience in American literature is completely ignored. Since there are renowned Black writers that represent periods from the Colonial to the twentieth century , this is a major flaw in the system. There are many Indian writers of American literature - their accomplishments too are neglected. The history courses in the public schools are from the White perspective. White historians tell of White accomplishments in a desegregated school. The works of Black historians are ignored . Black and White children are taught to absorb this literature - thus continuing to ingrain delusions of Black inferiorty and White superiorty. The science and math courses in the desegregated high schools applaud the achievements of Newton, Einstein, and Descartes. The works of Black scientists, technicians, industrialists are ignored. With the exception of an occasional "Negro spiritual" with the arrangement by a White musician, the Black experience in Music is overlooked. The works of Black composers

in serious nad folk music and replaced by works of Anglo-Saxon composers. This type of curriculum is being fed to Black and White students in the desegregated schools today. The theme of this curriculum in subtle form is:

If you're White, you're right
If you're Black, get back!

A recent article in the Macon Telegraph told of the attempt of the A school to remedy this situation. A course entitled the Black Experience is being offered. In this one course, the history and achievements of the Black race will be discussed. There will be no attempt to emphasize this in the regular curriculum. The incorporation of Black history into the total American scene is not attempted- the Black experience is treated as totally separate , for and of itself. It should be noted too that the that the amount of credit given for this course is ½ unit.

The instruments used in teaching like the curriculum itself ignores the needs of a desegregated and poly-cultural situation. They are for the most part reflective of the values of the White middle class. The textbooks are continuing to tell of the activities of blue-eyed blondes and their banker fathers and bridge playing mothers. Girls are yearly subjected to Charm courses that refect the values of the white middle class, and usually succeed in suggesting the inferiority of life as experienced by the Black woman. The SAT and other achievement test scores are juxtaposed on the experiences of Black students creating the delusion of Black inferiorty. Black students are extracted from their

High School Curriculum Expanded

By FELICIA BOWENS

Tween Teens Assistant Feature Editor

There will be several new courses in the Bibb County Public Schools in addition to changes in many basic courses.

Journalism, a course which has been offered in the past only at certain schools, will take on a wider scope during the 1971-72 school term.

As early as the ninth grade, a journalism class will be offered to students. This class will be a special class of students who produce the school newspaper or newsletter in connection with their English instruction. Achievement, writing talent and desire will be used as criteria for selection of students.

A student may take this course instead of English 9 Fundamental, Intermediate or Advanced. Since the class is considered academic, persons enrolled in it will receive one unit credit.

Journalism-Newspaper will be a senior high course open to 11th and 12th grade students. Persons enrolled in this course will produce their school's newspaper as a project of their class.

Writing of news stories, features, editorials sports stories and headlines will be taught. Other areas to be explored will be interviewing, advertising, photography, and cartooning. One-half credit will be received for this course because it is considered non-academic.

To become a member of this class, a student must get the approval of his school's newspaper advisor.

For students interested in producing their school's annual Journalism-Annual will be offered. Instruction in photography, lay-out and two-demensional design, writing of captions, running heads and body copy, and the importance of "exact research" will be included in the course.

The course will be non-academic and will carry ½ unit credit. Eleventh and twelth students will be aligible for the class and their acceptance is subject to approval of the annual advisor at their school.

In the area of science, several new courses will be offered.

On the junior high level, Earth Science will be a study of the planet Earth, its relation to other planets in the solar system, its position in the universe and its features and forces.

Physical Science will be concerned with the fundamental principles of astronomy, geology, and meterology. The study of matter and energy will be an integral of this course.

The Interaction of Matter and Energy (IME) wil be a basic laboratory course involving the reciprocal action of matter and energy. Fundamental arithmetic skills are the only requirements for this course.

In addition to the usual biology course now being offered, Practical Biology will be offered. This course emphasizes basic biological principles and will include study of topics such as plant and animal life, ecology, nutrition, reproduction, heredity and living bodies and their relationship to man.

Practical Science will be a study of scientific principles and their relationship to industry and man's everday activities. Meteorology, ecological relationships, geology and conservation will be possible topics. Basic arithmetic skills will be required.

The study of the processes and applications of chemistry in industry will be the purpose of Practical Chemistry. This course will be offered in addition to the usual chemistry course now being offered.

For students with good academic ability and interests in biology, chemistry, and or physics, a course entitled Science-Individual Study will be offered. The course is open only to seniors and those accepted for it will be determined on the basis of their achievement in the areas previously mentioned.

American History will now be offered as early as the 8th grade. It will include Georgia History and will emphasize the period up to 1865.

A social studies course, Survey of Black Experience, which began this year, will be continued next school term. It is a study of the influence of the black American on the social, political and economic history of the United States. It carries ½ unit of credit.

Advanced Social Studies will be offered to students with a great deal of interest and background in the social studies. It will cater to the needs of the students in the schools in which it will be taught.

Mathematics will be taught according to sequences.

Sequence 1 will be a laboratory approach. It will be designed to provide a practical mathematical experience for students by use of games and individualized assignments. Operations with rational numbers, fundamental geometric concepts, number sentences, graphing, numeration systems, and properties will be studied.

Fundamental Math 8, Fundamental 9, Survey of Mathematics (10th grade level), Consumer Math (11th grade level), and Consumer Math or Survey of Mathematics (12th grade level) will compose Sequence 1.

Sequences 2-4 will be determined by the year in which a student decides to take Algebra 1. Prime importance will be placed on the real and complex number system.

Symbols, definitions, sets and their operations, fundamental laws of the number system, logical reasoning, critical examination, and the realtionships of algebra, geometry and trigonometry will be topics to be explored.

Sequence 2 will involve Math 8, Math 9, Algebra I on the 10th grade level, Geometry on the 11th grade level, and Algebra II on the 12th grade level.

Sequence 3 will be composed of Math 8, Algebra I on the 9th grade level, Geometry on the 10th grade level, Algebra II on the 11th grade level, and Algebra-Trigonometry on the 12th grade level.

Sequence 4 will involve Algebra I on the 8th grade level, Geometry on the 9th grade level, Algebra II on the 10th grade level, Algebra-Trigonometry on the 11th grade level, and Advanced Math on the 12th grade level.

Other new or altered courses are, Introduction to Business, Home Maintenance for Girls, Occupational Home Economics, Consumer Finance-Law, and Latin American Civilization.

Introduction to Business is a survey course which has been known in previous years as General Business. It was renamed and will now be offered to 9th grade students as well as senior high students to whom it has been offered in the past.

Home Maintenance for Girls will be a study of household appliances and furnishings. It is designed to teach girls how to do maintenance jobs at home and provide them with a basic knowledge of the operation of household devices and systems.

Open to boys and girls 16 years of age and over, Occupational Home Economics will be offered to students with one year of Home Economics. Ability and work experience may serve as exceptions if recommendations are made by counselors or principals.

Consumer Finance-Law will be a two-fold course. Consumer Finance will be offered for half of the school year and Business Law for the other half of the school year.

Mississippi

Black Girl Slain, 3 White Men Held

DREW, Miss. (UPI)—Three white men were charged Wednesday with the murder of a young black girl, shot to death from a passing car on her way home from high school graduation ceremonies.

Dorothea Collier, 18, honored for her "school spirit and attitude," was slain Tuesday night while standing in front of a store in a predominantly black section of this Delta town of 3,000.

Her killing set off demonstrations in the area and Drew Mayor W. O. Williford called in the highway patrol to help enforce an 8 p.m. curfew.

Williford said murder charges were filed against Wayne Parks, 25, of Drew, his brother, Wesley, 26, of Memphis, Tenn., and Allan Wilkenson, 19, of Memphis. They were arrested early Wednesday at nearby Cleveland.

A SHERIFF'S deputy said no reason had been established for the killing, but Fannie Lou Hamer, a veteran Mississippi civil rights leader, laid the blame totally to prejudice.

"She was black—that was the reason she was shot down," said Mrs. Hamer. "This is a tragedy not only for the black people of Mississippi, but the whole nation."

Miss Collier, who attended integrated Drew High School, was chosen as the first recipient of a new award for school spirit and attitude, and also had been voted the most valuable member of the girls' track team.

Drew High has an enrollment of about 200, including about 150 blacks and 50 whites.

Mrs. Hamer said the girl, one of eight children of Mrs. Gussie Mae Love of Ruleville, had not been active in civil rights affairs.

own cultures and are placed into a White experience, and are measured by White instruments. Attempts to remedy this situation are few. None of the observed school situations are making any complete attempt to remedy this problem. Instead , the feedback from White instruments are used in desegregated schools to nurture the seeds of inequality.

The high school curriculum is doing little to promote the communications needed in the desegregated schools. There are in none of the schools observed courses (elective or required) in Human Relations. According to this survey, this aspect of education. The principles of Human Relations are not even incorporated into the present curriculum as could easily be done with Social Studies. There are few are no activities in most schools that are devised to create an atmosphere of harmony and understanding. The usual action by far seems to be the avoidance of this problem and the treatment of symptoms. For example, the expulsion of students for interracial fights is common, but that seek to explore and remedy the core of the problems are ignored. The students are not being aided in any deliberate way, by school policy in the effecting of Human Communication- a serious need brought to light by the desegregation of schools.

School desegregation, in the ultimate, forces people to relate to others as people. At this stage however, much work needs to be done in order to effect that goal. Current curricula methods, and environments are failing grieviously in meeting this goal. At present, many of the old fears and prejudices are being nurtured by desegregated schools- the very institution that purports to destroy them. The result is violence and the con-

tinuance of delusions. Few people are trying to free themselves of this situation; they are mavericks going against the desegregated establishment. It is truly ironic that this disparate in the desegregated schools is to introduce an era of racial harmony and equality.

school," said Dr. G[illegible] S[illegible], the white principal of the fully integrated Southern Nash High School, "is good for these children.

"A child who graduates from an integrated school has more on the ball than one who doesn't.

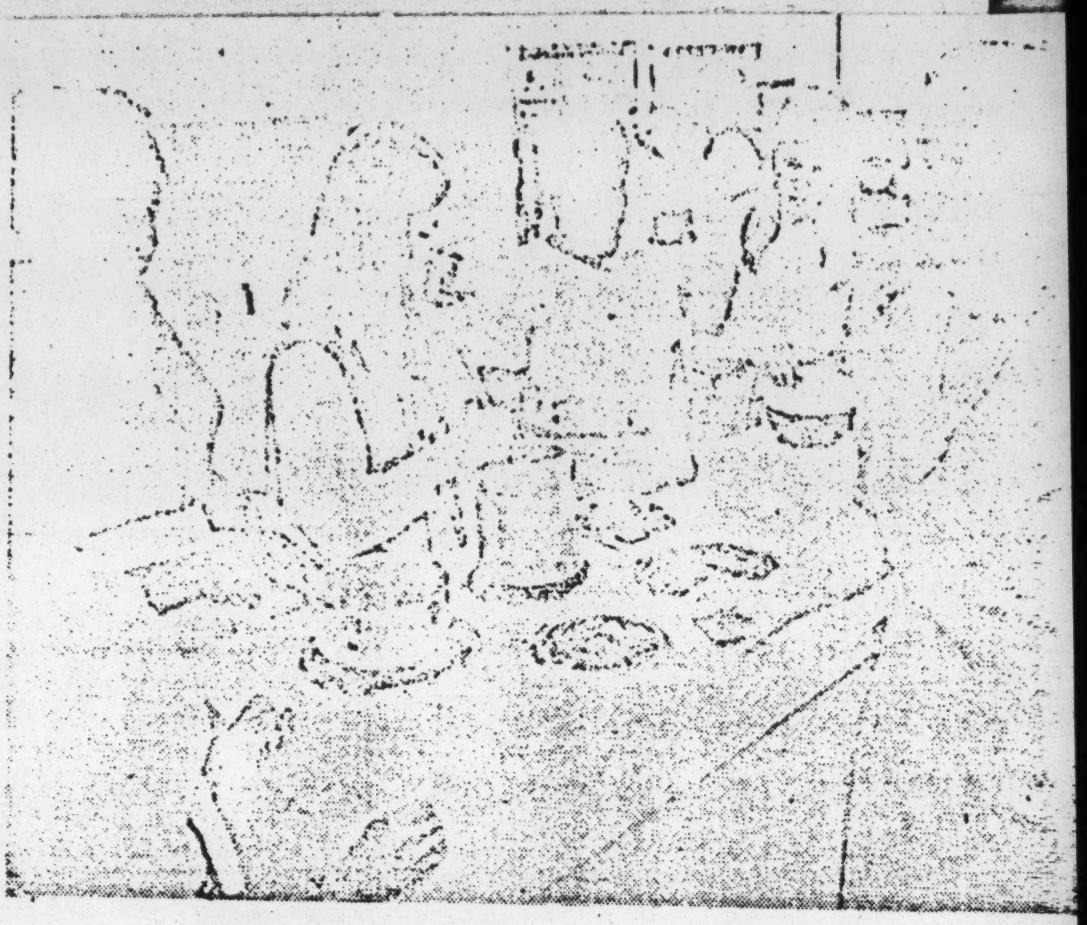
"He is better able to deal with life's problems. And we should be preparing him for that."

Swain's comments, in the context of Southern school desegregation, were no less than remarkable.

Five years ago in Nash County, deep in the heart of what was once Klan country in North Carolina, his remarks would have been unthinkable, if not foolhardy.

But Nash County, which gave half its votes in the 1968 election to George Wallace, is viewed by many now as a model of how a rural school system can accept integration and make it work. Only a handful of its white pupils attend private schools.

Nash County, an hour's drive east of the state capital, Raleigh, was thought to be an unlikely candidate for success in the area of school integration.



Integrated Class at Nash High

"QUITE FRANKLY, when full integration came last year, we were expecting trouble," said Louis Gregory Low, a shaggy haired 25-year-old University of North Carolina graduate who teaches at Southern Nash.

"I mean, there had been the big Wallace vote in 1968, which, I think, was one measure of white attitudes. That, and the general poverty of the residents, would seem to threaten trouble.

"Of course, a lot of people here would tell you that the racial attitudes have changed a lot. But, stop at one of these country stores and you'll learn right quick that not much has changed."

The population of Nash County, 59,122, is about half black. A large percentage of its residents, both white and black, either farm or work as farm laborers where the wages are low. The county is essentially rural but has one sizable city, Rocky Mount, with a population of about 40,000.

Nash County's poorest area is the southern half, where almost 50 per cent of its wage earners work on farms. Only 1.58 per cent are college graduates and fewer than 18 per cent are high school graduates.

AS LATE AS last January, a cross was placed in the yard of Swain's home a mile from the high school. There was no message, and many of the principal's neighbors shrugged it off as a prank.

But Swain, who is occasionally called "nigger-lover" by those who feel he is too actively trying to make school desegregation work, suspected it was the work of the Klan. The Klan once claimed considerable strength in the more conservative sections of eastern North Carolina.

When Southern Nash High School was opened in 1968 with a fully integrated ninth grade and freedom-of-choice in the upper grades, law enforcement officers and a few worried parents told Swain to watch his step, that his life was in danger. Nothing came of it.

Thus, when full integration came to the school in the fall of 1969, there was considerable concern for the future. The school opened with 1,000 pupils, 400 of them black. Most of the Negroes had come from the Spaulding school, which had historically been the school for the area's black children.

A FEW FIGHTS broke out between blacks and whites but, by November, the trouble had been largely ironed out. There has been no recurrence. Schools in Rocky Mount experienced difficulty, but integration was accepted with[illegible]t incident by most of the rural schools. The Rocky Mount schools are administered by a separate school board.

"After that initial trouble everything seemed to work beautifully," said Low.

"There was not social integration—students still avoided each other when not in class—but the classes were integrated. Many of us were quite surprised, and relieved."

The system had much going for it, including excellent facilities. Southern Nash High School, which consolidated several other schools, cost $1.5 million to build and equip.

Opened in the fall of 1968, it remains a showcase school, a low modernistic brick building built around a large library and several small courtyards.

Also, the system had a history of enlightened administration and a faculty which included many young, bright black and white teachers.

"I THINK that it is very important to point out that we have a school board that was dedicated to saving the public school system," said Swain. "You start from there. If you don't, you can't go any farther. The board wanted to keep the schools open and to continue educating the children, black and white."

The single thread running through the desegregation of the schools was that nothing was left to chance. The integration was thoughtfully and carefully mapped out.

An important factor at South Nash High School was that when Spaulding's black pupils were transferred, they were accompanied by most of the old teachers.

That seemed to reduce t[illegible] alienation a black pupil mi[illegible] have felt when suddenly thr[illegible] into large numbers of whit[illegible] Also, Swain was not an al[illegible] figure. Before becoming pri[illegible]cipal, he served as the di[illegible]trict's director of curriculum [illegible] a job that placed him in all [illegible] the black schools.

The board placed veter[illegible] administrators in the job [illegible] running the system's two hi[illegible] schools and gave them a fr[illegible] hand. Each operated in h[illegible] own way.

SWAIN'S initial technique [illegible] say some of his teachers, w[illegible] to rule with an iron hand, a[illegible]lowing virtually no student a[illegible]tivities during the earlie[illegible] phases of integration.

There was, at first, resen[illegible]ment, but then white an[illegible] black pupils were forced to [illegible] something they never woul[illegible] have considered. They we[illegible] compelled to band togeth[illegible] and pursue a single goal—o[illegible]taining privileges and studen[illegible] activities.

"At first I thought th[illegible] Swain was some kind of mea[illegible] man," said one black senio[illegible] "but then we had to get to[illegible]gether in the system and lo[illegible]en things up."

Swain insisted that his sta[illegible] think in terms of black a[illegible] white.

Instead of one homecomin[illegible] queen, there are two, on[illegible] black, the other white.

Segregation Returning In Baker

NEWTON, Ga. (AP) — Baker County schools opened last fall under a federal court order requiring full integration, Mrs. Ben Johnson, chairman of the PTA, admitted hoping for the best — but fearing the worst.

Racial relations in the rural, southwestern Georgia county, population 3,792, had not been good since the first few blacks tentatively began to attend predominantly white Baker County High and Elementary School in the fall of 1965.

Many parents, black and white, feared racial tensions in the fully desegregated schools would be such that their children could not be educated in them.

It was the same throughout the South last fall as schools integrated under federal-court orders to do away, once and for all, with separate schools for whites and blacks. But many systems, particularly in larger metropolitan areas, integrated uneventfully and found it less painful than was feared.

In other areas, southwestern Georgia among them, private schools suddenly opened to educate white children whose parents refused to enroll them in integrated public schools.

And, as the school year nears an end, some school officials predict it is only a matter of time before their systems "resegregate." By that, they mean more whites will leave to be privately educated and public schools will become all black.

THAT IS happening Baker County, as it has quiety happened elsewhere in the South. Federal officials estimate that 10 per cent of the South's white school-age children attend private schools.

Until the early 1960s, the county's history was unexceptional, but then came the civil rights demonstrations in nearby Albany. Shockwaves were felt in Baker, whose black citizens joined others across the South to protest segregation in the schools, discrimination at the polls and in public places.

Even now, though the population is 52 per cent black, Negroes hold no public offices in Baker County.

THERE HAVE been no major incidents of violence since 1962. The races have settled uneasily into positions of mutual distrust and Baker remains a county where older blacks entering the old, red-brick courthouse doff their hats and call whites "Mr. Bob" or "Mr. Jim."

There are 475 white school-age children in the county, but only 220 attend public school, [illegible] in the system last year when schools were still operating under a freedom-of-choice integration plan.

Under that plan, East Baker High and Elementary School and the rural West Baker Elementary School remain black. Fifty-four Negroes were attending predominantly white Baker County High and Elementary School, which, until 1965, was off limits to blacks.

But then Baker County and 80 other Georgia school systems were named defendants last year in a federal school desegregation suit in which the government said it would accept nothing less than full integration.

WEST BAKER was closed and black and white female pupils were placed in Baker County High and Elementary while black and white males were sent to East Baker. Meanwhile, several other Georgia school systems also segregated by race.

Each Baker County school now has about 470 pupils, blacks outnumbering whites three to one. The ratio, however, is becoming more lopsided each month as more and more white pupils withdraw.

The worst fears of Mrs. Johnson and other parents, however, have failed to materialize; the schools have remained open and will hold commencement exercises this spring—just as they did in the days of the dual school system.

But a dispute between a group of parents and the school board has split the community. Mrs. Johnson, a dark-haired, bespectacled white woman, has demanded the resignation of the school board members and is threatening a law suit.

She charges that the school board is itself undermining public school education in Baker County and is, in fact, working to insure the failure of desegregation.

Board members deny it.

"It's just petty politics," said Board member Earl Jones, the only lawyer in the county and the driving force on the five-member board. "That's just absurd. When you lose your schools, you lose your identity as a county."

But Mrs. Johnson, whose son, Ricky, will graduate this spring from East Baker, says the record shows otherwise.

SHE POINTS out that four of the board members have school-age children — but none is enrolled in the public schools of Baker County.

Jones and the other board members profess to see nothing wrong with sending their children to school elsewhere. "I serve at the will of the people and I'll continue to do so until the law is changed to make that impossible," said the stocky, genial Jones.

THEN there was the attempted firing of Frank Christie, a wiry, energetic educator who has been principal of Baker County High and Eelementary for three years.

The board fell one vote short of the majority needed to fire Christie but the educator, telling his friends and family he was fed up, said he would not be back next year. Jones said he felt a fresh approach was needed in the job.

"If I'd had a few race riots in school to show that integration won't work there, the board would be happy with me," says Christie.

Conditions at Baker County High and Elementary contrast sharply with those at East Baker, where Hall admits there is virtually no education going on at the high school level.

"It's pretty bad," says Hall.

The school's principal, Don Leonard, recently told the board he had had enough and would not be back next year.

"The situation is impossible," he told a newsman. "Every time I'd turn my back students would be tearing up the place. It was like the Vietcong."

He said students mainly were destroying property to protest their segregation by sex, an arrangement that will not change next year.

Deteriorating conditions at East Baker have convinced many white parents integration will never work and they must withdraw their children.

STUDENTS MUST BE INVOLVED!!

Because of the vacuum in the area of student perspectives, we feel that this portion of a look at school desegregation is a must.

We attempted to secure a random sample of Black and White attitudes in area of school desegregation and education in general. But because of racism clothed by irrational fears, we were not allowed to go into the Bibb A or C County school systems. The samples that we received were as random as possible, but because of obstacles we conclude that they were not as complete as could have been.

But in spite of this, we believe that this information is valuable and raises many interesting questions that must be looked at.

SOME QUESTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I found in reviewing the responses of the the students who answered the questionaire and in comparing the tabulations that many interesting and far reaching questions are raised. It is impossible to draw specific conclusions from this portion of the study, but many conclusions are implied. It is with this in mind that I will point out questions or implications that came to my mind and some of the reasons that I feel are possibly behind them.

First, a majority of blacks in both A and C counties that answered our questionaire are experiencing school desegregation for the first time. The majorities are specifically, 100% for C county blacks and 54.9% for blacks in A county. The largest number of whites in A county had experienced school desegregation previously. Though the majority of whites in C county had not experienced school desegregation previously, their majority was smaller than that of the first-time black majority. 53% of the whites in C county had not experienced school desegregation before as opposed to the 100% for blacks.

What is the reason for there being less previous experience in school desegregation among blacks than among whites? The reason for this could very well be that since a minority of blacks have aggressively entered many all white schools more whites had to be at least exposed to their presence. At the same time no comparible number of whites entered black schools. Therefore the responses that we received could be expected given the previous situation.

The students were asked what were their feelings towards attending a desegregated school. 56% of the white students in C county had a feeling of disatisfaction. So did 38% of the Blacks in A county. However, 52% of the whites in Bibb county responded as having no feeling. Only a few students responded as being pleased by the situation. Although a majority of the students responded as dissatisfied, that is far more understandable than

the 52% majority of whites having no feeling at all in the A County sample. This is difficult to believe given the present situation, pressures, and innovations and the instability of the school system at the present time.

The students were also asked why they were attending the particular complex in which they were enrolled. 34% of the black students responding in A county said they were attending a certain complex because it was close to their neighborhood. However, 33.6% said they were they were attending because their previous school was closed or because they were transferred. Also 22.8% said that they were attending their complex because it was their choice. However, a significant number (13.8%) said that it was their parents choice.

The majority of black students (85%) in C county answered by saying that they were transferred or that their previous school was closed. Only 10% said that the present school was near their neighborhood. Also 5% wrote in that the government was the reason that they were attending a particular school.

40% of the white A county students said that they were attending their complex because it was close to thier neighborhood. It should be noted that the largest majority of blacks in A county answered this question in the same manner. Thi s would indicate that a larger number of both blacks and whites in A county are attending schools because they are closer to their own neighborhoods. All other responses were less influencial if the majority of cases.

Also 35% of the white students in A county said it was their choice to attend a particular school. Remember too that a substantial number (27.8%) of the blacks in A answered that they were attending the school of their choice. This would seem to serve to negate some of the arguments that "no one can choose", and that "everyone is being bussed across town." It should be mentioned though that 31% of the white A students also said that it was their parent's choice.

Unlike the others the whites in C county were 100% transferred. The reason for this was that the previously all white school was closed and whites were transferred to the black school. This in itself is unique in the school desegregation process.

The students were asked for what reasons did they think schools are being desegregated. They could give more than one reason. 36.5% of the black students in C county felt schools were being desegregated to end racial discrimination in education. 16.5% said that schools were being desegregated to further the socialization of the races. 10% also said to force the mixing of races. 16.5% said too that the schools were being desegregated to discriminate against southern schools.

A majority (50.4%) of the A county black students agree with C county blacks in saying that desegregation in the school was to end racial discrimination in education. 29.1% also said that it was in order to further the socialization of the races. 14.1% said to raise blacks to the level of whites. Only 5.4% said to discrim against southern schools. However that is what brings up an interesting question here. Why would blacks feel that schools were being desegregated in order to discriminate against the south?

A substantial majority (73%) of whites in A county also agreed that the schools were being desegregated in order to end discrimination in education. 11% said to further the the socialization or force the integretion of the races. Also 6.5% said to raise blacks to the level of whites.

70% of white students in C county said desegregate was in order to end discrimination in education. 36.5% said to force the mixing of the races. 16.5% said to raise blacks to the level of whites. ONe student wrote in the answer "to lower the level of whites' knowledge to blacks'."

Both races seem to agree in general that school desegregatio is done in order to end racial discrimination in education. Our sample gave no indication as to whether this is desired, however.

89% of the black students in A county answered yes when asked did they think there have been problems resulting from sch

desegregation. However a substantial number (11%) answered no. 90% of the black students in C county answered yes to the question. 10% said no. 96% of whites in A county answered yes and at the same time 100% of whites in C county answered yes to the same question. 3.5% answered no in A county. The overwhelming majority feels that desegregation has caused problems but there are no indications as to why some students do not think it has caused any problems.

The majority of the students, both black and white, in A county felt that the reason for the problems steming from desegregation were caused by a lack of communications between the races. The largest number of black students in C county agreed. The White students in C county disagreed greatly here. They felt that the major problem was academic. 73% felt this was a major problem.

A lack of communications between students and faculty and disipline were named as problems also. Some blacks(33.2%)in A county and some whites (10%) in C county said "everthing" was wrong.

Another question that got some very interesting responses was for whom has desegregation been most helpful? 63% of C blacks responded to this question answered "the government". 47.1% of the blacks in A county agreed. 56% of the white in A county said that desegregation helped both blacks and whites. 43% of the C county white students didn't even respond to this question. 26% did answer mostly blacks and 20% answered the government. The interesting question that arises here is why do so many students especially blacks feel that desegregation has been most helpful to government?

When asked what affect does desegregation have on classroom learning 55% of the black students in C county answered that it brought down the value of education. This raises the interesting question why again. This seems like an answer that woluld most likely come from whites. Only 7.5% of the blacks in A county concurred with this response. However 65% of whites in A county

said that desegregation brought down the value of education . 80% of the white students from C county concurred. Another interesting response was that 44% of the blacks in A county said there was no affect. Again why arises. Both races seemed to have felt that the learning environment was good for the other race but not for their own.

Less than half of the students in either county felt that the classroom situations helped communications betweenth races. Also the largest number of students in both counties , black andwhite, felt that the culturnl backgrounds of all students were not presented in the curruculum. 100% of the C county white students concurred here but only 73% of the Black students in the same county. Also in A county 81% of the blacks and 55% of the whites agreed. The unusual thing here is that a substantial number of blacks in both counties (19% in A and 26.5% in C felt that all cultural backgrounds were being presented. There seems to be some disagreement with the popular notion of black culture being deleted from the curriculum. Why?

Large majorities of all students expressed that they would like to learn about cultures other than their own. When given several choices to select from 36.5% of blacks in C county desired to study Jewish culture as opposed to only 16.5% wanting, specifically to study African culture. Only 5% were specifically interested in Indian Culture.

Differing from blacks in C county 66% of the blacks in A county preferred to study African culture . 30.7% preferred American Indian, while 10.4% chose the Jewish culture. 8.5%chose Spainish American and 5.2% Chinese.

Whites in A county differed even further from the blacks in A and C counties. 66% denoted their preferences as American Indian. 27% wished to study the Jewish culture. 7.0% chose the Chinese. 5.5% wanted Spanish American while only 2.0% chose African. The African culture was the least desirous specifically to A county whites.

The largest number of white students (43%)in C county wished to study all cultures. The largest preferred number (26.5%) wished to study the culture of the American Indian. 16.5% wanted to study Jewish and African culture. The Chinese culture was the least desirous specifically. Only 10% chose chinese culture.

What stands out here is that whites in neither county preferred to study the African culture to all the rest. Even less undestandable is that the blacks in C county felt that African culture was not preferable to the rest.

Only a majority of blacks in A county felt that disciplinary problems were not handled fairly by the school administration..When asked who the prejudices were directed against when the administration dealt unfairly,the majority of all blacks answered "against blacks", and the whites answered"against whites."

A majority o f black and white students in A county felt that they had been given consideration in their choice of schools but not enough. However, 53% of the black students in C county and 46.5% of the whites felt that they had been completly ignored. Also a substantial number of blacks and whites in A county agreed here too.

Most of the students felt they had no role in the schools of today. This feeling may be the cause of much of the feeling of dissatisfaction voiced by many of the students. This also amplifies the fact that a substantial number of students felt ignored in choosing a school.

On questions of racial prejudice on the part of instructors no majority of either race sited black instructors as prejudiced. However, a substantial number didl But white students in county felt where black instructors were prejudice there were more incidenees of black instructors were being prejudice against whites than against blacks. A blacks felt that black instructors were more prejudiced to black students. This raises again the question why. C county whites felt that their black instructors prejudices were evenly divided against each race.

The largest number of blacks in C county felt that white instructors were not racially Prejudiced. Where prejudice was found though, most felt it was against blacks.

The majority of blacks 66.3% in A county did feel that white instructors were racially prejudiced. 90.7% felt that this prejudice was against blacks.

69.5% of the whites in A county agreed that white instructors were racially prejudiced. But the largest number felt that the prejudice was against whites, not blacks. The agreement on prejudice between A blacks and whites is interesting.

The largest number of students in both races in both counties except for whites in A wished to allow students to be more involved in the school situation if they were in power. Whites in County in the greatest number felt that things should remain as they are. A substantial number even wished to resegregate (48% of blacks in Talbot county, 30% of C whites, 23.5% of A whites and 16.2% of A blacks). Further desegregation was least preferable in both counties and races except for Bibb county blacks.

All of these responses raise many questions and imply a great deal . Unfortunately no valid conclusion can be drawn here except that more studies of this type should be made. Only through a complete understanding of all the factions involved in school desegregation can the present school situation be improved and corrected. It seems logical that the best place to start is with the student.

BLACK COMPOSITE ATTITUDES IN A COUNTY

4. Yes. 54.9%
NO. 40.[illegible]%
No comment. 4.2%

6. a. 12.9%
b. 12.6%
c. 40.5%
D, 27.0%
e. 0.0%
f. 3.3%

7. a. 22.8%
b. 33.6%
c. 34.2%
d. 13.8%
e. 6.6%
No comment. 2.[illegible]

8. a. 50.4%
b. 29.1%
c. 25.5%
d. 14.1%
e. 5.4%

9. Yes. 89%
No. 11%

10. a. 40.6%
b. 6.0%
c. 30.9%
d. 12.1%
e. 33.2%

11. a. 47.1%
b. 34.3%
c. 7.5%
d. 9.9%

12. a. 44%
b. 34.3%
c. 23.7%
d. 17.1%
e. 0.0%
f. 7.5% "Don't like the hags that have been teaching"
*2.1% nocomment
both 2.1%

13. Yes. 27%
NO. 27.9%
Some 13.8%
very few 25.8%
No comment 3.8%

14. Yes. 19%
No. 81%

15. Yes. 72.9%
No. 15.5%
no comment 12%

16. a. 66.8%
b. 5.2%
c. 1o.4%
d. 3o.7%
e. 8.5%
f. o.0%
* all 7.8%
no comment 5.9%

17. Yes. 30.3%
No. 54.6%
nocomment 12.9%
If no:
a. white
b. black 75.1%
c. others
no comment 24.1%

18. a. 3.3%
b. 66.6%
c. 23.8%
d. 8.8%
no comment 6.3%

19. Yes. 70.5%
No. 22.1%
no comment 3.3%

20. See seper[illegible] tabulat[illegible] black m[illegible] females

BLACK COMPOSITE ATTITUDES IN A COUNTY

21. Yes. 36%
No. 56.4%
Some 2.2%
no comment 5.9%

If yes:
a. 60%
b. 39%
c. (both) 3%

22. Yes. 66.3%
No. 12%
Some 12%
no comment 9.6%

If Yes:
a. 90.7%
b. 7.8%
c. 0.0%
no comment 2.6%

23. a. 16.2%
b. 8.7%
c. 54.6%
d. 13.8%
e. 4.2% (freedom of choice)
no comment 10.7%

WHITE COMPOSITE ATTITUDES IN A COUNTY

4.
a. 41.5%
b. 57.5%

6.
a. 52%
b. 6.5%
c. 31%
d. 17%
e. 8.5%

7.
a. 59%
b. 14%
c. 40.5%
d. 31%

8.
a. 73%
b. 7%
c. 11%
d. 6.5%

9.
a. 96%
b. 3.5%

10.
a. 50%
b. 11.5%
c. 3.5%
d. 20.5%

12.
a. 18.5%
b. 65%
c. 12.5%

13.
a. 38%
b. 2.0%
c. 45%
d. 12%

14.
a. 44.5%
b. 55%

16.
a. 2.0%
b. 7%
c. 27%
d. 66%
e. 5.5%

17.
a. 57.5% (a. 18%
b. 41% (b. 12%

11.
a. 16%
b. 56%
c. 0.0%
d. 30. 5%

21.
a. 38%
b. 50.5%
c. no comment 11.5%
(a. 6.5%
(b. 28.5%

22.
a. 69.5%
b. 24%
c. no comment 6.5%
(a. 13.5%
(b. 29.5%

15.
a. 64%
b. 35%

23.
a. 23.5%
b. 45.5%
c. 34%
d. 0.0%
e. freedom of choice 19%

18.
a. 12%
b. 77%
c. 11.5%

19.
a. 74.5
b. 23%

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WHITE COMPOSITE ATTITUDES IN C COUNTY

4.
a. 53%
b. 20%
c. no comment 26.5%

6.
a. 26.5%
b. 20%
c. 56%
d. 0.0%
e. 0.0%
f. undecided 16.5%

7.
a. 0.0%
b. 100%
c. 0.0%

8.
a. 70%
b. 26.5%
c. 36.5%
d. 16.5%
e.
f. to lower level of [illegible] Whites to that of Blacks.

9.
a. 100%
b. 0.0%

10.
a. 70%
b. 73%
c. 70%
d. 55%
e. 10%

11.
a. 20%
b. 0.0%
c. 10%
d. 26.5%
e. no comment 43%

12.
a. 0.0%
b. 80%
c. 0.0%
d. 0.0%
e. 20%

13.
a. 36.5%
b. 10%
c. 33%
d. 10%
e. no comment 10%

14.
a. 0.0%
b. 100%

15.
a. 80%
b. 20%

16.
a. 16.5%
b. 10%
c. 16.5%
d. 26.5%
e. 0.0 %
f. 0.0%
g. all 43%
h. no comment 20%

17.
a. 70%
b. 30%
(a.

18.
a. 10%
b. 33%
c. 46.5%
d. 10%

19.
a. 80%
b. 10%
c. 10%

21.
a. 46.5%
b. 16.5%
c. 26.5%
d. 10%

22.
a. 10%
b. 16.5%
c. 36.5%
d. no comment 36.5%

23.
a. 30%
b. 16.5%
c. 43%
d. 0.0%
e. freedom of choice 10%

COMPOSITE OF BLACK ATTITUDES IN C COUNTY

4.
a. 100%
b. 0.0%

6.
a. 31.5%
b. 0.0%
c. 38%
d. 25%
e. no comment 5%

7.
a. 10%
B. 85%
c. 0.0%
d. 0.0%
e. 5%

8.
a. 36.5%
b. 16.5%
c. 10%
d. 15%
e. 16.5%
f. no comment 5%

9.
a. 90%
b. 10%

10.
a. 64.2%
b. 41.5%
c. 31.2%
d. 6.2%

11.
a. 63%
b. 26.5%
c. 0.0%
d. 5%
e. 5%

12.
a. 20%
b. 55%
c. 25%
d. 0.0%
e. 0.0%

13.
a. 41.5%
b. 21.5%
c. 20%
d. 16.5%

14.
a. 26.5%
b. 73%

15.
a. 100%
b. 0.0%

16.
a. 20%
b. 55%
c. 25%
d. 0.0%
e. 0.0%
f. 36.5% (all)

17.
a. 53%
b. 46.5%

18.
a. 0.0%
b. 41.5%
c. 53%
d. no comment 5%

19.
a. 100%
b. 0.0%

21.
a. 26.5%
b. 26.5%
c. 16.5%

22.
a. 31.5%
b. 16.5%
c. 35.0%
d. no comment 16.5%

23.
a. 48%
b. 5%
c. 46%

BEST AVAILABLE

The situation of the schools at present is one of the greatest indicators of the need for social dedication. Problems exist that cannot be cured by passive observation or sympathetic concern. There must be a decision by educators, students, parents, and community leaders to act to produce schools that are humane centers of learning, not fortresses of social diseases. The school situation is reflective of the failure of social institutions to accept reality, and the attempt to preserve social traditions by institutions. Clearly, the need is for social change. The schools can help to effect these changes if they stand to the task as shown within them.

Margaret M. Sands

The most obvious thing that comes over to me about school desegregation is the fact that politics, parental biases and prejudices, etc., take precidence over the interests of education. The Students are being sacrificed. They are being forced to do most of the giving to correct a prejudiced system invented and perpetuated by their parents and superiors.

If there is to be real education and if the present situation of the schools is to improve, the parents too must begin to give and to sacrifice their prejudices. They must sacrifice for for humanity and provide their children with the same opportunity if the future is to be better than today through education.

Willie L. Sands

The reality of school desegregation highlights the need for a more conscious and active role of young men and women (students) about the ills that plague this land and the world.

The failure of the adult culture to throw off its history of racism and greed coupled with a projected inferiority complex indicates the essentialness of a new mind set in this country.

With all the negative responses and intentional obstructions by the "responsible" citizens in this country, school desegregation has very specifically pointed to the long overlooked inadequacy of the entire educational system, not just the black schools. It says that the educational system must begin to teach people how to live and not just attempting to teach them how to make a living or not survive.

I am suggesting that emphasis on human relations must enter the educational system to be used as a tool for reinstating humanity back into mankind. I realize very aggressively that the education system alone will not liberate Black people, nor will it free the minds of White people, but if allowed to continue as it is operating will only add wood to the fire of racism. There must be efforts to change this process, but if not possible, to change the behaviors that frequent it.

Jimmie Samuel

FOOTNOTES

[1] Horace Barker, Special Report: The Federal Retreat In School Desegregation (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., Dec. 1969) p.1

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p.2

[4] Ibid..

[5] Ibid., p.3

[6] Horace Barker, Special Report: The Federal Retreat In School Desegregation (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc:, Dec. 1969) pp. iii - iv

[7] Ibid., p.3

[8] Ibid., p.4

[9] Ibid., p.5

[10] Ibid., pp. 5-6

[11] Ibid., pp. 7-8

[12] Ibid., p.9

[13] Ibid., p.13

[14] Ibid., p.15

[15] Ibid., p.19

[16] Ibid., p. 23-24

[17] Ibid., p. 25

[18] Paul M. Gaston, "The Region in Respective," The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-1971, (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., March, 1971) p.6

[19] Ibid..

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.,p.7

[22] Ibid., p.11

[23] Ibid.

[24] Pat Walters, "Charlotte, North Carolina: A Little Child Shall Lead Them," The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-1971 (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., March 1971) p.21

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., p.31

[27] Ibid., p.33

[28] Ibid. p. 35

[29] Paul M. Gaston, "The Region in Perspective," The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-1971, (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc, March, 1971) pp. 8-9

[30] Ibid., pp. 11-12

[31] Ibid., p. 13

[32] Harace Barker, Special Report: The Federal Retreat In School Desegregation (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, Inc., Dec. 1969) p. 67.

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SDP - Inst. tute

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 3, 1971

Dr. John A. Griffin, Director
Mr. Eldridge McMillan
SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 Cypress Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear John and Eldrige:

The accompanying proposal is sent to you all too suddenly. We appreciate your willingness to give it consideration. The idea of a training institute, to polish emerging and introduce new skills, for students working in school desegregation situations has evolved out of our school desegregation project. It will provide training, information, and exposure to resources. The proposed institute has a definite programmatic purpose.

Although ideally we would have allowed much more time for your consideration of this proposal, it has evolved thoughtfully as a worthwhile extension of our efforts. It has to a substantial degree developed from the expression of needs from the involved students as they have attempted to operate in the field.

During the past year we expanded our interest in school desegregation with a field program because we realized that the need is very great. Despite the magnificent contributions of many others, the region still woefully lacks positive resources for working with students, administrators, and communities to achieve fully equal education where discrimination is eliminated both because it is law and because at last it is understood.

We feel the double pressure of: (1) Achieving as rapidly as possible an educational atmosphere where students and learning have become paramount and (2) ending further destruction of persons

and learning because of violence, hatred, or misunderstanding. We must find our way to these goals by human wit and wisdom as well as by law.

It is my sincere hope that you can assist us in this effort.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

Encl.

and learning because of violence, hatred, or misunderstanding.

We will receive partial funding from another source. The Council is prepared to add a modest amount and we are asking the same of two other cooperating agencies. Even so, our need for funds is urgent. If you have ideas as to where as much as fifteen hundred dollars could be secured we would be in reasonably secure position. To be frank, a thousand dollars or five hundred dollars would ease the burden substantially. If for any reason we receive more than is required we would return the surplus on a prorated basis to the contributors unless they wish the funds to be used in the desegregation project.

The Council's situation is such that this proposal should be treated as a special request beyond the normal and greatly appreciated support of our activities.

It is my sincere hope that you can assist us in this effort.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.

P.S.: Please pardon the xerox copy but we are sending it to you in the interest of saving time. The original proposal as outlined is subject to adjustments.

Budget for proposed institute to train students to work in the school desegregaion process.

Camp fees (including sleeping accommodations)	$ 500.00
Food and food service	2,000.00
Travel for students (bus)	1,000.00
Travel for resource persons	500.00
Materials and supplies	200.00
Field trip for participants	200.00
Insurance	100.00
Miscellaneous (including consultant fees)	500.00
Total	$5,000.00

Check RV-
for account # 342

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council to obtain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the South

August 6, 1971

Mr. Bob Bankhead
Route 1
Camp Fellowship
Waterloo, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Bankhead:

Good to have talked with you the other day about our School Desegregation Training Session. By the time this reaches you you will have already talked with Leon Hall.

Enclosed is a check for $250 as an advance on the expenses for the training institute.

We will definitely want the health and accident insurance coverage through your firm for fifty (50) people for twelve (12) days beginning August 14, 1971.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.--Check

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JA 2-8764

64-1
610

1446

	DATE	AMOUNT
PAY 250 DOLS 00 CTS	8/6/71	$250.00

TO THE ORDER OF Camp Fellowship, Mr. Bob Bankhead

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR - ASSISTANT

Ruth Hause Alexander
SECRETARY - TREASURER

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK of ATLANTA
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

⑆0610⑈0001⑆ 16 575 46 4⑈

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

INVOICE DATE	INVOICE NUMBER	ACCOUNT NUMBER	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
8/6/71			School Desegregation Project Training Session (Advance Payment)	$250.00

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: SD P— Stabl Institute

Emory F. Via

Bernard Foundation

/

Marjory Find

$1,500

AUG 19 1971

SDP — Student Incl

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the South

August 12, 1971

AUG 19 1971

Mr. William Allison
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Allison:

This letter will confirm the arrangement that we have made to borrow fifty blankets from E. O. A. The blankets will be used at a training institute for high school and college students who are concerned about interpersonal and intergroup relations in desegregated schools. The institute runs from August 15 to 25.

We will assume responsibility for picking up and returning the blankets. They will be returned on or before September 8, 1971. We agree to replace blankets which are lost or damaged. They will be returned after having been cleaned.

We wish to express our heartfelt appreciation for your timely cooperation in this matter. It will aid immeasurably in making a very constructive program possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

SDP - Institute

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA, INC.
RECEIPT FOR PROPERTY

DATE: August 13, 1971

Receipt is hereby acknowledged from Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. for fifty (50) thermo blankets having a value of approximately $5.00 each. Blankets are received with the understanding they are to be returned in a cleaned, like new condition.

Jimmie Samuel
Signature Date

Southern National Council
Name of Corporation or Organization

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 12, 1971

Mr. William Allison
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Allison:

This letter will confirm the arrangement that we have made to borrow fifty blankets from E. O. A. The blankets will be used at a training institute for high school and college students who are concerned about interpersonal and intergroup relations in desegregated schools. The institute runs from August 15 to 25.

We will assume responsibility for picking up and returning the blankets. They will be returned on or before September 8, 1971. We agree to replace blankets which are lost or damaged. They will be returned after having been cleaned.

We wish to express our heartfelt appreciation for your timely cooperation in this matter. It will aid immeasurably in making a very constructive program possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

approved
Clint Rodgers

SDP - Institute

RESOURCE PEOPLE
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT TRAINING INSTITUTE
WATERLOO, SOUTH CAROLINA
AUGUST 15-25, 1971

John L. Pride
U.S. Office of Education
7th and D Streets, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202
202-963-7958

Jean Fairfax
Director
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
Division of Legal Information and
Community Service
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019
212-586-8397

Paul Delaney
New York Times
1920 L. Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
202-293-3100

Melvin M. Stephens
Emergency School Asst. Progam
and 10% Applicant Groups
Room 4158
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20202

Andrew Marrisett
153 7th Street
Prattville, Alabama 36067
205-365-5198 (AFSC)

Carl E. Johnson
President
Black Appalachian Commission
36 A Hill Crest Apt.
Ashville, N.C. 28801

Winifred Green
AFSC, Director
Southeastern Public Ed. Program
52 Fairlie Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-523-6629

Neil Maxwell
Wall Street Journal
1515 Fulton Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Tom Keating
Atlanta Urban League
Director ESAP Program
Citizen's Trust Bldg.
75 Piedmont Road
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-659-1150 or 404-876-8627

Barbara Splain
Children's Foundation
1026 17th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-296-4451
12 West Shore Drive
Coventry, R.I. 02816
401-821-7167 or 941-5600

Joseph M. Hendricks
Dean of Students
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

David Abel
RFK Fellow
401 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201
803-253-7159

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764

Linda Watters
316 9th Street N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
404-872-7906

Mrs. Bernice Cofer
22 Stephen Avenue
Lincoln Park, New Jersey 07030

Con't RESOURCE PEOPLE

Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764

Clarence Wright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764 or 349-3495

Leon Hall
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764 or 344-5651

Kitty Terjen
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-8764

Gene Zubrinsky
c/o Sociology Department
Ventura College
4667 Telegraph Road
Vantura, California 93003

Hayes Mizell
AFSC-S.C. CRP
401 Columbia Bldg.
Columbia, South Carolina 29201
803-253-7159 or 256-1491

Andrew Young
75 Piedmont Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-659-1230

Dorothy Cotton
Director of Education SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-1420

Joel Jacobson
OEO Regional Office
730 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
404-526-3838

John Sweet
OEO Reional Office
Youth Programs
730 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
404-526-3838

Moses Robb Jr.
1938 Newcastle Avenue
Columbia, South Carolina 29204
803-254-8627

Connie Rowland
Center for Integrated Education
College of Education U.S.C.
503 S. Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29208
803-777-4837

William Dufford
Center for Integrated Education
College of Education U.S.C.
503 S. Main Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29208
803-777-4837

Dr. Grace M. Scully
Peterson State College
Wayne, New Jersey 07470

Dr. Rachael Davis DuBois
New York Friends Center
15 Rutherford Place
New York, New York 10003

Janet Wells
American Friends Service Committe
1820 Boundary (South)
Aiken, South Carolina 29801

Laughlin McDonald
ACLU
1611 Crestwood
Columbia, South Carolina

Con't RESOURCE PEOPLE

Carlisle Holler
Executive Director
S.C. Association of School Boards
1401 Hampton Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

STUDENT PARTICIPANTS
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECT TRAINING INSTITUTE
WATERLOO, SOUTH CAROLINA
AUGUST 15-25, 1971

Ernest Bracey
Mr. and Mrs. Willard Bracey
2146 Mobile Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi 39213
F14-2287 Jackson State

Georgia Bracy
Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt Bracy
Route 4 Box 140-B
Wetumpka, Alabama 36042
567-7055 Wetumpka High School

Ernie Collins
c/o John Thompson
3653 Oregon Trail
Decatur, Georgia 30032

Ken Herman
1214 Granville-West
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Richard Gergel
20 Mosswood Road
Columbia, South Carolina (U.S.C.)

Annette LeFlore
Mr.and Mrs. Henderson LeFlore
2127-19th Avenue
Meridian, Mississippi 39301
601-483-9264 Meridian High School

Clyde E. Lee,III
1801 Laurel Street
Texarkana, Arkansas
Arkansa High School

Carmen Gettis
Mr. and Mrs. William Starks
2213 Queensroad Avenue
Jackson, Mississippi 39213
601-982-5579 Millsaps College

Carl Gathers
Mrs. Lucille Gathers
109 May Lane
Mt. Pleasant, S.C. 29464
803-884-9600 Moultrie High School

Robert Mike II
9442 Albamarle Road
Orlando, Florida 32810 or
P.O. Box 792
Mercer University
P.O. Box 792
Macon, Georgia 31207

Thomastine Leggett
Mr. and Mrs. B.T. Leggett
P.O. Box 510
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, Ala.
205-322-4826

James Evans
P.O. Box 1579
University, Mississippi 38677 or
Route 2 Box 100
Holly Sprongs, Miss. 38635

Mattie Brown
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Brown
932 Plant Street
Macon, Georgia 31201
745-4494 Central High School

Con't STUDENT PARTICIPANTS

Walter Gant
Mrs. Rosetta Gant
2916 Luke Street
Meridian, Mississippi 39301
485-4747

Rufus Johnson
P.O. Box 1008
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia 31207

Judy Masterson
P.O. Box 22647
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Monroe Preston
P.O. Box 373
Glade Springs, Virginia 24340
703-429-5292

Barbara Ohanesian
D-3 Gorzales Gardin
Columbia, South Carolina 29204
252-1397

Beatrice Hawkins
P.O. Box 2549
University, Mississippi 38677 or
Route 3 Box 41
Water Valley, Miss. 38965

Bernice Jackson
P.O. Box 14422
Auburn, Alabama 36830
205-887-7841

Roscoe Washington
Route 2 Box 127
Thomasville, Georgia
912-226-2372

Oliver Napolean Washington, Jr.
2318 Preston Street
Columbia, South Carolina
253-3555 or 777-4256
University of South Carolina

Ray Samuel
c/o Gene Zubrinsky

Jimmie Samuel
1307 Johnson Ave.
Augusta, Georgia 30901
404-724-6150 or 724-3116

Rose Lee Mason
Mr. and Mrs. Olin Mason
Route 3 Box 477
Aiken, South Carolina 29801
803-648-4683

Deb German
Mrs. Stella Greene
410 Morrison Street
Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina 29464
803-884-8911 Moultrie High School

Buddy Ray
271-Brooklyn Road
Asheville, N.C. 28803
204-253-9941

James Robinson
501 Whilden Street
Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina 29464
803-884-8911 Moultrie High School

Donna Benson
1805 Madison Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28216
704-332-5911
N.C. Task Force

Odessa Houston
Route 5 Box 17
Oxford, Mississippi 39301
601-636-4797 or 636-4909

Rodney Sullivan
304 East 9th Street
Texarkana, Arkansas
774-2181 (Bethal United Church)

Sandy L.V. Byrd
318-47th Avenue
Meridian, Mississippi 39301
601-483-6318

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING INSTITUTE

Participant Reactions

The stated purpose of the Training Institute was to provide basic skills training in community organization and communications/intergroup relations and to introduce pertinent information and/or potential resources to a select group of high school and college students working in the area of school desegregation.

The Institute Evaluation Committee developed a three-part narative evaluation to test participant reactions to the Training Institute.

Three basic questions were asked:

(1) Why did you attend this Institute?

(2) What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

(3) What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

The participant reactions to the individual interviews were as follows:

Question: Why did you attend the Institute?

"When asked, I felt that I could get a lot from it. When I was told that it involved school desegregation, I was very interested."

"I felt that this would be a beneficial experience for me. I came with the expectation that I would be exposed to information and insights that would be helpful in solving the problems caused by desegregation in my community."

"I came because of the information I was sent. I was told that I would learn techniques for organizing in the community."

"I was asked to replace someone else; it was right after a shocking incident in my school which made me decide to come."

"My involvement in school depends on my knowledge of what school desegregation is about. I have a personal commitment to the students of my community and state. I wanted to gain new approaches, techniques, and ideas. I also wanted to find out what other people in other areas were doing and to share my experiences with them."

"There are a lot of problems at home. I came because of great interest. I wanted to learn how to deal with the problems we have and to learn (from other people) what problems I might be facing in the future."

"I was told that the session was on community organization and school desegregation. I wanted to know especially about community organization because I have been organizing at home. I hoped that by working in the community, I could somehow influence school desegregation. I also like to meet people."

"I felt that I could get a lot out of it."

"When I found out it was dealing with desegregation, I was very interested."

"My community needed to have someone come and see what other people are doing who have similar problems."

"I came to find out what was coming down and perhaps find ways to improve the situation at home regarding school desegregation and Students' Rights."

"I came because I felt I would learn something. I was excited about the resource people. I wanted to meet people."

"I wanted to meet students from different states and gather information."

"I came because I am involved in my community and school. I hoped to get valuable information and training in order to deal with my situation, that is, the problems of my community."

"It was a last minute decision. When I heard it concerned Black students, I decided to come."

Question: What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

"I learned how to get people together."

"I uncovered a whole new dimension of organizing. I gained even more than I had hoped. I met people whose heads were in the same place as mine and met geniuses in the field of dealing with people. I know now what positive direction of action I will take in my community."

"I have gained a lot and intend to put it to use."

"I gained a lot of insight -- insight to a better understanding of all things dealing with desegregation -- insight into ways of coping with these issues."

"I feel better since I've been here."

"I gained insight into ways of changing/improving conditions. I also learned more about some of the resources in the area of school desegregation."

"I have gained self-understanding and confidence that I'am right in a lot of things. I've gained determination and excellent knowledge of problems and how to deal with them."

"I've learned a lot about the different resource people. I've learned how to utilize role play and how to conduct group discussions. I've learned how to communicate with people."

"I've learned about the free lunch program which will be most helpful to me in my projects at home. I've learned of the different situations that exist in other schools and other states."

"I have gained added motivation to confront problems that I will be facing -- exposure to ideas, principles, and practices that I feel will greatly enhance what I'am trying to do. It showed me a new dimension -- what problems other people face."

"I've learned a lot about community organizing -- ways meetings should be conducted, skills on how to communicate. I've learned that many of our problems result from a lack of communication, the way we've been taught, and the different roles we've been thrown into. I've also learned that Blacks and Whites should try to relate."

"I have learned a lot of things at the session. I've learned how to communicate with other people. I plan to go home and utilize the things I have learned."

"I received a tremendous amount of information from the resource people. I also received a spiritual boost from meeting with people who share similar interests; who are really committed to doing something about their concerns.

Question: What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

"It seemed that the routine was too heavy. Throwing one resource person after another got to be too much - I was getting frustrated. Although I was getting all the facts, I didn't seem to be able to put them into working order in my mind. I believe that if we had had half the resource people, half the communications people, then return to the rest of the resource people and finish with the communications resources, it would have been less frustrating."

"Overall, I can't see anything wrong with the conference. It was near perfect. The program was flexible enough for everyone."

"My perceptions of people broadened having been with them. We handled all hassles like a family, therefore, the Institute showed sincerity, honesty, and the whole structure of the program was well-planned and flexible."

"Everyone was concerned about everyone else and the meetings were carried on sufficiently to get people to participate. Overall, I appreciate the whole program. It not only helped us with school problems, but also taught us the real need to form coalitions with Black and White students."

Conclusion:

It is the general feeling of the group that the program was helpful in that the objectives, for the most part, were met. The program was so well planned that it was easy for the group to adjust to the rate of learning. However, there were minor problems with extra-curricula activities coupled with the intensive pace, resulting in a general physical breakdown. This was later attributed to an oversight of responsibility on the part of the students.

As a family, not a group, it is felt that such programs provide a meaningful learning experience and we firmly recommend that it be continued.

S.D.P. CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS SDP - Institute

ALABAMA

Confirmed

1. Thomastine Leggett- Birmingham
2. Richy Jetter- Birmingham
3. Georgia Bracy- Wetumpka
4. Donald Hall- Montgomery
5. Bernice Jackson- Auburn

FLORIDA

Confirmed

1. Robert Mike- Orlando

Tentative Confirmation

1. Nina Thanz- Boca Raton
2. Marie Reed- Miami

GEORGIA

Confirmed

1. Jimmie Samuel- Augusta
2. Roscoe Woodruff- Thomasville
3. Ronnie Harrison- Augusta
4. Wayne Johnson- Columbus
5. Joanne Strauss-Atlanta

Tentative Confirmation

1. Ernie Collins- Decatur
2. Judy Masterson- Atlanta

MISSISSIPPI

Confirmed

1. Sandi Byrd- Meridian
2. Odessa Houston- Oxford

Tentative Confirmation

1. Walter Gant- Meridian
2. Pat Thompson- Meridian
3. Tonny Algood- Laurel

NORTH CAROLINA

Confirmed

1. Ken Herman- Raliegh
2. Observer with Ken from Task Force

LOUISIANNA

Confirmed

Tenative Confirmation

SOUTH CAROLINA

Confirmed

1. Richard Gergel- Columbia
2. Rose Lee Mason- Columbia
3. Harry Walker- Columbia
4. Oliver Washington- Columbia
5. Barbara O' hanesian - Columbia

Tenative Confirmation

1. Carl Gathers- Columbia
2. Micheal Stephens-Columbia
3. Eddie Lee Smith- Aiken
4. Joseph DeShields- Aiken
5. Bryant Blakely- Sumter
6. Janet Wells- Columbia

TENN.

ARKANSAS

Confirmed

I. Rodney Sullivan- Texarkana
2. Clyde Lee- Texarkana

VIRGINIA

Confirmed

Tenative Confirmation

1. Bob Hill- Glade Springs

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Miss Bernice Jackson
(Miss., Mr., Mrs.)

Permanent Address Post office Box 1422
Auburn Ala. 36830

Phone at this Address 205-8877841

School Address Work address - P.O. Box 409 Auburn Ala, 36830

Phone Numbers at this address: Home — Business 821-8339

Date and Place of Birth Aug. 12, 1948 Auburn Ala.

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained, and Major)

Talladega College one year Auburn U. 2 years part-time, is a junior there

Relevant Activities and Interests:

Works with ESAP program. Organized an essay contest for High School students. I am interested in working with High School Students and helping with the problem as a result of school desegregation.

Employment:

Lee County Head Start - ESAP program in Auburn

Special Skills:

Typing

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician _____ Relative Mrs. Dorothy Tolbert

Address _____ Address P.O. Box 1422 Auburn Ala.

Phone Nos. Home _____ Phone Nos. Home 8877841

Office _____ Office _____

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

YES NO

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Ricky Jeter
(Miss., Mr., Mrs.)

Permanent Address 1304 Avenue J.
Birmingham Alabama

Phone at this Address 205-787-1945

School Address
Alabama High Education Office Mc Marcus

Phone Numbers at this address: Home _____ Business _____

Date and Place of Birth July 9, 1949 - Birmingham

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained, and Major)

Soph. at Miles college majoring in Chemistry

Relevant Activities and Interests:

Active in Afro Association. School desegregation Project, Voter Registration. Interested in History

Employment:

Special Skills:

Electronics - Radio broadcasting

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician _____	Relative Mrs. Ellen Jeter
Address _____	Address 1304 Avenue J Birmingham, Ala.
Phone Nos. Home _____	Phone Nos. Home _____
Office _____	Office _____

Further Comments:

I feel that the training session is very need and very hip.

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

YES NO

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Clyde Lee
(Miss. Mr. , Mrs.)

Permanent Address 1801 Jaurel St.
Texarkana Arkansas

Phone at this Address 794-6856

School Address Arkansas H. S.
also can be reached at this number 774 2181

Phone Numbers at this address: Home _____ Business _____

Date and Place of Birth 1954 - 17 year old

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained, and Major)

Up coming senior in High school

Relevant Activities and Interests:

Student project SAM - Student Activist Movement. Part of school band
Recent - Science fair winner. Would have been student Council President
but Principal intervened on his application. Member of the Human Relations council
in his school until disbanded. One coordinator of SAM.

Employment:

Employed this summer in his work with SAM by the Presbyterian church

Special Skills:

Writing Students hands books

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician _____	Relative Mr. Lee
Address _____	Address 1801 Jaurel St. Texarkana Arkansas
Phone Nos. Home _____	Phone Nos. Home 794-6856
Office _____	Office _____

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

YES NO

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Thomastine Leggett
(Miss.,Mr.,Mrs.)

Permanent Address 43 Fifth Ave South
Birmingham, Ala

Phone at this Address 322-4826

School Address P.O. 510 Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham, Alabama

Phone Numbers at this address: Home 205-252-9635 Business

Date and Place of Birth Jan 4, 1951 Birmingham

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained and Major)

Birmingham Southern (Sr.) Speech + Drama

Relevant Activities and Interests: creative dramatics with high school students - talked with superdendent of schools.

Employment: working as Rec. Leader this summer. OEO (Birmingham) as receptionist (last summer)

Special Skills:
Drama - Speech

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician John Crowe
Address Birmingham
Phone Nos. Home
Office

Relative Mr. PT Leggett
Address home address
Phone Nos. Home
Office
or
Mrs. W. Howell
251-4948

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

YES NO

Wants to come → will try to off work →

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Rodney Sullivan
(Miss. Mr. Mrs.)

Permanent Address 711 Pecan St.
Texarkana, Arkansas

Phone at this Address No phone there-can be reached at 7742181

School Address
High School

Phone Numbers at this address: Home _____ Business _____

Date and Place of Birth Oct. 6, 1952, Texarkana, Arkansas

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained, and Major)

Upcoming Senior high school

Relevant Activities and Interests:

Student Underground New Paper. Working with SAC - Student Activist Committee and SAM - Student Activist Movement. Draft Counseling. Voter Registration.

Employment:

none

Special Skills:

Painting

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician _____ Relative Mr. Micky Sullivan

Address _____ Address 3409 more Drive Texarkana Texas

Phone Nos. Home _____ Phone Nos. Home 7941924

Office _____ Office _____

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

(YES) NO

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Mr. Jimmie Samuel
(Miss. (Mr.), Mrs.)

Permanent Address 1307 Johnson Avenue
Augusta, GA. 30901 PH. 7246150 - 7243116 (404)

School Address Box 1329 Mercer University
Macon Ga. 31207 PH. 7431927 area Code (912)

Telephones Home ——; Business ——

Date and Place of Birth McDuffie County, GA. JAN. 26, 1949

Education:

B.S. Degree Biology & Psychology

Relevant Activities and Interest:

I have been working in the School desegregation project for the past year. I'm interested in all aspects human development.

Employment:

NONE

Special Skills: "Rap" and type a little bit.

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician ____ Relative Mrs. Lila Samuel.
Address ____ Address 1308 Corkin Ave. Augusta, GA.
Phone Nos, home ____ Phone Nos. home 7243116
office ____ office ——
Relationship Mother

Further Comments:

I plan to attend the entire session.

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME MR. ERNIE Collins
(Miss.,Mr.,Mrs.)

Permanent Address 618 Highwood AVE.
GREEN CASTLE, Ind.

Phone at this Address 317-653-6069

LOCAL School Address c/o John THOMPSON
738 CLIFTON WAY N.E ATLANTA

Phone Numbers at this address: Home 634-1991 Business

Date and Place of Birth 4-10-48 GREENCASTLE IND.

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained, and Major)

B.A. 1971 Spring MERCER UNIV.

Relevant Activities and Interests:

Employment:

Special Skills:

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician NONE - OR ONE
Address
Phone Nos. Home
Office

Relative E.H. Collins
Address 618 Highwood GREENCASTLE IND
Phone Nos. Home 317-653-6069
Office

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

(YES) NO

1.F

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Johnson Weymann T., Jr. (WAYNE)
(Miss., Mr., Mrs.)

Permanent Address 5752 Webb Avenue
Columbus, Georgia 31904

School Address Box 869, Mercer University
Macon, Georgia 31207

Telephone Home 561-7419 (404) ; Business

Date and Place of Birth July 13, 1951, Atlanta, Georgia.

Education: ~~[illegible]~~
Completion of approximately 110 hours of credit-study at Mercer University has been achieved as of June 1971.

Relevant Activities and Interest:
A vested interest in survival of pluralism in the United States ~~qualifies~~ characterizes my interest and my work with the SRC Desegregation Project, 1971, in my home community characterizes my activity.

Employment:
Project Upward Bound, Mercer University, Macon, Georgia

Special Skills:

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician Dr. Calvin Thrash
Address Warm Springs Rd, Columbus, Ga.
Phone Nos. home
office 561-7894 (404)

Relative W. T. Johnson
Address 5752 Webb Avenue
Phone Nos. home 561-7419 (404)
office
Relationship Father

Further Comments:

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Ronnie Harrison
(Miss. (Mr) Mrs.)

Permanent Address 1468 DeWitt Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901

School Address P.O. Box 581 - Mercer University
Macon, Georgia 31207

Telephone Home 733-6316 ; Business —

Date and Place of Birth October 17, 1950 - Richmond County

Education:

Mercer University (3 years)

Relevant Activities and Interest:

I'm interested mainly in secondary Teacher education and journalistic Writing. Recently I've been involved in tutorial services for high school and elementary students in conjunction with Mercer University's Special Services Program.

Employment:

—

Special Skills:

Typing (50 wpm)

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician Dr. M.H. Wylie
Address Gwinnett Street Augusta Ga.
Phone Nos, home
office

Relative Mr. Jessie J. Harrison
Address 1468 DeWitt St.
Phone Nos. home 733-6316
office —
Relationship father

Further Comments:

Will be available definitely Aug. 15 - 22.

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Mr. Robert Mike II
(Miss., Mr., Mrs.)

Permanent Address 9442 Allamanda Rd, Orlando, Florida 32810

School Address P.O. Box 3792 Mercer University, Macon, Georgia 31207

Telephone Home 249-0706 ; Business

Date and Place of Birth Jan. 9, 1950 Winter Park, Fla.

Education:

Sr. in college majoring in Political Science & Philosophy — Mercer University

Relevant Activities and Interest:

School desegregation - Black Student's Alliance
~~the~~ I am interested in the salvation + ~~pep~~ per-
petuation of humanity.

Employment:

None as of Friday July 30.

Special Skills: Limited skill in offset printing

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician

Address

Phone Nos, home

office

Relative Mrs. Robert E. Mike

Address 9442 Allamanda Rd Orlando Fla. 32810

Phone Nos. home 249-0706

office

Relationship Father

Further Comments:

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Roscoe Woodruff
(Miss. (Mr.), Mrs.)

Permanent Address Rt #2 Box 127.
Thomasville, GA.

Phone at this Address 912-226-2372

School Address Box 1502 Mercer U.
Macon, GA. 31207

Phone Numbers at this address: Home 912-7429996 Business

Date and Place of Birth March 11, 1949 Thomasville, GA.

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained, and Major)

B.S. degree in Physics from Mercer U.

Relevant Activities and Interests:

School Desegregation Project, Voter Registration
BLACK Students Alliance at Mercer

Employment:

None

Special Skills:

None

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician _____ Relative Mr. R.L. Woodruff

Address _____ Address Rt #2 Box 127 Thomasville, GA.

Phone Nos. Home _____ Phone Nos. Home 912-226-2372

Office _____ Office _____

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

(YES) NO

PARTICIPANT DATA SHEET

NAME Sandi Byrd
(Miss. (Mr.) ,Mrs.)

Permanent Address 318 47th Avenue
Meridian, Miss. 39301

Phone at this Address 601-483-6318

School Address

Phone Numbers at this address: Home _____ Business _____

Date and Place of Birth Oct 3, 1949 - Birmingham Ala.

Education: (Schools, Years Attended, Level Obtained and Major)
Tougaloo College (1 year) - Brown U. (1 year)
BA degree in Political Science from Millsaps College

Relevant Activities and Interests:
Voter Education Project - Developed and coordinated a black studies course at Millsaps. Tutorial program in Rhode Island, Organizing Black worker at Millsaps C. School Desegregation Project

Employment:
Evers Campaign - Tutorial Programs - Voter Registration

Special Skills:
Run Keypunch machine

Persons to be notified in Case of Emergency:

Physician Dr. Irby
Address Anderson Hospital Meridian Miss.
Phone Nos. Home _____
Office _____

Relative Mrs. Lucille Alexander
Address 318 47th Avenue Meridian Miss.
Phone Nos. Home _____
Office _____

Further Comments:

I Will Attend Conference For the Full Time

YES NO

DRAFT

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING SESSION

Introduction

As of September 1970, massive school desegregation became a reality throughout the South. Unfortunately, this emotion-laden process was undertaken with little concern and/or attention paid to the welfare of the child, Black or White, directly involved in the desegregation process. With the exception of a few progressive Title IV centers and piecemeal efforts on the part of national, regional, state and local, private and government agencies, scant resources were expended to prepare the student to deal with the desegregated situation. Funds were expended to pay professional consultants to service youth by conducting human relations workshops, etc., but limited resources, as shown by the paltry national allocation of the Emergency School Assistance Program of $375,000 for student programs, was earmarked to train students themselves to deal with desegregation problems, or to directly fund student initiated/operated projects dealing with youth related desegregation problems.

Over the past nine (9) months, the staff of the School Desegregation Project has attempted to deal with the latter problem, the lack of direct resources to youth groups, by recruiting Black and White college students to work in bi-racial teams in their home communities utilizing their peer group relationships with high school youth in stressing the need for communications, reason and information in considering and developing alternate strategies and resources for

dealing with desegregation problems

The School Desegregation Project staff has worked extensively in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia in introducing the project to college students and recruiting student volunteers. Subsequent follow-up with various members of the bi-racial teams provided the School Desegregation Project's entrance into high school communities throughout the South as well.

In working with the various high school and college groups, providing technical assistance in planning conferences, developing programs (ESAP, etc.) and running training sessions, the need for developing the training skills of youth and the specific types and areas of training needed, became quite apparent. Students - high school and college, Black and White - in many instances have been hampered in their endeavors to initiate positive strategies and approaches to desegregation problems by a lack of a particular skill and/or a lack of information concerning available resources, the institution of public education, etc. Consequently, many potentially productive students engaged in abortive problem-solving activities (single-shot boycotts, illegal demonstrations, etc.) and were subsequently pushed out of school, or suppressed by community and/or school pressures.

If the tone of the desegregated school is to change positively during the 1971-72 school term, committed students must be provided

with the necessary training and information for confronting their problems. Based upon the experiences and observations of the School Desegregation Project staff and student volunteers, the specific training needs are as follows:

I. The initiation of youth oriented seminars which will provide information for:

A. Clarification of the history of the school desegregation movement.

B. The international, national, regional, state, and local implications of the desegregation movement.

C. The role of federal and private organizations in facilitating and/or hampering the desegregative process. The extent of resources available.

D. An analysis of the institution of public education - its intent, its inner workings, etc.

E. The impact of the media in conveying information and influencing public opinion.

F. The legal rights due students (Students' Rights)

II. Skills Training in:

A. Community organization skills and techniques (basic community organization skills, strategy building, community analysis).

B. Communications and intergroup relations skills and techniques.

C. Resource identification and mobilization.

D. Organization, production, dissemination of newspapers, news releases, etc.

This is a proposal for the support of a training session with a very definite programatic purpose. The School Desegregation Project staff has actively sought and worked with a particular "caliber" of student rather than enjoining masses of students to

"jump on the bandwagon." This has enabled us to identify and get to know at least fifty (50) high school and college students who have actively confronted problems pertaining to various aspects of school desegregation and who possess the maturity and level-headedness to fully utilize training, geared to refine existing, though in many cases untapped, community organization and communication skills.

Now, we have gained substantial experience as to the kinds of situations that confront schools and students today and have been able to test what the students feel their own needs are. It is in this light that we seek an opportunity for a concentrated effort to provide a larger regionalized group of students with the skills and information to participate more fully in making school desegregation work. As a result of this intensive education/training effort, we anticipate the organization of a more dedicated and skilled group of students who are able to work with their own peer groups for the attainment of quality, desegregated education.

Budget for proposed institute to train students to work in the school desegregation process

Camp fees (including sleeping accommodations	$ 500.00
Food and food service	2,000.00
Travel for students (bus)	1,000.00
Travel for resource persons	500.00
Materials and supplies	200.00
Field trip for participants	200.00
Insurance	100.00
Miscellaneous (including consultant fees)	500.00
	$5,000.00

Training Goals

At the conclusion of the training session, the participants will have participated in extensive seminar/dialogue sessions pertaining to:

1. The history of the school desegregation movement.
2. An analysis of the institution of public education.
3. The international, regional, state, and local implications of school desegregation.
4. Issues related to school desegregation - Students' Rights, the effect of the eighteen-year-old vote on school board elections, etc.
5. The effect and impact of the media upon public opinion - the significance of stereotypical reporting, the importance of dissemination of information, the development of prejudices, etc.
6. The federal and private organizations involved in the field of education and the extent of resources available. National, regional, state, and local organizations - Civil Rights, Students, etc.
7. The philosophy of non-violence as a strategy and a way of life.
8. The in-school situation for students, teachers, administrators, etc.

At the conclusion of the workshops, the participants will have received skill training in the following areas:

1. Basic community organizing skills and techniques.
2. Resource identification (federal, foundation, college, self-help, etc.) and mobilization.
3. The organization, publication, and dissemination of newspapers and other areas of publicity. The effect of public relations on strategy (i.e. civil rights movement)

Training Outline

Sunday, August 15

12:00 noon - 4:00 p.m.	Registration for Participants
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Opening Session: 1) Housekeeping Details 2) Review of the schedule for the training session 3) Reading assignments 4) Formation of two groups twenty five (25) participants each for the workshop sessions 5) Committee organization - i.e. grievance committee, etc.
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner Address_____
10:00 p.m. - 12:00 midnight	Rap sessions, Film/tapes from MLK series, reading assignment, etc.

Monday, August 16

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I The History of the Desegregation Movement (School Desegregation) Session II Case History of the School Desegregation Movement (particular emphasis upon the more recent cases)
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups- Same topics, resource people, etc.
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Session I Implications of School Desegregation: 1) National, state, local, regional implications

Monday, August 16 - cont'd.

2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Session I- cont'd. 2) Segregated academy movement and the implications for the institution of public education 3) The 18 year old vote and the of 18 year olds upon School Board elections, etc. Session II Analysis of the Institution of Public Education. 1) Framework 2) Funding 3) Purpose
4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	Break
4:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	Reverse Groupings for Sessions I & II
6:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
9:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	Wrap- up of sessions- informal rap sessions with the resource people, etc.
10:00 p.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Reading Period (optional) - 1) Illich, Ivan - Deschooling Society

Tuesday, August 17

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I The effect and impact of mass media upon attitudinal development. Prejudice - the origin, methods of dealing with, etc.

Tuesday, August 17 - cont'd.

9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session II Government Programs in the area of Education (ESAP , Title I, etc.)
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groupings for Session I & II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	General Session - The In - School Situation (Panel presentation involving one (1) teacher, one (1) adminsitrator and student representatives from throughout the South. The focus will be upon the students - their problems, observations, etc.)
4:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Private Organizations (AFSC, LDF,etc.) 1) Introduce and explain the respective organizational scope of activities in the past and, if possible, for the forthcoming year. 2) React to the In - School Presentation of the students.

Wednesday, August 18

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Community Organization Skills and Techniques (Resource people will develop the structure for this session)

Thursday, August 19

9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Community Organization Skills and Techniques (same as above)

Friday, August 20

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I Resource identification and Mobilization. Session II The How- to - do- it of newspapers- layouts, research, printing, etc.
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groupings for Session I & II
12:00 noon - 6:00 p.m.	Luncheon/Recreation Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner Speaker _____

Saturday, August 21 - Sunday noon, August 22

Free time/recreation/ Field Trips

Sunday, August 22	
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	General Session
2:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Communications/Intergroup Relations (Resource people structure activities) Workshops
Monday, August 23	
9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Communications/Intergroup Relations Workshops (same as above)
Tuesday, August 24	
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Communications/Intergroup Relations
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	State Committees work on strategies, evaluations, etc.
Wednesday, August 25	
9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Committee Reports
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 a.m.	Evaluation/Closing

SDP- Institute

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

CITIES	Numbers of Participants	Round Trip Fare
Birmingham, Ala.	2	$ 46.00
Montgomery, Ala.	1	28.15
Boca Raton, Fla.	1	48.75
Orlando, Fla.	1	36.40
Augusta, Ga.	2	12.40
Thomasville, Ga.	1	27.65
Columbus, Ga.	1	21.60
Atlanta, Ga.	3	31.20
Meridian, Miss.	1	35.15
Laurel, Miss.	1	40.30
Natchez, Miss	1	53.05
Oxford, Miss.	1	39.15
Raliegh, N.C.	2	39.00
Greenville, S.C.	1	45.35
Columbia, S.C.	7	47.95
Aiken, S.C.	2	19.80
Sumter, S.C.	1	9.15
Nashville, Tenn.	1	32.15
Memphis, Tenn.	1	41.90
New Orleans, La.	2	103.90
Glade Springs, Virginia	1	22.80
	34	777.80

3 DP – Institute

RE: Approximate Figures for School Desegregation Project Training Session

DATE: August 15 through August 25, 1971

LOCATION: Camp Fellowship, Cross Hill, South Carolina, Approximately fifty-five miles southeast of Greenville, South Carolina and fifty-five miles northwest of Columbia, South Carolina.

Tentative commitments have been made with Mr. Bob Bankhead for the accomodations of fifty persons for eleven days.

THE COST ESTIMATE

No. of Persons	Amount per person	Total
50	$1.00 per person	$500.00

*Mr. Bankhead agreed to give access for $500.00.

1. No. of Cooks	2. Cost of Food	3. Est. Overhead
2 at $220.00	$1500.00	$2220.00 (10%) of sum of 1 and 2

Subtotal	plus	Transportation	=	Total
$2440.00		$2700.00 appr.		$5140.00
			Field trip	+200.00
				5340.00

These are maximum figures, the actual cost will be lower. The first will be dinner on the 15th. and the last will be lunch on the 25th. of August.

Recreational facilities available:

Baseballs-bats ✓
Volleyball ✓
Field Trip - $200.00

laking facilities:
sail boats and canoes ✓
life guard on staff

Recreational facilities not available:

Football Horseshoes Basketball

SDP — Student Institute

EVALUATION OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING SESSION

T he purpose of the training session was to provide basic skills, training, and exposure to resource information, to a select group of high school and college students in dealing with issues that have come into being because of school desegregation.

This evaluation of the school desegregation training sessions was obtained through individual interviews in which the students answered three basic questions. Why did you attend this conference? What did you gain or learn from the conference? Are there additional comments , criticisms or suggestions?

Question: Why did you attend the conference?

When asked, I felt that I could get a lot from it. When I was told that it involved school desegregation, I was very interested.

I felt that this would be a beneficial experience for me. I came with the expectation that I would be exposed to information and insights that would be helpful in solving the problems caused by desegregation in my community.

I came because in the information that I was sent, I was told that I would be dealing with learning how to organize in the community.

I was asked to replace someone else and it was right after a shocking incident which made ~~him~~ me decide to come.

My involvement in school depends on my knowledge of what school desegregation is about and I have a personal committment to the students of my community and state. I wanted to gain new approaches, technicues, and ideas. I also wanted to know what other people in other areas were doing and whare with them what I was doing.

There are a lot of problems at home. I came because of a great interest. I wanted to learn how to deal with the problems we have and see (from other people) what problems I might be facing in the future.

I was told that the session was on community ~~organizing~~ development and school desegregation. I wanted to know especially about community development because I have been working with organizations. I hoped that by working through and helping organize the community, I could somewhat influence school desegregation. I also like to meet people.

I felt I could get a lot out of it.

When I found out it was dealing with desegregation I was very interested.

My community needed to have someone come and see what other people are

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doing that have similsr problems.

I came to find out what was coming down and perhaps find ways to improve the situation on school desegregation back home and students's rights.

I came ~~to~~ because I felt I would learn something. I was excited about the resource people. I wanted to meet new people a

I wanted to see students from different states and gather information.

I came because I am involved in my community and school, and I hoped to get from the congerence valuable information and training to deal with my situation, that is, the problems of my community.

It was a last minute desision, but hearing it concerned black students, I desided to come.

QUESTION: What did you gain or learn from the session?

I learned how to get people togethre,

I uncovered a whole new dimension of organizing. I gained even more than I had hoped. I met people whose heads were in the same place as mine and met geniuses in the field of dealing with people. Iknow now what positive direction of action I will take in my own community.

I have gained alot and intend putting it to use.

I gained a lot of insight--insight to a better understanding of all things dealing with desegregation--insight into ways of coping with t these issues.

I feel ~~better~~ feel better since I've been here.

I gained insight into ways of going about improving conditions. I also learned more about some of the resources concerning desegregation.

I have gqined self-understanding and confidence that I'm right in a lot of thibgs. I(ve gained determinationand excellent knowledge of problems and how to deal with them.

I've learned a lot about the different resource people and I've learned how to role pla y and have group discussi ns. I've learned how to communicate with people.

I've learned about the free lunch program which will be most helpful to ~~him~~ me in ~~his~~ my projects at home. I've also learned of the different situations that exist in other schools and other states.

I have gained added motivation to confront problems I will be facing--exposure to ideas, pronciples, and practices that I feel will greatly enhance what I'm trying to do. It showed me a new ~~statement~~ dimension--what problems other people face.

I've learned a lot about community organizing--ways meetings should be conducted, skills on how to communicate. I've learned that the reasons for our problems are lack of communications, the way we've been taught, and the different roles we've been thrown into. I've also learned that blacks and whites should try to relate.

Being cast into people whose positions and beliefs are closely to mine, helped me to get a better perspective of my self. I heard first hand accounts of problems in schools that I had not heard of before and didn't know about. I've seen more beautiful people at one time than I've ever seen in my life. There's so much I really couldn't say.

I ~~felt that~~ have learned a lot of things at the sessions that I have atte attended. I've learned how to communicate with other people. I plan on going home to utilize the things that I have learned.

I received a tremendous amount of information from the resource people. I also received a spiritual boost from ~~the~~ meeting people who shared interests similar to myown and who were really committed to doing something about these interests.

QUESTION: Are there additional comments, criticisms, or suggestions for improvement?

It seemed that the routine was too heavy. Throwing one resource person after the other got to be too much, I was getting frustrated. I was getting all the facts but I didn't seem to be able to put them into working order in my mind. I believe that if we had half of the resource people we had, then half the communications people and come back to the other half of the resource people and finished with the communications people it would been less frustrating.

Overall, I can't say anything was wrong with the conference. It was near ~~p~~ perfect. The program was flexible enough to adjust to everyone.

Perceptions of people broaden having been with them. We handled all hassles like family, therefore it showed sincerity, honesty, and the whole structure of the program was well-planned and flexible.

Everyone concerned concerned about everyone and the meeting was carried on sufficiently and people participated and overall, I appreciate the whole program. It not only helps us with school problems, but also taught us the real need to form a coalition with black and white students.

In conclusion it is the general feeling of the group that the program was helpful in that the objectives for the most part were acomplished. In conjunction with this the planning of the program was so well organized that it was easy for the group to adjust to the rate of learning but that there was a minor problem in the extra curriculiar activities

added with the rate of sessions were at fault in causing a general p physical breakdown. This was found to be an oversight of responsibi lity on the part of the students. As a family not a group it is felt that such programs bring a meaningful learning experience and we firm ly recomend that it be continued.

SDP I

WALL STREET JOURNAL

Report Card

Southern Integration Makes Major Strides Despite Zealous Foes

Very Few Districts Remain Segregated; Busing Is Now Becoming a Fact of Life

9/3/71

Tales of the Bracey Sisters

By NEIL MAXWELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Fourteen years ago tomorrow, nine Negro teenagers attempted to integrate Central High School in Little Rock. The small group's arrival at the yellow-brick school had been sanctioned by a federal court and the local school board.

But the teenagers were repelled by members of the Arkansas National Guard, who, along with state troopers, had been sent to the school grounds two nights earlier by Gov. Orval E. Faubus "to maintain or restore order."

Three tumultuous weeks passed before the black youths were able to slip into their classrooms through a side door—and by that time the mood of Little Rock's white community was hysterical. The Associated Press reported:

"'They've gone in,' a man roared. 'Oh, God, the niggers are in the school.'

"A woman screamed, 'Did they get in? Did you see them go in?'

"'They're in now,' some other man yelled.

"'Oh, my God,' the woman screamed. She burst into tears and tore at her hair. Hysteria swept the crowd. Other women began weeping and screaming."

The chaos was such that by noon the blacks were taken from the school in police cars. When they returned two days later, they were escorted up the front steps of Central High by paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division—bayonets at the ready.

That's the way it was in 1957. Here's the way it is in 1971:

—It's quite likely that the only segregated school districts left in the South will be the handful where whites have fled to private schools, in effect handing over the public ones to blacks. In 1957, by comparison, there was not a single black student in school with whites in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina or Virginia.

—This fall, many urban districts such as those in Atlanta, Nashville, Charlotte, Texarkana, Ark., Columbia, S.C., Jackson, Miss., and Birmingham, Ala., will probably be as close to desegregation as they ever will be.

—Racial mixing in the schools of smaller cities is even more complete. Chances for meaningful integration in these cities have been helped by many factors: School zones have been changed, there are no suburbs for whites to flee to, and busing has long been accepted as a fact of life. (Youngsters have been bused to segregated schools for decades.)

—Inside integrated schools, a second generation of problems, including class-by-class and person-to-person discrimination, is being recognized; and in many cases attempts are being made to solve these problems.

Continuing Trouble Spots

There are, to be sure, continuing trouble spots. In the black belt—a narrow band of rural Negro population stretching across the Southeastern U.S. from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River—integration is working poorly, if at all, because of a still-spreading rash of segregated private schools. Nevertheless, integration has made striking gains in the South, with many of these gains having come about in the past two years.

According to government figures, 39% of the black students in Southern states last year were attending schools with white majorities—more than double the 18% attending such schools a year earlier. Furthermore, the Race Relations Information Center, a Ford Foundation-supported group in Nashville, Tenn., says the percentage of black students in integrated schools soared to 86% last year from 32% in 1968, 16% in 1966, 6% in 1965, 2% in 1964 and 0.2% in 1960.

In fact, Southerners striving to make integration work are uncharacteristically optimistic this year. "The overwhelming majority of whites now will accept substantial token integration in everything but housing," says Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. "The typical businessman has no problem with his daughter being in a class of 20 children, six of them black. This is genuinely revolutionary in terms of Southern custom."

Optimism, however, is in some cases tinged with reservations. "I think the end of the road is in sight," says Winifred Green, a veteran field worker for the American Friends Service Committee, "but there are some forces operating that could blow the whole thing up. We're so close, but we've got such a long way to go."

The forces working against integration are seen throughout the South. Last fall, for example, a group of white parents in South Carolina terrorized Negro children by overturning the buses that brought them to a white school. And over the years since Little Rock, there have been a series of Southern politicians vowing never to give in to integration.

The Role of the President

Some of these politicians are at the highest levels. Then-Gov. Claude Kirk of Florida, taking a leaf from the book of Alabama's Gov. George Wallace, early last year stood immovable in the doorway of a Bradenton, Fla., schoolhouse—stepping down only after a federal judge put him under a $10,000-a-day contempt-of-court citation. Indeed, many Southern politicians have only bowed to integration moves under strong pressure from the federal government—sometimes from the President himself.

This year, however, some integration proponents in the South say a major problem is the President himself.

While the President's position against widespread busing has thus far had little effect on Southern school districts, most of which have their fleets of buses already in operation or prepared to carry youngsters to integrated schools this fall, it has drawn strong support from such Southern governors as John Mc-

Please Turn to Page 14, Column 5

Report Card: Southern Integration Progresses Despite Zealous Foes

Continued From First Page

Keithen of Louisiana, George Wallace of Alabama and Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

The President's stand may deal some districts a severe financial blow, since the federal government, while long indicating it would pay the costs of added busing, now is indicating it will do no such thing.

"If they don't pick up the cost, we'll be in serious trouble," says Jacksonville, Fla.'s school superintendent. His district recently spent $860,000 for 100 used buses and is under court order to replace them with 150 new ones for an additional cost of about $1.25 million. "It looks like the money is just going to have to come out of our educational hide," the official says.

The Circus Ends

But despite potential financial problems, the issue of busing seems to be more muted this year than last. For example, in Bradenton, where former Gov. Kirk made his stand, there is even some evidence that 500 white children who quit the public-school system for private education are beginning to drift back. "After the governor left we got away from the circus atmosphere and things smoothed out," says Bradenton's superindendent, W. H. Bashaw.

Emphasizing his point, Mr. Bashaw says that issues such as the optimum length of hair and whether girls could wear pant-suits occupied more of the school board's time last year than racial matters. "The kids are ahead of the parents," he says. "Where we do have trouble, it's where the parents instill (their children) with segregationist ideas."

Bradenton's busing issue, however, is by no means a dead subject. But it has taken a new twist this year: White parents living in the Palmetto section, where most of the blacks live, are now advocating additional busing throughout the city in order that schools in the southern, and predominantly white, part of the county will have their share of black students.

[Yesterday, United Press International reported that the busing of black students into white neighborhoods in Austin, Texas, resulted in "some shouting, pushing and brandishing of weapons" at two newly integrated high schools. UPI said eight of those involved were arrested. Elsewhere, UPI reported, the Alabama House passed a bill to allow a child to attend any school regardless of federal court orders; and Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart refused to stay a lower federal court order calling for massive busing of school children in Nashville, Tenn.]

The saga of school desegregation in the South has always been laced with ironies, one being that less desegregation takes place in areas with the most busing. In Holmes County, Miss., only about a dozen whites attend public schools with 5,000 blacks—but two fleets of buses crisscross the county, one carrying blacks to the public schools, the other carrying whites to private institutions.

Some observers feel that the South's tradition of busing may ultimately help the cause of integration. "The irony is that busing will be more easily acceptable in the South because they are already used to busing," says the Southern Regional Council's Mr. Anthony. (A council survey last year found that segregated academies daily bused 62% of their students an average 17.7 miles each way, while public schools bused 49% of their pupils an average 10.1 miles each way each day.)

"The South has never had any objection to busing," says one integration worker. "It's just where the students get off that matters."

The Rule of the Courts

Perhaps the worst setback in recent times for busing backers occurred in Atlanta last July, when a federal court ruled that busing need not be used to achieve a racial balance of 30% white-70% black (the city's pupil-population ratio) throughout the system. The proposed plan, the court said, would cause whites to flee the city and thereby turn Atlanta into the South's first black metropolis.

"A fruit-basket turnover through busing to create a 30% white-70% black uniformity throughout the system would unquestionably cause such a result (an exodus of whites) in a few months time," the court ruled. It further declared Atlanta's schools legally desegregated, despite the fact that two out of three are almost entirely black.

But the Atlanta ruling is an exception to the trend of the past couple of years. After years of allowing delaying tactics and lengthy legal maneuvering, both the courts and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare have in recent months been taking much tougher pro-integration stances.

(To the dismay of integration backers, however, HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson earlier this week said he was in total agreement with the President's stand on busing. Perhaps coincidentally, HEW staffers say they've been forbidden to use words such as "busing" and "racial balance." One says that "when a school board member asks me how we get the kids from here to there, I tell him to take it up with your transportation committee." And to avoid "racial balance," the phrase "noncontiguous zoning" is currently in vogue.)

Both the courts and HEW, of course, have been intimately involved in the progress of school integration since the passage of the Civil Rights Law of 1964. Prior to the law's enactment, desegregation was either a voluntary act by a school board or was forced by a suit by Negro parents. The Civil Rights Law gave the government the right to demand that school districts desegregate on penalty of a cutoff of federal funds.

The Bracey Sisters

In the early days following the law's passage, the government merely demanded that districts have a desegregation plan. Then the government insisted that students be free to attend the school of their choice. White Southerners initially hated this concept but soon realized that economic pressure, intimidation and occasional violence would keep most black youths from choosing white schools.

HEW and the courts, however, soon insisted that all youngsters within one zone attend the same school, or that two grade schools be paired, with all first-to-third-graders attending one school and all third-to-sixth-graders going to the other. And during the past two or three years, many schools have become sufficiently accustomed to racially mixed student bodies that signs of real progress are beginning to appear.

The contrast with only a few years earlier becomes clear in a chat with Georgia Bracey, a 16-year-old black student at Wetumpka (Ala.) High School. "It's gradually changing," Miss Bracey says. "Between classes, we talk now, and we all go to the sock hops together after games." (Wetumpka, however, is not ready for interracial dancing.)

"At assemblies, some of the whites will sit with blacks now, even though some of the whites will move if a black sits by them," Miss Bracey says. She adds that "we can go talk to the principal if we have problems." And she says that even the superintendent, who is elected and aware of the growing black vote, treats blacks sympathetically.

The change in the climate for blacks at Wetumpka High is all the more apparent when Georgia Bracey's experience is compared with that of her sister, Debra, who was among the first black children to integrate the school under the freedom-of-choice plan in effect in 1965. Debra, then 17, had been at the school for only a few days when, enraged by continual goading and tormenting, she jabbed a pencil into the shoulder of a white boy.

Debra Bracey was hauled off to jail and charged with assault. After spending the night in jail, she was expelled from school for the rest of the semester. The night before she returned to school, her family's home was burned to the ground.

Blacks and Whites Together

Today, a growing number of black youths are getting better treatment; indeed, they're insisting on it. Even more significantly, their demands are often made in tandem with their white classmates. Within a few days, for example, school officials in Texarkana, Ark., should be receiving a treatise prepared by a coalition of black and white students demanding changes in school rules ranging from the abolishment of hair and dress codes to the elimination of restrictions on pregnant or married students.

"We are giving them 30 days to adopt the new rules," says Clyde Lee, a 17-year-old black leader of the Texarkana coalition. "If they don't, we'll put them into effect ourselves."

To avoid student insurrection, particularly of a racial nature, school administrators throughout the South are beginning to encourage more student involvement in school affairs. Along these lines, an integrated group of eight students in South Carolina this summer took an eight-week tour of the state interviewing students and dropouts to solicit proposals for changes in the schools.

The South Carolina study didn't entirely concern itself with racial matters, but important parts of the survey did deal with the black-white situation in the state. As one example, the traveling students recommended the reestablishment of nighttime activities—such as proms, banquets and dances—that were canceled at the time massive integration came to many schools.

Educators and other groups backing the South Carolina program are currently trying to continue the study as a permanent program to monitor racial progress in the schools and to help solve school problems. North Carolina already has one such group, called the Task Force on Student Involvement, which consists of 16 students from districts throughout the state. The group, funded by the state, holds periodic meetings and is available to help any school with racial problems.

It has been common over the years to see official cars parked at the scene of pro-integration gatherings, since a sheriff or other official was usually on hand to keep tabs on those attending. It wasn't particularly unusual, therefore, to see a State of North Carolina vehicle parked outside a recent church-camp gathering of student leaders, mostly black, who were discussing how to make integration work better.

But this time, the car seemed like a sign of progress: It had been driven to the scene by two task force members, one black and one white, who had come to offer their advice.

SDP - Institute

MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1971

To: Kitty Terjen, Emory Via, Paul Anthony, Pat Watters

From: Leon Hall, Clarence Wright

Re: SDP Training Institute

Just a brief note to express our sincerest thanks and gratitude for your assistance in making the Institute such a meaningful experience.

In addition to the attached participant reactions to the Institute, we are now preparing a formal SDP follow-up report. We would appreciate your reactions/comments.

Again, we sincerely appreciate your interest and assistance during this period when youth throughout the country so desperately need information and resources. We, Leon and I, are positive that the impact of your contribution has the potential to provide a new focus for the South during these times of turmoil and strife. Martin Luther King aptly stated one of the underlying themes of the Institute when he said, "We must accept finite disappointment, but we must never lose infinite hope." You, through your contribution assisted in reaffirming this spirit of hope.

CW:LH/mv

Memorandum

To: Emory Via

From: Clarence Wright CW

Re: Reimbursement of resource people and Institute participants

Date: September 8, 1971

The following people should be reimbursed as soon as possible. I will need an o.k. from you before the checks can be written. Additional reimbursements for three students will be needed upon receipt of their tickets and/or gas receipts.

The reimbursements for the resource people are as follows:

1) Mrs. Bernice Cofer
22 Stephen Avenue
Lincoln Park, N. J. 07030
($110.00)

2) Dr. Rachel Dubois
New York Friends Center
15 Rutherford Place
New York, New York 10003
($68.00)

3) Mr. Julius Chambers
216 West 10th Street
Charlotte, N. C. 28202
($28.00)

4) Dr. Carlisle Holler
South Carolina Association of School Boards
1401 Hampton Street
Columbia, S. C. 29201
($22.82)

5) Mr. Joel Jacobson
O.E.O. Regional Office
730 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
($22.44)

6) Rev. Andrew Young
75 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
($45.00)

7) Miss Dorothy Cotton
Director of Education
SCLC
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
($25.00)

I would like to include the travel reimbursements in the Institute follow-up packets for resource people. They will be mailed on Friday, September 10, 1971.

Ruth Vick:
Please pay the above. Just give checks to Butch so he can include with letters thanks. Emory Via 9/14/71

January 10, 1972

Mr. & Mrs. Jim Popovich
Box 17281
Tampa, Florida 33612

Dear Jim and Helen:

Margaret wrote saying that I would be attending the enclosed program. Unfortunately, the press of business here has caused me to change my plans. I very much regret missing the opportunity to see you.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.

January 10, 1972

Mr. & Mrs. Bronwin Phillips
5228 Maple Hill Drive
Temple Terrace, Florida 33617

Dear Van and Bronwin:

Margaret wrote saying that I would be attending the enclosed program. Unfortunately, the press of business here has caused me to change my plans. I very much regret missing the opportunity to see you.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms
Encl.

SDP - Institute

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: Aug 31

Gwen Sapp

EMORY,

Winifred Green has asked Leon and Butch to conduct a small session, along with Jean Fairfax, Dave Jacobs, and Ruby Martin, on the School Desegregation Institute with emphasis on:

1. Recommendations that came (or could come out of the institute)
2. Involvement of other organizations, interested persons, etc.

Leon would like to know your feelings on this, and if the session develops, will you be able to attend. Winifred suggested the 16 or 17 of this month.

Other suggested invitees are:
Andrew Young
John Griffin
A representative from SCLC

LEON IS IN.
THE FILMS FOR THE ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE IS TAKEN CARE OF.

SDP – Institute

Camp fee

Travel — students

Travel Resort —

Field Trip

Room & ~~Board~~

2 cooks $50/week
100
100
~~$200~~

22.50/10 day period

1200

1 500 —
1,000
500
200
2,000
4,200

old Nice Bldgs
2 BR
+ Large 10 people Room

Dormitory
old bldgs
Bad Shape
Spoiler –

Dining Hall
open air table

10
50

Insurance ?

Miscellaneous ?

Fees — Per

Materials — 100
S. Katy bar
Tapes

Am Insurance Info Inc
Indianapolis

Special perks Insurance

$7/camper

frontier level
hard to return

Boy Mandy
Accidents
Illness
Bris
Emergency room

No Liability

12 day
50 people

600
.07

42.00

SDP

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE
for
EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

1. Are you familiar with the Emergency School Assistance Program in your district?

2. How much money did your district receive?

3. For what purposes did your district receive the funds?

4. Does your school have a student advisory committee to the Emergency School Program?

5. How were the students selected to be on this committee?

6. What does this committee do?

7. Does the Committee meet any of the needs of the student boby as a whole?

8. How often does the committee meet?
   a. monthly____ b. bi-monthly____ c. other____

9. Does the Student Advisory Committee meet with the Emergency School Assistance Program officials, i.e. Principal, Superintendent, adult advisory committee and others?

10. Do you have any comments or suggestions on ways that the Emergency School Assistance Program might better serve the needs of the high school student?
    Please explain:

Emory - this is the draft outline

FIRST DRAFT OUTLINE

SDP — Admin

Who else interested what do we do with the information what have we found

I. Introduction

A. A Review of ESAP's initial purpose in 1970-71

1. Why it was formulated

2. The student's role within the ESAP frame of operations

B. Changes made in ESAP - 1971-72 regulations

what are they

1. Student Advisory Committees selection

2. OE's interpretation of SAC's function

Do committees E & 15t — what do we already know about functioning

C. Purpose of this study

1. To give a clearer insight to actual student participation on Student Advisory Boards.

2. Highlight the positive and negative student group participation in LEA and non-LEA programs.

?

3. Provide as ev idence the lack of compliance under ESAP II of Southereastern school districts to promote desegregation.

II. Review of selected programs in Southeast

A. Types of programs funded by HEW under ESAP II

?

1. General education programs:

A. Hiring - Secretary-treasurer, teacher-aides

B. Programs citing improvement in class-ratios based on race and faculty ratio improvements

2. Building projects -

A. The renovation of libraries and classrooms

B. The building of gyms and other facilities (note: the latter type of programs imply that student advisory committees could serve no function in these areas.

B. Those programs where SAC were set-up strictly [as bi-racial committees]

— ambiguous beggin is sue of Legis. Hist.

1. HEW files showing SAC for the specific purpose of discussing racial incidents within the school

2. SAC's serving strictly as student council members

?

3. Evidence of Students' lack of participation in specific ESAP II advisory capacities

III. Failure to utilize student resources in the vital areas of school desegregation

1. Tutorial program possibilities involving students almost totally overlooked by school officials

2. Bi-racial student activities, i.e., debate club topics centered on current desegregation problems in secondary schools, etc.

IV. HEW failure to push school districts to meet <u>all</u> compliance orders for ESAP II

1. Failure to follow up on districts' intentions to meet regulations after being funded

2. Allowing Districts thirty days after acceptance of application before SAC were to be formed

3. Tendency to 'give in' to threats made by district superintendents wishing to function with funds but avoiding certain requirements

V. Conclusion

1. ESAP II has failed to meet the students needs in desegregation

2. ESAP II's success in affording school districts with material wealth and its promotion of the art of furthering student alienation in school affairs.

QUESTION: Are federal projects really functioning to meet the needs of the student?

Memo
~~To~~
From
Re: Student Role in ESAP

SDP – Admin

- Obtain listing of names and addresses of student committee members from ESAP files-
- Review ESAP II files: categorize 90% grants according to type and purpose. Run spot check of each site (at least five in each state) to determine if student committees in existence, how they were selected, the role and responsibilities of committee members, participation of committee members in evaluation process(utilize contacts with ESAP I). Some comments from committee members both 10-90%
  Highlight positive roles played by students, contrast with violations of law.
- Review ESAP II Community Grants for same information

***Appraoaches: 1) Survey forms
2) Interviews- individual, inte views by selected SDP contacts.

- ESAP rules and Regulations concerning the role of students. Changes. - Pick-up on points raised in Marge's article.
- Suggestions for future ESAP Programs (Reccomentdations)
- Time Frame: (~~TOTAL~~ Total 2 months)

<u>January 24- February 7</u> - Compilation of listings- students names and addresses.

<u>February 7- February 20</u>- Field interviews, surveys out

February 25- First draft ready

March 5 Final Draft ready

-Costs- $600.00 research/writing
$400.00 transportation/expenses
$ _____ publishing

-Purpose- The purpose of this report is to gather information on the role of students and what in the ESAP proceedings. Hopefully, these findings will provide direction for legilative changes, information to foster student initiative, and information on areas of positvie endeavors.

- Should we designate the following areas for study:
  1) Those areas that have ESAP that will get money from ESAP III?
  2) Designated trouble spots
  3)

?

Marshall Varnado
2nd Newsletter
motivation

Sandra

Bernie Jackson

Calif Jail
F.V called

32,000
10,000
22,000
8,000
14,000

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF: LH

Leon Hall

Date 7/19/71

To C. Nio - [redacted]

IN REGARDS TO OUR CONVERSATION ☐

AS PER YOUR REQUEST ☐

FOR YOUR INFORMATION ☑

PLEASE NOTE AND RETURN ☐

REMARKS: Thanks

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C. 29208

Center for Educational Development

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

SUMMER STUDY ON STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

July 15, 1971

Mr. Leon Hall
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Hall:

The Summer Study on Student Involvement has passed the half-way point in collecting data. Twenty-one schools have been visited and over 375 students, teachers, principals and drop-outs have been interviewed.

We have had one casualty. Gary Myers, a co-student director, had to drop out of the project for personal reasons. He is missed by the group, but everyone has just worked a little harder to compensate.

In my last letter I reported that we had been pleased by the extent to which schools were cooperating with us. Since then we have met some resistance and will not be allowed to interview in some schools. On the whole, however, our students have been received eagerly and cordially in the schools.

We are beginning now to actively face the task of compiling data. One big question, which we have not yet resolved, is whether we can organize and interpret the data clerically, or will the aid of computer analysis be required. About the only thing we are sure of at this point is that the biggest job lies ahead.

There was a meeting of the project members and advisory committee on July 9, at which the students made a brief progress report and discussed some problem areas with the committee.

The continued interest and support from the Advisory Committee members is appreciated and we will continue to seek their advice and assistance when needed.

Sincerely,

Paul W. Beazley

Paul W. Beazley, Adult Director
Summer Study on Student involvement

Enclosure

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Clarence Wright

July 27, 1971

Copy to John A.
also: # re
what expected
of students
not budget

Emory:

Could we discuss this sometimes this morning?

What are students being trained to do?

Budget — Source of Funds

Resource People — Contacts yet?

Who is to be invited

Appendices.

Andy Young

DRAFT

SDP—Institute

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING SESSION

Introduction

As of September 1970, massive school desegregation became a reality throughout the South. Unfortunately, this emotion-laden process was undertaken with little concern and/or attention paid to the welfare of the child, Black and/or White, directly involved in the desegregation process. With the exception of a few progressive Title IV centers and piecemeal efforts on the part of national, regional, state and local private and government agencies, scant resources were expended to prepare the student to deal with the desegregated situation. Funds were expended to pay professional consultants to provide youth with a service to conduct human relations workshops, etc., but limited resources, as shown by the paltry national allocation of the Emergency School Assistance Program of $375,000 for community and student programs, was earmarked to train students themselves to deal with desegregation problems, involving, in many cases, members of their peer group.

The need for such a training focus and the broad areas of training needed, are the result of nine months of extensive travel on the part of the School Desegregation Project and youth volunteers in 10 southern states.* In many cases, groups receiving funds from the Emergency School Assistance Program were unable to utilize their resources fully because of a lack of training.

In addition to the need for the establishment of a training resource for youth, specific training areas were found to be as follows:

I. The initiation of youth oriented seminars which will provide information for:

---

*The appendix to this training design include a schedule of visits for the past nine months and services offered.

A. Clarification of the history of the school desegregation movement.

B. The international, national, regional, state, and local implications of the desegregation movement.

C. The role of federal and private organizations in facilitating and/or hampering the desegregative process. The extent of resources available.

D. An analysis of the institution of public education - its intent, its inner workings, etc.

E. The impact of media in conveying information and influencing public opinion.

F. The legal rights due students (student rights)

II. Skills Training in:

A. Community organization skills and techniques (basic community organization skills, strategy building, community analysis)

B. Communications and intergroup relations skills and techniques.

C. Resource identification and mobilization.

D. Organization, production, dissemination of newspapers, news releases, etc.

The staff of the School Desegregation Project has had the opportunity to identify and work with at least fifty (50) of the more mature and able college and high school students in their respective states/home communities in the area of school desegregation over the past nine months. The past activities and the talents possessed by these youth warrant the expenditure of time and resources to conduct an intensive and extensive two-week training workshop in the areas outlined above. (A listing of trainee participants and brief autobiographical sketches can be found in the appendix.)

Training Goals

At the conclusion of the training session, the participants will have participated in extensive seminar/diologue sessions pertaining to:

1. The history of the school desegregation movement
2. An analysis of the institution of public education
3. The international, regional, state, and local implications of school desegregation
4. Issues related to school desegregation - Students Rights, the effect of the eighteen-year-old vote on school board elections, etc.
5. The effect and impact of the media upon public opinion - the significance of stereotypical reporting, the importance of dissemination of information, the development of prejudices, etc.
6. The federal and private organizations involved in the field of education and the extent of resources available. National, regional, state, and local organizations - Civil Rights, Students, etc.
7. The philosophy of non-violence as a strategy and a way of life.
8. The in-school situation for students, teachers, administrators, etc.

At the conclusion of the workshops, the participants will have received skill training in the following areas:

1. Basic community organizing skills and techniques
2. Resource identification (federal, foundation, college, self-help etc.) and mobilization.
3. The organization, publication, and dissemination of newspapers and other areas of publicity. The effect of public relations on strategy (i.e. civil rights movement)

TRAINING PARTICIPANTS

(Participants should be listed by state in alphabetical order, with a brief autobiographical sketch listing pertinent data and past experiences, etc.)

Training Content and Outline

Sunday, August 15, 1971

12:00 noon - 4:00 p.m.	Registration for Conference Participants
4:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Opening Session 1. Housekeeping 2. Introduction 3. Review of weeks schedule 4. Reading assignments 5. Sessions formed into group of 25 each
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner Address Paul Anthony
10:00 p.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Get Acquainted Session (optional) Film - Tapes from MLK series, etc.

Monday, August 16, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Session I - History of School Desegregation Easter Session II - Case History of School Desegregation (particularly recent decisions and students Rights) ? Julius? Check Judy
10:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Break
10:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse groups -Same topics as above
12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Session I - Implications of School Desegregation 1. National, State, Regional, Local level J.F. 2. Segregated academy movement — KT 3. 18-year-old vote and election of Black School Board members and other receptive people J.L. Session II - Institution of Public Education 1. Framework 2. Funding Dr Duffard 3. Philosophy
4:00 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.	Break
4:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.	Reverse Groupings on sessions 1 & 2
6:30 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Break for Dinner, etc.

Monday cont'd - 2.

9:30 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	Rap-up of days sessions - resource people available if possible
10:00 p.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Optional reading - rap sessions 1. Ivan Illyich - Deschooling Society (reading assignment)

Tuesday, August 17, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I - The Effect and Impact of Media upon the Public 1. Public Relations needs Development of Prejudices (Kenneth Clark) H. Long. Session II - Government Programs in the area of Education - particularly, ESAP, Title I, etc. Consult. Dorton, Pauley McMillan
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse groupings for Session I & II
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	The In-School Situation (presentation from teachers, administrators, and students) Mrs. McCleod Focus on Students - their problems, needs, ideas, etc. Method Used - panel discussion

Tuesday, August 17, 1971 (evening)

4:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break (recreation, etc.)
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Private Agencies 1. Discuss programs of their agency 2. React to the In-School presentation of students Brief panel discussion - Chaired by student floor open to discussion
9:00 p.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Reading Time - follow-up to Sessions

Pat Watters

I've Fed AFSC SRC. The Wers. Proj. SEF

Wednesday, August 18, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I - National, State, Regional Youth Projects - students' association, etc.
	Session II - Youth Economic Development (Urban Youth Action, Inc.)
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.	Reverse Session I & II groupings
12:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Session I - Non-Violence as a Philosophy Tactic and Way of Life
	Session II - Separatist Philosophy, etc.

NSA Student (FL) Concern Org

Bernard Jones

Leon Andy Young

Wednesday, August 18, 1971 (evening)

4:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Reverse groupings - Section I & II
9:00 p.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Free time

Thursday, August 19 - Sunday noon, August 22

Community Organization Skills, Techniques, Theory, etc.

Leon Si Kolen

Sunday, August 22, 1971

12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Speaker _____
2:00 on	Free Time

Monday, August 23, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Intergroup Relations/Communications Skills

Tuesday, August 24, 1971

All day - same as Monday, August 23, 1971

Mew Lee

Wednesday, August 25, 1971

Same as August 23, 24, and 25 - with rap up conclusion

David Ahl
Bring Via

Grants
Organizations
colleges

Thursday, August 26, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Session I - Resource Identification/ Mobilization
	Session II - Newspapers and other means of communication - dealing with reporters, etc.
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Reverse Session I & II
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner Speaker - follow-up discussion (someone like Sam (News week) Vette, etc) The Chance

Friday, August 27, 1971

Mornings open for workshops suggested from floor

12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	General Session to form committees to work on each aspect of training program for summation and evaluation
2:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Committee Work
6:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
9:00 p.m. - 12:00 p.m.	Committees continue work

Saturday, August 28, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I - Presentation of _____ Committees
	Session II - Committee Presentation
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 a.m.	Reverse Session Groupings
12:00 p.m. - 12:30 p.m.	Large Group presentation of findings, motions, questions, etc.
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch, closing events

APPENDIX

Travel/Activity Schedule

Autobiographical Sketches of Students

SDP Brochure/Related Materials

Conference Checklist

Resource List

Evaluation Forms

EV files

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 12, 1971

Mr. William Allison
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
101 Marietta Street Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Allison:

This letter will confirm the arrangement that we have made to borrow fifty blankets from E. O. A. The blankets will be used at a training institute for high school and college students who are concerned about interpersonal and intergroup relations in desegregated schools. The institute runs from August 15 to 25.

We will assume responsibility for picking up and returning the blankets. They will be returned on or before September 8, 1971. We agree to replace blankets which are lost or damaged. They will be returned after having been cleaned.

We wish to express our heartfelt appreciation for your timely cooperation in this matter. It will aid immeasurably in making a very constructive program possible.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

The fifty (50) blankets mentioned above have been received by EOA.

E W Palmer

August 31, 1971

Draft

OVERVIEW OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE

Sponsored by

The School Desegregation Project
of the
Southern Regional Council
August 15 - August 25

Camp Fellowship
Waterloo, South Carolina

Draft

Institute Coordinators

Clarence Wright
Leon Hall

Draft

* * * *

(These materials are not for quotation or attribution)

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SCHOOL DESEGREGATION INSTITUTE OVERVIEW

Introduction

School desegregation is a controversial, volatile, and complex issue in American society. As a result of litigation and heroic actions of a small group of Black students throughout the South over the past 17 years, massive school desegregation is a reality as we enter the 70's. Inherent in this situation, however, is the realization that the seventeen year period from 1954 until the present, was just the prelude to the battle confronting all students today - both Black and White. For, upon them falls the responsibility of organizing a "new constituency" dedicated to realizing and attaining quality desegregated education for all students with viable, clearly defined avenues for input from all students. The desegregation fight in the schools has tended to highlight the endemic educational problems confronting the American free public education in addition to the racial problems.

Taking this situation into consideration and recognizing their responsibility in making the newly desegregated situation work, a small biracial group of college and high school students met in Waterloo, South Carolina for a ten-day School Desegregation Institute to review last years experiences and activities,

to analyze the status of the desegregation movement and the institution of public education from the youth perspective, and to learn and/or refine specific skills needed for work in the back-home situation.

With an air of determination and hope, these students set forth over the 10-day period to attain these goals, while first unconciously and later consciously molding a spirit of direction and determination out of the collective realization that there were other young adults from throughout the South working towards similar goals - the establishment of a humane society and the development of quality education for all students.

This group represented a cross-section of youth encountered through nine months of extensive travel and work with youth groups and educational projects by the staff and volunteers of the School Desegregation Project as they attempted to provide direct assistance and/or resources to high school youth in massively desegregated districts. The focus of the project upon youth, is based upon the realization that students know that the racial problems are in most cases, surface manifestations of ingrained educational problems which affect all youth - Black and White.

In spite of the diversity of the group along chronological, racial, sexual, geographical and educational lines, the

participants were consistent in their quest for clarity, direction, resources, and skills. More graphically, there were 16 college and 16 high school students (7 White and 25 Black) in attendance, ranging in age from 16 - 25 and educational levels from high school sophmores to recent college graduates. Geographically, the participant grouping by state were as follows: Alabama 3, Arkansas 1, Georgia 6, Florida 1, Mississippi 8, North Carolina 3, South Carolina 7, Texas 1, Virginia 1. Eleven of the project's participants were unable to attend mainly because of recent employment and/or educational obligations. Three were from Mississippi, two from Georgia and six from Alabama.

The remainder of this report will focus on the content of the various workshops, points of information, themes of continuity, needs, and interpretations of salient points. The five categories are as follows:

1) Opening Session

2) Seminars

3) Workshops in community organization techniques and skills

4) Workshops in communications/intergroup relations

5) The in-school situation

6) Closing session

OPENING SESSION

Sunday, August 15, 1971
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.

Paul Anthony, Guest Speaker

The Institute was convened with each person giving their name, home address, and their first experience with school desegregation. Responses to the latter point were quite diverse and ranged from childhood experiences with people of another race, to attendance at previously all white schools under Freedom of Choice, to recent experiences with the onset of massive school desegregation.

Following the introductions and the overview of the training schedule for the Institute, Paul Anthony, the Director of the Southern Regional Council, made a brief opening address and responded to questions from the floor, mainly about the Council - its scope, purpose, size of staff, resources and affiliations.

Mr. Anthony key-noted his opening remarks with the observation that youth traditionally push for "immediate" change but with time and age these youth will in turn be called upon to move farther and faster. Then, the realization will come, that all the problems couldn't be solved - that the old ones still exist, in addition to many new ones. "The only thing that we can do is continue to fight for what is right."

"It's imperative that we understand what in fact this Institution is, this thing that has grown into an institution - what was this house built for. Let's get the picture then we can dig into that."

S E M I N A R S

Case History of the School Desegregation Movement
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Monday, August 16
Julius Chambers

Four basic points were covered in the seminar on the legal/historical aspects of school desegregation: 1) the origin of the school desegregation movement; 2) the reason for massive school desegregation in the 70's; 3) the landmark cases in the school desegregation movement; and 4) some of the major dynamics and/or problems set off by the school desegregation movement in general and the Swann Decision in particular. Following coverage of these points, Attorney Julius Chambers made some general observations on various desegregation issues and responded to questions from the floor.

Law was described as an evolutionary process faced with the problem that many people differentiate the "letter of the Law" and the "spirit of the law." This has tended to hinder what is already a basically slow process, as illustrated by the seventeen year lapse between the Brown and Swann Decision.

The judicial process was deemed the most viable avenue of attack in the 1930's when a group of NAACP lawyers decided to challenge the constitutionality of the "seperate but equal" doctrine by focusing on the educational inequities of the segregated school systems. The constitutional foundation for this fight

was provided through the "due process" and "equal protection" clauses of the 14th Amendment, and the various reconstruction statues (42 U.S.C., 1981; 42 U.S.C. 1982, and others). These statues provided legal grounds for challenging discriminatory practices by states and/or individuals.

The landmark cases were the Brown Decision in 1954, the Green vs. New County Board of Education in 1968 and the Swann Decision in 1968-70. Some of the key points of these cases were:

> Brown vs. Board of Education. This decision declared seperate facilities inherently unequal for Blacks regardless of the number of Black teachers, the quality of facilities and so forth. More importantly, the court stated that the Brown Decision left some room for leeway between the "spirit of the law" and the "letter of the law," with the inclusion of the clause "with all deliberate speed" and the failure to stipulate "how" the schools were to be desegregated. Additionally, the Brown Decision established the trend of Black students seeking admission to white secondary and elementary schools.

During this period, several strategies were attempted in an effort to evade the law:

1) From 1955 through 1960, the various southern states enacted pupil placement laws to hinder desegregation. These laws abdicated all responsibility for desegregation plans to the various local districts. Therefore, each local district would have to be challenged

individually for whatever discriminatory acts might occur.

2) From 1960 through 1968, the various southern states resorted to various Freedom of Choice plans after the 5th Circuit Court declared pupil placement acts unconstitutional. Under the Freedom of Choice plan, a child had the right to choose a school before the board made assignments provided they met various criteria. Also, during this period, many courts okayed desegregation plans beginning with the first year and one per subsequent year.

3) From 1968 through the present, two key decisions were rendered: The Green vs. New County Board of Education in 1968 and the Swann Decision in Charlotte/Mecklenberg. The former decision attacked Freedom of Choice in instances in which it did not effectively desegregate schools and spelled out the areas in shich schools had to show affirmative steps to desegregate. These areas were: (1) students, (2) teachers, (3) extra-curricular, (4) transportation, and (5) facilities. This was a landmark decision in that both Black and White facilities and student bodies would be forced to desegregate. Two other cases, Goss vs. School Board of Memphis and

Watson vs. City preceded the Swann decision and expressed the dissatisfaction with the interpretations of the "deliberate speed" ruling. The term "now" was used in the case Alexander vs. Holmes County Board of Education and later changed in Carter vs. West Louisiana Parrish School Board, to immediately. This decision set the stage for massive school desegregation in the 70's, and laid the foundation for the desegregation of rural facilities - Black and White.

Beginning in 1968, the racial identity of schools in the larger metropolitan areas came under challenge when two questions were raised in the Charlotte case. The court responded yes and no respectively. (1) Must all schools be desegregated and (2) Must it be one way.

The Swann Decision, which was later re-affirmed by the Supreme Court, established the policy of considering the racial composition of schools in developing desegregation plans, made provisions for the utilization of transportation in desegregating the schools, and stated that teachers should be equal in number to the percentage of Black and White techers in the system. The Swann Decision, also left some leeway regarding interpretations of the "letter of the law" and "the spirit of the law" by allowing bussing if it did not infringe on the educational process

or affect the health of the child, and providing for the continuation of segregated schools in instances in which clear and convincing evidence could be provided to show why it should not be done. The court left to a later decision, the effect of desegregated housing on the racial composition of schools.

In ensuring dialogue, Attorney Chambers highlighted several points:

(1) School desegregation is a reality, the courts will not retract the decision, therefore, we need to "look toward developing means of protecting Black students and teachers in the desegregated schools. In many cases, these protective measures can be developed more feasibly through the political and legislative route than through the judiciary, at least until 1976.

Community organization is needed to pressure the school boards into establishing policies concerning suspensions, expulsions which will insure students the right to "due process Protection." Since the hearings usually result in a re-affirmation of the suspensions and/or expulsions, residents must organize and work within the political sphere to elect responsive school boards and to sensitize existing boards to the needs of the students.

(2) People need to realize that the courts do respond to "public pressure," particularly, with the equivocating position taken by Nixon. That statements by people like Roy Innis calling for seperate Black school boards, schools, and so forth, are

contrary to the history of this country in which Whites never have and probably never will give an equal proportion of their tax dollar for seperate schools.

A statement from students and others is needed stating that "We need to desegregate the schools." The court in the Swann Decision asked if the Black community wanted to desegregate, to which the response was "yes", contrary to this, however, the press is highlighting the anti-desegregation statements of Blacks.

(3) Attorney Chambers also responded, in addition to these points, to points relating to the displacement of Black teachers, the feasibility of using quotas and ratios in assigning students and teacher accreditation. Students and community organizations were given the mandate to exert pressure on government agencies to protect the rights of Black students and on residents to block the closing of Black schools.

In conclusion, Attorney Chambers expressed the need for students to exert more pressure on lawyers to insure protection of students, "it doesn't make sense for students to carry the brunt of desegregation, parents, lawyers, everybody else should become more involved."

The Institution of Public Education
2:00 - 4:00 p.m., Monday, August 16
Tom Keating and Dr. Carlisle Holler

Two statements set the tone and focus for discussion/ analysis of the institution of public education: "Is the goal to tear down schools or to tear down barriers to education;" and, "Every individual has a right to be developed. If schools are not doing it, where can we get back on the right track"? Although the seminar was focused upon the need for having a clear sense of direction in dealing with basic problems of the Institution of public education, the stated purpose of the workshop was to take a look at the institution in its totality - its purposes, objectives, framework and funding.

The framework of the institution of public education was described as unique for each state and local district. There is no uniform "system" of public education. Funding of schools, too, is different in the South and the various southern states. The bulk of the financing, however, comes from the State Treasury rather than from local districts as is in the case in some New England states. Millage (how it is figured), bonds, the role of property tax in education and other terms were other things discussed.

Within the focus of the Institution's central purpose, to teach people to think, four goals were given:

1) To recognize and promote the dignity and worth of the

individual.

2) To develop citizenship.

3) To serve the economy.

4) To develop the general morality by developing good moral character and habits.

In 1918, a group of educators met and developed Seven Cardinal Principals of Education to assist the student in 1) gaining command of the fundamental processes - reading, writing, etc.; 2) becoming worthy home members; 3) developing vocational competence; 4) establishing effective citizenship; 5) promoting worthy use of leisure; and 6) developing ethical character. Twenty years later, some educators revised these points to read:

1) Self-realization

2) Human relationship

3) Economic proficiency

4) Civic responsibility

Following the discussion of the stated purpose of public education, several suggestions were made concerning approaches to changing the institution of public education to the local level. Dr. Holler pointed out that teachers and principals are human too and should be dealt with as human beings. "Threats" only tend to alienate people.

Segregated Academy Movement
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Monday, August 16
Kitty Terjen

The seminar on the Segregated Academy Movement began with an open-ended conversation in which each workshop participant related their observations and/or experiences with the segregated academy movement. Particularly interesting were the comments concerning the possible negative effects of the segregated academy movement upon students who had been pulled out of the public school after the school term had begun and the behavior of students returning to the public school from segregated academies. The implications of the effect of the segregated academy movement upon the institution of public education, on the role of property taxes in supporting education and on the tax exemption proceedings for non-profit organizations led into a discussion of the methods of documenting violations of the law to support segregated academies.

With regard to documentation of violations, Mrs. Terjen outlined the difficulties in obtaining concrete evidence since most infractions were "paper" violations in which local funds and/or other supplies were secretly stolen. Private sources of funding (bank loans, donations, etc.) and tuition fees were also discussed. One of the best ways of blocking violations and illegal transactions tied in with calls for community organization and participation by other resource people. The presence of Blacks on the various committees (Title I, and ESAP) and in attendance

at the school board meetings will serve to hinder much of "wrong-doing."

The National/International, Regional, State,
and Local Implications of School Desegregation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m., Monday, August 16
Miss Jean Fairfax

The seminar on the broader implications of school desegregation was intended to provide the students with additional information which would hopefully provide the basis for a more universal view of the desegregation movement. Miss Fairfax set forth the international/national, regional, state, and local implications of school desegregation through three propositions:

1) School desegregation is a test of the resiliency of the American system, a test to see whether the American system can be changed from within by using the law as an agent of social change. In explaining this proposition, the various steps of defiance of the law were outlined from the initiation of pupil placement, gubernatorial resistance, Freedom of Choice plans, and ultimately, to the more sophisticated forms of resistance today - displacement of Black educators, in-school discrimination, closure of Black schools, and so forth. Though time consuming, this defiance has provided the courts with the opportunity to affirm and clarify the rights of all people. Each decision brings greater clarity to the law. This clarification

gives a better base for dealing with the complexity of today's situation.

2) What is the United States about anyway? This proposition was based upon the premise that school desegregation is one of the key, if not the key, issue in the United States today. References were made to Samuel Yette's book, The Choice, as a means of clarifying a possible perspective and explanation of the reactions of white "outlaws" ("outlaws" used to describe the various politicians, citizens, and government agencies) who fight the move towards a pluralistic society in America. Two basic reasons were given for the resistance of the "outlaws" to the law:

   a) They realize the value of information and education and that knowledge represents power. That as long as oppressed people are ignorant than there is no motivation to fight for a pluralistic society.

   b) That the goals of integration have changed. That integration now means total participation in the decision-making processes rather than assimilation into the middle-class oriented status

quo. The fight for community control and the fight to integrate the schools, are the things which frighten some people and give rise to defiance of the law.

The school desegregation movement forces whites "to say what they are about in America."

3) The school desegregation movement is a test of Black people's ability to blacken the educational system. Utilizing references to other cultures (Brazil, New Zealand), Miss Fairfax showed how the rising tide of "Black Pride" did not represent a contradiction of integration but a re-definition of the term and a realization/reorganization represented a step towards building a pluralistic society.

The ensuing dialogue covered the following points:

a) The difference between desegregation and integration.

b) How can you determine a truly integrated society?

c) The possibility of school integration before community integration.

Following discussion of these points, the seminar terminated on a key point, the implications of the pressure of groups, "chunks," of students in the desegregated school today as opposed

to small numbers under the other plans. Though in most cases in a minority, Black students now have the opportunity to organize a base within the system, if they become a politically aware body, which will strive to learn "where the power is, how decisions are made, where the money is, and how they can become a strategy group with a conscious plan."

The Effect and Impact of Mass Media upon Attitudinal Development
9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon, Tuesday, August 17
Paul Delaney

This seminar was planned to focus upon developing an awareness among student of the potential benefits/pitfalls in utilizing the press and to teach them the rudimentary steps of press relations. The seminar began with each participant recounting their most vivid experience with the press and/or their experiences in attempting to publish a newspaper.

Several suggestions were made in terms of ultimate utilization of the press:

1) Get to know the key reporters on the various newspaper staffs, introduce yourself, be aggressive in establishing a comfortable relation (for you) with the press.
2) Carefully organize and plan your strategies when dealing with the press. Make sure you are using only facts, elect one spokesman who will present the agreed upon details - no more. Several ploys utilized in interviewing people were then illustrated and practiced.
3) In cases in which articles are incorrect, exclusions, misquotes, etc., one should read and review a story for two things - <u>facts</u> and <u>interpretations</u>. Notify the reporter of discrepancies. This doesn't rectify mistakes already made, but it does avoid antagonizing the press and will, hopefully, cause him to touch

base with you on any pertinent subsequent articles and to carefully doublecheck his story.

Quite a few terms came up and were defined. Some of these were: dodging, laying it on the line, embargo, stringer, Ap and Up.

The "how" of conducting press conferences and writing press releases was also discussed. The need for organization and the selection of a key spokesman were doubly highlighted in planning press conferences. The various parts of a "press conference kit" were listed and discussed: 1) Actual press releases; 2) Fact sheet on the group - length of existence, purpose, etc.; 3) Detailed background statement; and 4) previous articles. The press realease should answer the basic questions, who, what, when, where, and why and follow the four basic rules: 1) Select the most important W for the lead paragraph; 2) Keep it simple; and 3) Emphasize facts, not opinions.

The various parts of the press release, the heading, listing of key information (name, address, phone, etc.) and the embargo preceded the skills practice.

The resource people constantly counseled the participants on the potential pitfalls and/or negative effects that unorganized contact with the press could have.

Other media resources and their utilization were considered. Several resource organizations were listed.

Student's Rights
7:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 23
Laughlin McDonald

The seminar on student's rights amplified the lack of definitive policies on rights due students in the in-school situation.

The areas of discussion ranged widely and covered many of the issues affecting students in the desegregated schools today. Some of them were:

1) Suspensions. Several points came out in the discussion of suspensions as opposed to expulsion. From the administrative point, most students are quilty until proven innocent. Highlighted was a major contradiction "between law and action since many states had compulsory attendance laws requiring a specific number of days attendance but would permit suspensions and/or expulsions which would run over those days."

2) Communication Rights Due Students. Initially, the discussion centered upon various alternatives due students with regard to the increasing number of "hair" cases in court, "button" cases and/or arm band cases, and the legality of circulating petitions. With regard to the first two points,

it was observed that some legal precedents, though not definitive, had been established while there were no legal precedents set concerning in-school petitioning, therefore, placing the burden upon the petitioner to be cognizant of where, when, and how the petions were circulated.

3) School Elections. Unfair election procedures and discriminatory sanctions were largely classed as in-school problems not lending themselves to legal action but for individual organizing efforts.

4) Teacher Beatings of Students. "The quickest and most effective way to deal with corporal punishment by teachers is to file a civil suit against all parties involved." It was pointed out that this would amplify the problem, shake-up the parties involved, even if the suit is not won.

5) Record Tampering. This, too, was viewed as an in-school problem for which the only recourse without clear-cut evidence would be to call for a hearing before the school board.

Other points raised by the students were related to the legal role of students on discriplinary committees, the legality of ability grouping and transferral of students to vocational

schools as punishment for alleged disciplinary violations, in-school prosecution for incidents occurring away from school (non-school functions), police harassment, and intimidation of student dissidents and name calling by teachers. In responding to these questions, the need for strong local organizations was suggested, since each case would have to be dealt with individually and there were no clear-cut constitutional precedences established for dealing with these issues through the judicial process.

The seminar concluded with another call for strong, local organization, and a discussion of the method of documenting infringements of student rights (write down, solicit witnesses, if possible, notarize the description of the incident, document disciplinary actions). The need and possibility for establishing a student legal aid service or watchline was briefly discussed.

"There's gotta be a connection -- a logical connection between your action and what you want."

"Organizing is getting as many people together as possible."

Community Organization

The seminars and workshops on community organization skills and techniques focused upon the following areas:

1) Nonviolence as a strategy-way of life
2) Analysis of American society
3) Facets of enslavement
4) Nonviolent in-school tactics
5) Other community organization skills and techniques
   a. meetings
   b. coalitions
   c. voter education
   d. conferences
   e. community support

According to Rev. Young, "violence destroys people and property, not systems." He described nonviolence as organized aggressive goodwill, aimed at developing new relationships between people. Although the problems in school desegregation are immediate, we have to understand the overall picture and be clear on the ultimate goal -- the establishment of a humane society.

American society was described as a box with the walls of enslavement being:

1. Educational inequality. "Knowledge is the key to

breaking bonds."

2. Alienation. "As long as we hate ourselves and our culture, we enslave ourselves." There is a major need for Blacks and others to understand and accept themselves. Racial problems are created by fear and a lack of knowledge of others.

3. Economic exploitation.

4. Political denial.

"Students, once they get their minds together, are the most knowledgeable people concerning educational matters, because they are directly involved. They should therefore, look towards attending school board meetings, asking for youth representation on school boards, and utilizing other aggressive means of attaining power."

Four basic steps in organizing were delineated and discussed:

1) Investigation

2) Negotiation

3) Organization

4) Reconciliation

Within the framework of these points, several cautionary notes were added: First, a group should "take it slow," secondly, always write grievenace down, thirdly, always share leadership, thus avoiding designation or stereotyping of one person

as the leader. Lastly, build support, expand your base and carefully stage the tone of any meeting, or other activity.

The various community organizing skills and techniques discussed and/or practiced were:

1) Negotiations. Particular concentration upon analysis of school boards, consideration of methods to "educate" school board members to student perspectives, and problems. "Do's and Don'ts" of approaching administration and teachers.

2) Conferences and Meetings. Timing, site selection, agenda building, climate setting were some of the terms discussed in the workshop sessions on meetings and conferences. Role play activities were developed to encompass these and other techniques for organizing meetings and conferences.

3) Coalitions. In-school coalitions are consistent with the basic level of organizing to get as many people together as possible. In building in-school coalitions, several basic points need to be considered.

   a. Development of a steering committee with equal representation and clearly defined roles and relationships.

b. The need for open discussions between coalescing groups. In the words of one resource person, "you must maintain communications, it is suicide if you become isolated."

c. Share leadership -- avoid pairing.

4) 18-Year Old Voter Education. Because of the temper of the times, youth in coordination with other movements could play a major role in national, political activities. The youth potential in national affairs highlights the need for coalitions between Black and White students.

5) Community Support. Various techniques and approaches for gaining community support were discussed and practiced. Extensive discussion and practice was given to press relations, the framing of news releases, and identifying potential sources of community support. Extensive role play was given to approaching, informing and inviting people to meetings.

6) School Boycotts, Walk Outs. It was stressed throughout the workshop that "youth must be in school in order to effectuate meaningful change." School boycotts, usually tend to create more problems, legal repercussions, and reactions from the community than

positive effects. This tactic should be used with reservations.

"I must do these things in order to communicate; become aware of you (discover you). Make you aware of me (uncover myself). Be ready to change during our conversation, and be willing to reveal my changes to you."

C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

Communications and Intergroup Relations
Saturday, August 21 - Tuesday, August 24
Dr. Rachel DuBois, Dr. Grace Scully, Bernice Coffer, Dr. William Dufford and staff, Dorothy Cotton, Joel Jacobson

---

The workshops on communications and intergroup relations were disigned to:

1) Enhance the participants understanding of "self."

2) Enhance the participants understanding of others, particularly, the institute participants.

3) Develop certain skills and trainer skills in the areas of communications/intergroup relations.

4) Stimulate an appraisal and/or reappraisal for the reasons for striving to attain quality desegregated education.

5) Share experiences in the in-school desegrated situation and to compare these experiences with those occurring prior to desegregated education.

The workshops initially focused upon activities to define the meaning of communications and related terms - - trust, feelings, verbal/non-verbal communications. Sharing common experiences, the participants attempted to capture the essence of these terms. In addition to consideration of positive aspects of human relations, the participants, again by sharing common experiences, analyzed the effects of bitterness, distrust, and other negative emotions in creating communication breakdowns.

The participants also participated in exercises geared

to pull out feelings concerning attendance in desegregated schools and individual motivation in striving to better the educational process and relations between students. This process was begun with a sharing of common educational experiences (first experiences with students, teachers, etc.) prior to desegregation, a sharing of experiences following desegregation, and lastly, consideration of the question, "Is it worth the sacrifice?"

The individual concept of "self" and its ramifications, was approached from the theoretical and experimental standpoint. Dr. Grace Scully, a Developmental Psychologist, led a three-hour lecture discussion of Eric Erickson's Seven Stages of Pshcho-Social Dimensions of Personality, after which, Dorothy Cotton conducted a series of feedback sessions on self-perception, perceptions of others, and image clarification.

The last two work days were devoted to skill training and skill practice in relation to the back-home situation. Dr. William Dufford and his staff, conducted a series of skill practice exercises, aimed at three barriers to communications and the development of small group discussion leaders. Various techniques and exercises were illustrated and used: (1) Buzz groups; (2) Fishbowls; (3) Climate setting exercises; and (4) Role play. Skill training and practice was provided in the group conversation method as a follow-up to the other training and skills development sessions.

The purpose, planning and implementation of the group conversation method were discussed, analyzed, and practiced.

The communications and intergroup relations sessions concluded with an exercise to define the feeling of "community" so apparent within the group. This aura was finally described as a "quality of human relations" between people which was characterized by a "trusting, caring, and sharing" feeling between individuals regardless of race, age and/or educational level. A cautionary note was appended with the reminder that this spirit of community must transcend the actual setting of the Institute and be promoted at home if a positive course is to be set which will lead to quality education and relations during these chaotic and confused times.

"Just listening to them, they had it easy compared to what we went through."

The In-School Situation

The In-School session was structured to allow students to set the tone and direction of the discussion, with the resource people concentrating on analyzing the information. The student evaluation committee for the Institute structured the program around a panel discussion by four high school students. Each of the students was from a different state (Mississippi; Alabama; North Carolina; and South Carolina, and different types of communities (rural, metropolitan, peredominantly Black rural small southern, etc.).

In spite of this diversity, similar issues were raised in the respective presentations. The panelists informally rated some of the priority issues confronting students in their respective communities by their choice of subject matter. The discussions following the panel presentations showed that these points/needs were not atypical among students.

The panelist from Mississippi led off the discussion and set the tone for subsequent presentations by enumerating a broad spectrum of problems confronting students (police harassment, student transferrals, dismissals without hearings, dismissal of Black teachers), a situation analysis of his home community (its resources, etc.) and an overview of the strategies attempted and resources needed to deal with some of the problems.

The other panelist (Alabama, South Carolina and North Carolina) focused to a great extent, on major personal issues with others treated more superficially.

Some of the major points were:

1) The impact that a politically aware Black majority has in making potential "outlaws" equitably administer the school and teach students.
2) The unlimited avenues of in-school harassment open to "wrong-minded" educators through record tampering, changing of grades, lost and/or destruction of permanent record folders.
3) The dangers of being caught in the emotionalism of volative issues related to school desegregation like bussing.

Following the panel presentations, the floor was thrown open for reactions/observations from the other students. This dialogue focused upon the role of the white student in the desegregated situation, the lack of moral leadership, the white students opinions of massive school desegregation; and an overview of various strategies and approaches to dealing with In-School problems. School walk-outs of varying degrees and duration appeared to be a common tactic for resolving grievances.

In the evening session brief introductory statements were given by representatives of several private agencies, the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the American Friends Service Committee, the Atlanta Urban League and the Children's Foundation.

CLOSING SESSION

time oh time oh
time is winding up
time oh time oh
time is winding up
confusion in the land
Brother take your stand
time is winding up.

time oh time oh
time is winding up
time oh time oh
time is winding up
misuse is in the land
Sister take your stand
time is winding up.

time oh time oh
time is winding up
time oh time oh
time is winding up
obuse is in the land
People take your stand
time is winding up.

go tell Nixon time is winding up
go tell the school board
time is winding up
time is winding up.

Sisters and Brothers
do you hear us?
time is winding up
Sisters and Brothers
do you hear?

"To Tear Down Barriers to Education"

This Institute has highlighted and clarified a number of things for us, the participants, some of which we have attempted to share with you. There is one thing that we hope the readers of this document will pay particular attention to. That is the sense of "Spirit" alluded to throughout the report that molded this group (the participants and others) into what some would call a "family." We close with reference to this intangible, nebulous thing because to us, above all else, this is one of the keys that can unlock the door and truly, "Tear Down Any and all Barriers to Education."

Think back for a moment, think of the days when you were in school: it may have been a one-room building with a wood stove, it may have been "George Washington Carver," or, it may have been, regardless of how distasteful it may be for some of us, "Robert E. Lee High School." Think about the school song, think of the one who made you feel like somebody - your principal, your first successful experience addressing a large gathering, your class or the entire student body. We are sure that there are some good memories and some bad, but from all indications, most of us who finished primary and secondary public schools, especially those of us who finished before massive school desegregation became the rule rather than the exception, feel that all in all, it really wasn't so bad.

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True, none of us, Black or White, got what we should have gotten. If you were Black, you probably got a good grounding in the humanities. If you were White, you had access, in most cases, to technical information. Regardless of the educational setting and/or bent, however, there is one thing most of us got or did not have driven out of us - "a healthy and/or harmonious spirit."

With the onslaught of massive school desegregation, the lack of a harmonious "spirit" highlights negative aspects of the institution of public education and, in some cases, the socity in general. The age-old problem of the "haves" versus the "have-nots," the cruddy state of primary and secondary education, and racism, "old versus new." Taking this list of problems and others into consideration, we feel that students and youth can, must, and will play an intricate part in deciding what "the course of the future will be." In an effort to establish a humane, just society and quality education for all students, won't you help "Bring a wholesome spirit into our schools"?

APPENDIX

THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION TRAINING INSTITUTE

Participant Reactions

The stated purpose of the Training Institute was to provide basic skills training in community organization and communications/intergroup relations and to introduce pertinent information and/or potential resources to a select group of high school and college students working in the area of school desegregation.

The Institute Evaluation Committee developed a three-part narative evaluation to test participant reactions to the Training Institute.

Three basic questions were asked:

(1) Why did you attend this Institute?

(2) What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

(3) What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

The participant reactions to the individual interviews were as follows:

Question: Why did you attend the Institute?

"When asked, I felt that I could get a lot from it. When I was told that it involved school desegregation, I was very interested."

"I felt that this would be a beneficial experience for me. I came with the expectation that I would be exposed to information and insights that would be helpful in solving the problems caused by desegregation in my community."

"I came because of the information I was sent. I was told that I would learn techniques for organizing in the community."

"I was asked to replace someone else; it was right after a shocking incident in my school which made me decide to come."

"My involvement in school depends on my knowledge of what school desegregation is about. I have a personal commitment to the students of my community and state. I wanted to gain new approaches, techniques, and ideas. I also wanted to find out what other people in other areas were doing and to share my experiences with them."

"There are a lot of problems at home. I came because of great interest. I wanted to learn how to deal with the problems we have and to learn (from other people) what problems I might be facing in the future."

"I was told that the session was on community organization and school desegregation. I wanted to know especially about community organization because I have been organizing at home. I hoped that by working in the community, I could somehow influence school desegregation. I also like to meet people."

"I felt that I could get a lot out of it."

"When I found out it was dealing with desegregation, I was very interested."

"My community needed to have someone come and see what other people are doing who have similar problems."

"I came to find out what was coming down and perhaps find ways to improve the situation at home regarding school desegregation and Students' Rights."

"I came because I felt I would learn something. I was excited about the resource people. I wanted to meet people."

"I wanted to meet students from different states and gather information."

"I came because I am involved in my community and school. I hoped to get valuable information and training in order to deal with my situation, that is, the problems of my community."

"It was a last minute decision. When I heard it concerned Black students, I decided to come."

Question: What did you gain or learn from the Institute?

"I learned how to get people together."

"I uncovered a whole new dimension of organizing. I gained even more than I had hoped. I met people whose heads were in the same place as mine and met geniuses in the field of dealing with people. I know now what positive direction of action I will take in my community."

"I have gained a lot and intend to put it to use."

"I gained a lot of insight -- insight to a better understanding of all things dealing with desegregation -- insight into ways of coping with these issues."

"I feel better since I've been here."

"I gained insight into ways of changing/improving conditions. I also learned more about some of the resources in the area of school desegregation."

"I have gained self-understanding and confidence that I'am right in a lot of things. I've gained determination and excellent knowledge of problems and how to deal with them."

"I've learned a lot about the different resource people. I've learned how to utilize role play and how to conduct group discussions. I've learned how to communicate with people."

"I've learned about the free lunch program which will be most helpful to me in my projects at home. I've learned of the different situations that exist in other schools and other states."

"I have gained added motivation to confront problems that I will be facing -- exposure to ideas, principles, and practices that I feel will greatly enhance what I'am trying to do. It showed me a new dimension -- what problems other people face."

"I've learned a lot about community organizing -- ways meetings should be conducted, skills on how to communicate. I've learned that many of our problems result from a lack of communication, the way we've been taught, and the different roles we've been thrown into. I've also learned that Blacks and Whites should try to relate."

"I have learned a lot of things at the session. I've learned how to communicate with other people. I plan to go home and utilize the things I have learned."

"I received a tremendous amount of information from the resource people. I also received a spiritual boost from meeting with people who share similar interests; who are really committed to doing something about their concerns.

Question: What are your additional comments, criticisms, and/or suggestions concerning the Institute?

"It seemed that the routine was too heavy. Throwing one resource person after another got to be too much - I was getting frustrated. Although I was getting all the facts, I didn't seem to be able to put them into working order in my mind. I believe that if we had had half the resource people, half the communications people, then return to the rest of the resource people and finish with the communications resources, it would have been less frustrating."

"Overall, I can't see anything wrong with the conference. It was near perfect. The program was flexible enough for everyone."

"My perceptions of people broadened having been with them. We handled all hassles like a family, therefore, the Institute showed sincerity, honesty, and the whole structure of the program was well-planned and flexible."

"Everyone was concerned about everyone else and the meetings were carried on sufficiently to get people to participate. Overall, I appreciate the whole program. It not only helped us with school problems, but also taught us the real need to form coalitions with Black and White students."

Conclusion:

It is the general feeling of the group that the program was helpful in that the objectives, for the most part, were met. The program was so well planned that it was easy for the group to adjust to the rate of learning. However, there were minor problems with extra-curricula activities coupled with the intensive pace, resulting in a general physical breakdown. This was later attributed to an oversight of responsibility on the part of the students.

As a family, not a group, it is felt that such programs provide a meaningful learning experience and we firmly recommend that it be continued.

INSTITUTE SCHEDULE

Sunday, August 15, 1971

12:00 noon - 7:00 p.m.	Registration of Participants
	Dinner
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Opening Session: 1) Housekeeping details 2) Review of the Schedule for the Institute 3) Formation of two Seminar Groups 4) Formation of Committees 5) Warm-Up Exercise
	Opening Address, Paul Anthony, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Monday, August 16, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	General Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I The Case History of the School Desegregation Movement - Julius Chambers Session II The Implications of the Segregated Academy Movement for the School Desegregation Movement - Kitty Terjen
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Luncheon Break
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Session I Analysis of the Institution of Public Education - Dr. Carlisle Holler 1) Framework 2) Purpose

2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.		Session II Analysis of the Institution of Public Education - Tom Keating 1) Framework 2) Funding
3:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.		Break
3:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.		Reverse Groups for Session I and II
4:30 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.		Dinner Break/Recreation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.		The National/International, Regional, State and Local Implications of the School Desegregation Movement - Jean Fairfax
9:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.		Wrap-Up Session

Tuesday, August 17

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I The Effect and Impact of the Mass Media Upon Attitudinal Development - Paul Delaney Session II Government Programs in Education - ESAP, Title I - Mel Stephens, ESAP and John Pride, Title I
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	The In-School Situation - Panel of Students
4:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break/Recreation

7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Private Organizations 1) Reaction to the In-School Situation 2) Organizations with regard to activities last year, and, if possible, giving some projections for this year. AFSC- Winifred Green NAACP Legal Defense Fund - Jean Fairfax Children's Foundation - Barbara Splain Atlanta Urban League - Tom Keating
9:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.	Wrap-Up Session

Wednesday, August 18, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Session I Resources Indentification and Mobilization and the How-To-Do-It of Newspapers - David Abel, Dean Joseph Hendricks, Pat Watters Session II School Lunch Programs - Barbara Splain
10:30 a.m. - 11:00 a.m.	Break
11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Reverse Groups for Session I and II
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation - Planned Recreation Program
2:00 p.m. -	Mid-Week Break

Thursday, August 19, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Community Organization Skills and Techniques - Hayes Mizell, Andrew Young, Leon Hall, Andrew Marrisett

12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break/Recreation
2:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Speech/Discussion on Community Organization and Nonviolence as a Way of Life - A Strategy and Technique.
7:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Dinner

Friday, August 20, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Community Organization Skills and Techniques - Andrew Marrisett, Leon Hall

Saturday, August 21, 1971

9:30 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Opening Session
10:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Field Trip
2:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Field Trip Follow-up - Joel Jacobson and Dorothy Cotton

Sunday, August 22, 1971

2:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Lecture and Discussion of Eric Erickson's Seven States of Psycho-Social Development - Dr. Grace Scully
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	You and Your Self Image - Dorothy Cotton

Monday, August 23, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Communications Skills - Dr. William Dufford, Moses Rabb, Connie Rowland

12:00 noon - 1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Communications Follow-Up - William Dufford, Moses Rabb, Connie Rowland
2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m.	Training in the Group Conversation Method - Dr. Rachel Dubois and Bernice Coffer
3:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break/Recreation
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Students Rights - Laughlin McDonald

Tuesday, August 24, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.	Opening Session
9:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Morning Session Skills Practice in Relations to the Back Home Situation
12:00 noon - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch Break
2:00 p.m. - 2:30 p.m.	General Session
3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.	Reading Period/Survey
5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.	Dinner Break
7:00 p.m. - 9:00 p.m.	Feedback from Skills Practice and/or Reading Session

Wednesday, August 25, 1971

9:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Wrap-Up Evaluation

Jul & Aug 1971

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Gwen Sapp

GREYHOUND LINES
JUL 18 1971
ATLANTA, GA

6.20
4.90
4.90
1.90
4.90
4.90
28.15
17.60
221.15 T

Paid
R. L. Hodge

No.

8-12 1971

RECEIVED FROM Southern Regional Council

forty six and no/100 DOLLARS

for RT ticket from Greenville Miss to Greenwood SC

Account Total $ 46.00

Amount Paid $ 46.00

Balance Due $ —

"THE EFFICIENCY® LINE"

TRAILWAYS
AUG 1971
ATLANTA, GA

What response from school?
success contingent upon this
What contribution from students
no one else offers anything like this? is the key student control?

1-4-72

E Kia,

Enclosed here is a proposal from R. Gergel - Keenan High for the establishment of a student-run activities center.
I like their idea. I have written Richard asking for some more info. would you browse and offer ~~comment~~ comments?

(2) know of any possible funding sources?
(3) Jim Goddell at the youth citizenship fund has funded their programs before he maybe a person to contact.

Please return proposal

SDP

A PROPOSAL FOR A STUDENT ACTIVITIES CENTER

Students in Columbia, South Carolina, as most students in the United States, face great pressures as they enter high school. Students become exposed, for the first time, to the reality of acceptance of drugs and alcohol by their peers. They can either conform, create their own environment, or be alienated. Too often, students will conform, seeing no other alternatives.

During the past few weeks, a group of Keenan High School students have been meeting to discuss this problem. These students -- some who have taken drugs, some who have not, some who are leaders and some who are followers, some who are black and some who are white -- feel that the fundamental problem is the lack of anything significant or creative for students to do. We believe that to deal with the problems of today's youth the environment must be a chief concern.

Using that as our primary goal, we have developed a program which is oriented towards dealing with this most basic problem. We are proposing a student activities center. Open on Wednesday nights, Saturday nights, and Sunday afternoons; this program would offer a smorgasbord of activities from an open gym to seminars with guest lecturers to classes in photography, black studies, guitar, and experimental films.

This will be a pilot program running from February 1 - June 1, 1972. The evaluation committee (see page 3) would determine its effectiveness in June; and, if positive, take steps to insure its continuation.

The purpose of our program is to create an alternative to the drug-alcohol-nothing culture by providing an environment where students can grow and develop in <u>their</u> areas of interest. Going on the basic assumption that youth have a great deal to offer, our program seeks to channel those talents into an area which will make a meaningful impact upon the individual as well as the community.

CLASS STRUCTURE

We hope to start the program on February 1 using the following schedule:

I. Wednesday night - 7:00-10:00 P. M.

Saturday night - 8:00-11:00 P. M.

Sunday afternoon - 2:00-5:00 P. M.

II. On Wednesday and Saturday nights, we will offer three classes meeting twice, thus giving participants an opportunity to attend two different classes in one night. We will begin with three classes but hope to expand to 5-6 offerings. On Sunday afternoon, we will have a seminar with a guest speaker. No planned classes will be held on Sunday, but any student desiring to work on a certain project will have the opportunity to do so. The gym will be open during the hours of the program.

SPACE NEEDED

We will need access to the art room (for classes in arts and crafts), the gymnasium, and one of the buildings (for other classes). We recognize the need for adult supervision, and three faculty advisors have agreed to participate winh the program.

PERSONNEL

The staffing of the program will be simple; one director whose job would be to handle the administrative aspects of the program and instructors to run the classes.

COMMITTEES

The general running of the program will be done by a core group of 16 students with the guidance of the director and the following committees:

I. Community Advisory Committee - This committee, made up of adults from the community, will aid in the monitoring and evaluation of the program. They will offer their insights to the core group.

II. Committee to Study Existing Efforts - This committee will research similar existing efforts; studying both their strengths and weakness so as to provide meaningful feedback to aid the development of the program.

III. Communication Committee - The purpose of this committee is to insure communication both internally within the program, and externally, to the community at-large. They will publish, regularly, a calendar of events so as to keep students and the community aware of our activities.

IV. Arts and Crafts Committee, Curriculum Committee, and General Committee - These committees will be responsible for the instructors, supplies, and etc.

V. Evaluation Committee - This committee will have a two-fold responsibility: to monitor and evaluate the program and bring in outside authorities to also evaluate it. This committee will consist of members of the core group, community advisory committee, and representatives from the school administration and College of Education at the University of South Carolina which has aided the development of the program.

BUDGET

We would like to run the program from February 1, 1972 until June 1, 1972. This will be a pilot stage of what we hope would be a long-term program.

$ 900.00	Director
1,500.00	salaries for instructors @ $5 a class
1,000.00	Supplies; includes film for photography class, rental fees for experimental films and art class supplies
200.00	gas money for carpools
$3,600.00	TOTAL

SUMMARY

We see great possibilities for a student activities center, not only because it can provide an alternative environment but also because it gives students the responsibility to run a program which is theirs. The program is significant in the respect that it just doesn't take students off the streets or give them something to do; it gives them an opportunity to express themselves creatively and grow and develop in their areas of interest.

ıtral High School - contd.

ına Causey	W	Student Government	9	1214 Sherbrooke Court Macon, Georgia 31204
:fery Morris	B	Student Government	9	1583 Ross Street Macon, Georgia 31204
ıa Roland	W	Student Government	9	11-E Scotland Heights Apartments Macon, Georgia 31204
:en Ray	B	Student Government	9	376 Blossom Avenue Macon, Georgia 31201

:theast High School

:non Redd	B	Student Body	12	2865 Wilkes Court Macon, Georgia 31201
:n Hurst	W	Student Body	12	3635 Jessica Drive Macon, Georgia 31203
Ann Young	W	Student Body	12	1676 Wesleyan Hills Drive Macon, Georgia 31203
:ryl Stanley	B	Student Body	12	3436 Juanita Avenue Macon, Georgia 31201
gory Lamar	B	Student Body	9	831 Taylor Street Macon, Georgia 31201
ıdy Kyker	W	Student Body	9	4627 South Beechwood Drive Macon, Georgia 31201
:quelyn Walton	B	Student Body	9	3823 Kings Park Circle Macon, Georgia 31201
ıcy Tarver	W	Student Body	9	2124 Bayswater Road Macon, Georgia 31201

gency School Assistance Program
ent Advisory Committees

ge three

<u>ithwest High School</u>

vid Kirk	W	Student Body	9	3181 Brownell Avenue Macon, Georgia 31206
licia Reeves	B	Student Body	8	860 Grosso Avenue Macon, Georgia 31206
ndy Beasley	W	Student Body	9	3384 South O'Hara Drive Macon, Georgia 31206
l Griggs	B	Student Body	9	762 Ash Street Macon, Georgia 31201
na Lindsey	W	Student Body	10	2440 Hillside Drive Macon, Georgia 31206
cilyn Gordon	B	Student Body	10	892 E Street Macon, Georgia 31206
izabeth McElroy	W	Student Body	11	1088 Sylvian Drive Macon, Georgia 31206
vian Haynes	B	Student Body	12	2358 Lowe Street Macon, Georgia 31206
eve Cole	W	Student Body	10	2464 South Groveland Circle Macon, Georgia 31206
ndy Grayer	B	Student Body	10	1980 Dannenberg Avenue Macon, Georgia 31206
n Rogers	W	Student Body	12	4134 Mikado Avenue Macon, Georgia 31206
cryl Jordan	B	Student Body	12	2225 Lowe Street Macon, Georgia 31206

Thomas, Ronnie (W)	1089 Farr Rd, 687-3919	8	Southern Jr. High
Turner, Robert (B)	709 Talley Ave. 322-3127	12	Spencer High
Tyson, Darryl (B)	4632 LaSalle Dr. 689-4810	7	Southern Jr. High
Weldon, Herbert (B)	923 - 38th St. 327-6214	12	Jordan High
Wilkes, David (W)	4829 Harbin St. 561-2479	8	Rothschild Jr. High

	KT		CB		KW	
	# Schools	# Students	# Schools	# Students	# Schools	# Students
Ala.					(302 Pvt)	(51,400)
					222 - Seg	28,644
					(1970-71)	
Ga.	269	68,160			(269 Pvt)	(68,160)
	(Treats gross avg)		224 (Pvt acad.)	50,078	212 Seg	46,722
			This is same as KT in South & Child 1970-71		(1971-1972)	
Miss	203	63,242			(201 Pvt.)	(63,242)
	(1970-71)					
			168	59,037	147 Seg	49,553
			1970-71			
					(1970-1971)	

Abel Leventhal Santa - re textbooks demonstrates in theory & practice

BA busy — Dick Warden

Interest in Publication
Pamphlet (?)

KT's pick

Figures —
Comparability

LOF also have seen Cindy's paper

Fields in Memphis

~~Pick~~ Talked to Brown & Prangier & used files in early stages

SOUTH TODAY
A Digest of Southern Affairs

Private Schools

PUBLISHED BY THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
404-522-8764

Mississippi 70-71

201	private schools
- 4	special education
197	
- 50	Catholic schools
147	

63,242	private enrollment
- 310	special
62,932	
-13,377	Catholic
49,553	

Georgia 71-72

269	private schools
-16	special
253	
- 41	Catholic
212	

68,160	private enrollment
- 7,239	special
60,921	
- 14,199	Catholic
46,722	

Alabama 70-71

302	private schools
- 12	special
290	
- 68	Catholic
222	

51,400	enrollment +	100	schools enrollment not listed *
- 5,882	special -	1	
45,518		99	" " " "
- 16,874	Catholic	- 10	Catholic " " " "
28,644		89	" " " "

* these schools are included in the number of schools figures

SOUTH TODAY
A Digest of Southern Affairs

PUBLISHED BY THE
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
404-522-8764

I have subtracted only those schools I know to be "special education" - there are certainly others I haven't subtracted. the Georgia + Alabama "special" figures are especially large because they include gov't operated schools on military bases.

I subtracted Catholic schools because, while they may well be less integrated than the public schools in the same area, their enrollment is down below the level of pre-integration days which could indicate that the children are attending Catholic schools from motives of piety rather than for racial reasons.

Some of the schools, not subtracted, are undoubtedly integrated + some are all black because no whites are enrolled. then there are some schools which failed to report to the state but I would guess these are, for the most part, small schools.

On balance I would estimate seg school enrollment in these 3 states at something less than the final figure for each state - but not a lot less.

"Private Schools Seem To Be the Coming Modern Day Thing"

Public school enrollment dropped so significantly in most Southern states between the fall of 1970 and the fall of 1971 that a large part of the decline can only be attributed to continued white flight from desegregated public schools to private segregation academies.

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee together lost approximately 100,000 public school students this year, according to state department of education data. Only Arkansas, Florida, Texas and Virginia had more students in public school this year than last.

The continuing exodus of white pupils from desegregated public schools to segregation academies, fanned this year by the emotional busing issue, appears to be the major cause of the decrease in public school enrollment, though declining birth rates and out-migration are also contributing factors. This is corroborated by the fact that enrollment in private schools continued to increase this year.

Private School Enrollment

For the 1970-71 school year it is estimated that approximately 550,000 students attend private segregated schools in the

Insert A, page 2

Between 1961-62 and 1970-71, according to a recent Office of Education survey, enrollment in nonpublic schools in the Southeast (including Kentucky and West [redacted] Virginia, but not Texas) increased 242.4 per cent among nonaffiliated private schools and 167.7 per cent among private schools affiliated to some church or institution other than the Roman Catholic Church. The South's Catholic school enrollment in the same period declined 5.6 per cent, but this decline was lower than the average national decline in parochial school [redacted] enrollments (17 per cent).

11-state South, 50,000 to 75,000 more than last year. Many of these are older private schools, not established specifically for purposes of avoiding desegregation, but still without Negro students; others are the newer segregation academies.

This year's enrollment in private segregated schools is 20 times greater than it was before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As federal pressure to desegregate the South's public schools increased, so did private school enrollments. Early in October 1969 the Southern Regional Council estimated that 300,000 students were enrolled in non-public segregated schools in the 11-state South. After the Supreme Court's decision later that month to desegregate the public schools "at once," the Council revised its figures upward to 400,000 students, based primarily on reports of the virtual abandonment by whites of the public schools in some areas of Mississippi and Louisiana.

By the 1970-71 school year, some whites in Louisiana and Mississippi were returning to the public schools and many of the older private schools had begun to desegregate. However, segregation academies continued to be established and many of the existing academies increased enrollments. For that year SRC estimated that 450,000 to 500,000 students attended nonpublic segregated schools, a figure which attempted to reflect these subtle shifts, but which also tended to conceal the dramatic expansion of the newer segregation academies.

The estimate of 550,000 students enrolled in segregated private schools during the 1971-72 school year is based on the latest state records available, as well as HEW estimates ~~(which prove to be inaccurately low)~~ and news stories. While sources of information about the number of newer schools are fragmentary and in many cases uncertain, it is clear that private school enrollments have continued to increase and that the rumored "stabilization" in the private school movement has not yet occurred.

The number of new schools opening their doors for the first time this year does not compare to the flurry of activity in the previous two years. While some observers have taken this as an indication that the South's segregation academy movement has peaked, they have mistakenly ignored the fact that existing segregation academies are increasing their enrollments.

The trend is still away from public education, especially in the cities where busing and "racial balance" are issues this year. A recent government report confirms this fact. According to a January 1972 HEW survey of 76 of the nation's 100 largest school districts, white enrollment declined in 60 of these districts between the 1970-71 and 1971-72 terms. One-third of the districts with declining white enrollments were in the South.

The Supreme Court

An article in the December 1971 Citizen, the official publication of the (white) Citizens Councils of America, voices the segregationists' fear that the Supreme Court will require private schools to integrate, thus opening "the doors to unimagined horrors." The article is written by Robert E. Kuttner, a biologist associated with Stanford University's William B. Shockley. (An engineer, Shockley is noted for his theories about the genetic inferiority of Negroes and his advocacy of the sterilization of blacks). The article begins:

> "In some areas the density of the Negro population is so large and so uniformly scattered that no geographical refuge can be found for white exodus. Other courses of action have had to be devised to protect white children from exposure to gang violence, school yard crime, relaxed sexual behavior, drug addiction, and lower academic standards that followed indiscriminate integration. One successful solution is the private school system. Behind walls of academic quality, white children have found sanctuary from the chaos of forcibly integrated classrooms."

When it became apparent that segregation academies were frustrating the desegregation process in the South, civil rights lawyers initiated a number of suits against these "sanctuaries." The Supreme Court has now ruled on two of these cases, and favorably for civil rights forces.

In Coit v. Green, the Supreme Court upheld a U.S. District Court ruling that racially discriminatory private schools are not entitled to federal tax exemptions and that persons making gifts to such schools are not entitled to tax deductions for such contributions.

In Wright v. City of Brighton, the Supreme Court also upheld a district court decision that the 14th Amendment was violated by the city's sale of a public school building to a private academy which the city knew had a policy of racial discrimination. In a similar ruling by the same district court, McNeal v. Tate County Schools, school boards were judged to have an "affirmative duty, in area(s) where establishment of all-white private schools is common, to reasonabl(y) investigate prospective purchasers of public school property to assure that sale of such property will not result in (the) establishment of such (a) school."

Other litigation is also in process against segregation academies. In Mississippi civil rights lawyers have appealed a district court order which dismissed their contention that the state, in providing private segregated schools with free text books, "impeded the growth of racially integrated public schools and encouraged the growth of private academies in the wake of school desegregation orders."

The Baker County (Ga.) Board of Education is being sued both by the Justice Department and private citizens for "frustrating desegregation of the public schools" and for auctioning off a public school building at cut rate prices to the all-white Baker Academy.

All five members of the Baker School board have taken their children out of the public schools. The Board sold a $125,000 brick school building for $6,500 to an individual who turned it over to the private school. The board also sold its "surplus" of books, desks and buses to the academy.

Also in Georgia, the Sumter County Board of Education is being sued in federal court on grounds that most of its members have a primary interest in the private schools; (by) serving on public school boards, they are charged with having a conflict of interest. Georgia's Gov~~ernor~~ Jimmy Carter has joined the plaintiffs in this litigation.

Suit before Legislature

According to Gov~~ernor~~ Carter, one member of the Sumter County School Board is former chairman of the board of the Heritage Academy, a private school established to avoid public school desegregation; another teaches at another private school; the children of the third attend a private school, and the daughter-in-law of the fourth teaches at a private school in the Sumter area.

The Georgia legislature, in a suprise move at this year's session, passed a law making it illegal for persons who serve in official capacities with private schools to be on public school boards.

In Montgomery, Alabama, U.S. District Court Judge Frank Johnson, Jr. ruled that it was unconstitutional for that city to let racially segregated private schools use city-owned recreation facilities on grounds that this was a form of public aid which "frustrates the right of black citizens to a desegregated education."

"When the effect upon that right is the same, no difference in constitutional result should exist. Therefore, regardless of the school's declared admissions policy, the mere fact of its segregation renders any state aid to it unconstitutional."

Current litigation against segregation academies is based on 14th Amendment violations and argues against any public aid (direct or indirect) which would tend to abet private schools which frustrate the desegregation of public schools. Except in Mississippi, the district courts have upheld the validity of these arguments.

IRS

The Supreme Court's Green decision basically dealt with the question of tax exemptions for 30 private schools in Mississippi, but made it quite clear that the ruling was not to be limited to Mississippi.

The court ordered the Internal Revenue Service to go beyond "good faith assurances" that a school is nondiscriminatory in those areas where "the history of state-established segregation, coupled with the founding of new private schools...at times reasonably proximate to public school desegregation litigation," leaves a "badge of doubt." Where this "badge of doubt" exists, the IRS is not only required to make sure that a school has advertised its open admissions policy (and in a way which would effectively bring it to the attention of minority groups), but it is also required to get the following information from private schools seeking tax-exemption:

> "...a racial breakdown of students attending and applying, the disposition of available scholarship and loan funds, and a racial breakdown of faculty and administrative staff."

Also required:

> "the listing of incorporators, founders, board members; listing of donors of land or buildings, whether individual or corporate; and a statement as to whether any of the foregoing have an announced identification as officers or active members of an organization having as a primary objective the maintenance of segregated school education."

It added:

"The court is not to be misunderstood as laying down a special rule for schools located in Mississippi. The principle is broader and is applicable to schools outside Mississippi with the same or similar badge of doubt."

The IRS interpretation of the Green decision is what a Washington reporter described as a "sort of public-be-damned posture, so typical of this administration." The IRS acknowledges quite openly that it does not ask schools outside Mississippi for the same data that the Green decision requires it to collect from Mississippi schools.

"The decision is not binding, the order is," Leon Levine IRS Public Information Officer, said in an interview. "If the order wanted us to apply it anywhere else they would have said so."

Bert Carp, a staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity, said he thought the IRS interpretation of the Green decision was "absurd." "It's like saying the Brown decision applied only to Kansas," he said.

The IRS considers Mississippi a completely separate situation. Under the requirements of the Green decision 33 private schools had their exemptions revoked; 94 Mississippi schools conformed to the requirements of Green and were granted tax exemptions.

Outside of Mississippi all the IRS requires of a school is its assurance that it has a non-discriminatory admissions policy and that it has made its policy known to the community in which it is located. The IRS asks the school for proof (newspaper clippings fulfill this requisite) that it has publicized its open policies. Information on the racial composition of the student body, staff, or the associations of board members is not required.

Since November 1970, the IRS has sent out approximately 4000 questionnaires to private schools with exemptions outstanding. These are all of the so-called "single ruling schools." Now that most of the single ruling schools have been processed, IRS is preparing to send out questionnaires to the "group ruling schools." A group ruling school is one whose exemption is granted as part of a class; a parochial school is the most common example of a group ruling school.

Of the 3,952 questionnaires sent out to single ruling schools, 3,914 were returned. Of that number 3,809 met IRS requirements and were granted exemptions. One hundred five schools did not meet IRS standards: two have had their exemptions revoked; 69 have been warned (52 publicly) and 34 are still "in process."

The 71 schools which have had their exemptions revoked or whose "advance assurances of exemption" have been suspended are schools which simply refused to say they practiced non-discriminatory policies. Only two of the 71 schools have had their exemptions permanently revoked.

The two schools who have lost their exemptions ~~permantly~~ permanently are the Heritage Christian Schools in Florida and Salt Springs Academy in Alabama. (Before the survey was taken the Fayette Academy in Tennessee lost its exemption, but because that action wasn't related to the survey it is not included in the totals.)

State-by-state breakdowns of the 69 schools which have lost their "advance assurances" are as follows: Alabama, 16; District of Columbia, 1; Florida, 13; Georgia, 5; North Carolina, 4; Maryland, 2; South Carolina, 22; Tennessee, 4; and Virginia, 2.

The total number of single ruling schools which have been granted tax-exempt status by the IRS is currently 4,506. This total includes the 3,809 schools with exemptions outstanding and which IRS found in compliance after its survey, plus approximately 247 new schools who have been granted exemptions since December 1970.

IRS Commissioner Johnnie M. Walters, who succeeded Randolph Thrower last spring, was formerly an assistant attorney general involved in an unsuccessful attempt by the Justice Department to stop the revocation

of the tax-exempt status of the Mississippi private schools involved in the Green case. A South Carolinian who disavows any close relationship with Senator Strom Thurmond, Walters is said to have been appointed because key members of the White House were dissatisfied with the way Thrower handled his job. Part of this dissatisfaction is attributed to Thrower's announcement, July 1970, that the IRS would no longer grant tax exemptions to racially discriminatory private schools.

The IRS posture on the question of tax exemptions for private schools has not substantively changed since Thrower's resignation. According to an IRS source, ~~"nothing changed" when Walters took over.~~

"This policy was promulgated under a commissioner from Georgia and is being pursued under a comissioner from South Carolina," ~~the IRS spokesman said.~~

Despite the Green decision and its mandate that its principle be applied wherever there is a "badge of doubt," the IRS still clings to good faith assurances.

"When you send an income tax return in, we assume what you tell us is true," IRS spokesman Leon Levine explained. "It's the

same with schools."

Levine said that sooner or later some of the schools would be audited, just like any other taxpayer. Otherwise, unless the IRS received complaints about one of the schools, there would be no occasion to check into the school's assurances of non-discrimination.

Levine didn't have any figures on the number of complaints IRS had received, or how many had been followed up and how many had resulted in action against the school. Apparently none of the complaints have been acted upon, because the 71 schools which either had their exemptions revoked or which had their advance assurances suspended were schools that had simply refused to say that they had an open admissions policy.

Of the 22 schools in South Carolina whose advance assurances of exemption have been suspended, most are members of the segregationist South Carolina Independent Schools Association, which is linked with the (white) Citizens Council of America. Current membership in the association has been reported to be 68 schools. This means that about 44 member academies of this association, more closely associated with the Citizens Council this year than ever, are enjoying tax-exempt status, simply because they are willing to be dishonest and announce an open admissions policy in a local newspaper.

The IRS has ignored the spirit and the letter of the law. The Supreme Court's Green decision is the law of the land. In instances where there is a "badge of doubt"--and certainly this applies to the 44 members of the South Carolina association--the IRS is required to go beyond good faith assurances and compile information on the racial composition of a school's student body, staff, and ascertain whether any founders, board members, etc., are members of an organization "having as a primary objective the maintenance of segregated school education."

Citizens Councils Schools

By their own admission 396 schools in seven Southern states with a combined enrollment of 176,000 pupils are formally linked through their membership in the Southern Independent School Association (SISA) with the (white) Citizens Councils of America.

Citizens Council administrator, W.J. Simons of Jackson, Miss~~issippi~~, is president of SISA. He is also editor of the Citizen, the official monthly publication of the Citizens Councils, and president of the Council School Foundation in Jackson. Other officials of the SISA include right-wingers Roy Harris, editor of the Augusta Courier and an outspoken racist, and George W. Shannon, former editor of the Shreveport Journal and now a consultant with the Citizens Council in Jackson.

State independent school associations and their members have by their affiliation with the SISA publicly allied themselves with the forthright segregationist position of the Citizens Council. Under the Green decision, these schools not only wear a "badge of doubt", but by their affiliation with an organization which has "a primary objective, the maintenance of segregated school education" they are also suspect. Under these circumstances, the IRS has a legal obligation to go beyond its acceptance of good faith assurances and collect the additional information required by the court in order to make new rulings on the tax-exempt status of schools belonging to the following state organizations which are members of the Southern Independent School Association: the Alabama Private School Association, the Louisiana Independent School Association, the Mississippi Private School Association, the North Carolina Private School Association, the South Carolina Independent School Association and the Virginia Independent School Association. Georgia apparently has no statewide association, but 56 Georgia schools are members of the SISA.

By the Citizens Councils' own estimate there are "more than twice as many schools and pupils in the private educational system as (are) represented by members of SISA." These are the schools which talk about "Christian, quality education," but not racial prejudice per se. However, they are just as committed to

segregation as members of the SISA, sharing the feeling that quality education and integrated education simply cannot co-exist.

Although less obvious, these schools should also be required by the IRS to provide information on the racial composition of their student bodies and staff. Each private school in the South, for that matter, wears a "badge of doubt," and should be required to provide the additional information outlined in the Green decision. To limit such information gathering to Mississippi is not only absurd, it is also illegal, unjust and unfair.

State-By-State

Follows is a brief state-by-state report on private school activity in the South during the 1971-72 school year:

----Alabama: Official statistical information on private education from the state department of education is not only out-dated (the latest available year is 1969), but it is also inaccurate. Dr. Allen Cleveland of Auburn University, who surveyed Alabama's private nonsectarian schools in 1970 for his Ph.D. dissertation, found that more than half of the state's private schools were not registered with the state as required by law (a figure which would have been considerably higher had he included church-related schools in his study) and that "no evidence was found as a result of this study to indicate that the private schools, the state board of education, the

state department of education and the state building commission have, individually or collectively, complied beyond tokenism with the laws of Alabama which are specifically applicable to them with regard to the regulation and control of nonpublic education."

In the December 1971 issue of the Phi Delta Kappan, Dr. Cleveland and a colleague wrote: "Definitive data on private school enrollment in September 1971 are not available. A spokesman for the Alabama Private School Association (a member organization of the segregationist Southern Independent School Association) recently stated that between 1968 and 1971 50,000 children left Alabama's public schools to enroll in private schools. The best estimate is that an additional 8,000 to 10,000 white children left Alabama's public schools for private academies between September 1970 and September 1971."

At a rally in Centerville, Alabama, last August, Gov. George Wallace publicly announced for the first time his support of segregation academies, and said, "I think it's a horrible thing that you people have to pay taxes to support public schools. Then you have to dig in again to pay for quality education for your children in a private school."

The governor said that he has helped raise more than

$700,000 over the past several years in support of private schools and that his brother, Gerald, "heads an anonymous drive to help these schools which I have supported."

Wallace said that he had personally helped private schools as early as 1966 when he helped raise $35,000 for fledgling schools in Lowdnes and Macon counties. (Both schools have since lost their tax exemption for refusing to announce an open policy.)

----Arkansas: The state department of education, which admitted last year that private schools had increased so rapidly that the department had given up keeping data on them in 1969, did provide enrollment information on the 27 state-accredited private schools this year. Of the 27, six were accredited for the first time this year which, as the Memphis Commercial Appeal notes, "does not include the majority that have not yet requested accreditation or those that are just getting underway."

Last year the Arkansas Gazette reported that enrollment in segregation academies--not counting older private schools or parochial schools--rose from 405 in 1969 to 2,348 in 1970 and that the number of such schools had increased in that year from five to 15. Although the Gazette made no such survey for the 1971-72 school year, a reporter there said he knew of at least six new private

schools which opened for the first time this year in reaction to busing and "racial balance." Three of these new schools are in the Little Rock area where the public school system is under court order to desegregate.

----Florida: Like Arkansas, Florida is one of the four Southern states where public school enrollment increased this year and like Arkansas, Florida's private school enrollment also increased. The state department of education reports that in 1970-71 (the latest figure available) 123,593 students attended 434 private schools of all types, an enrollment increase of 10,774 over the previous year.

St. Petersburg, Jacksonville, Orlando and Tampa are all under court order to dismantle the dual school system, using busing where necessary. It appears that despite Gov~~ernor~~ Reubin Askew's courageous leadership, anti-busing hysteria has contributed to an increase in segregation academies in the state this year. It's Not Over In the South, a joint effort by five civil rights agencies to monitor school desegregation in 43 Southern cities, reports, for example, that 12 new all-white private schools opened this year in St. Petersburg.

While Florida does a credible job of reporting private school statistics, there are virtually no laws regulating private education. One Miami parent who did not want her four children to attend desegregated public schools set up a "private school" in her home. Under Florida law, this is legal because all that is required to satisfy the state's compulsory attendance law is the purchase of a state charter for $25.

---Georgia: According to an unofficial survey of school superintendents, there are 68,160 students enrolled in 269 private schools this year. More than three times the number of private schools are now in operation than were operating in 1967 when the state first began this survey and enrollment has more than doubled in that time.

Year-end public school enrollment figures are not yet available for the current school year, but there is indication from the records that the reported decrease of 2,500 public school students, based on a comparison of first-month figures, may be low. A comparison of year-end enrollment figures for 1970-71 and first month enrollment figures for the current school year shows a whopping decline of 108,750 public school students.

According to Dr. Russell Clark, who is Georgia's assistant superintendent of schools for planning, research and evaluation, approximately 50 per cent of the decrease in public school enrollment can be attributed to students fleeing public schools for private schools and the other 50 per cent can be attributed to declining birth rates. Government census figures and school-age population projections, however, indicate that this is a conservative estimate and that perhaps 75 per cent of the decline can be attributed to white flight from the public schools to private schools.

----Louisiana: State sources report that 165,678 students were enrolled in 459 nonpublic schools during the 1970-71 school year. Figures for the current school year will not be available until late summer, but the state department predicts an increase.

The Louisiana Independent School Association (LISA), one of the state organizations belonging to the Southern Independent School Association, reports that this year it has 50 member schools with over 1,000 employees, serving about 23,000 students.

The Louisiana association is not yet as well organized as the Virginia and South Carolina independent school associations. So far, the LISA had been run by volunteer labor, though it is now contemplating hiring a full-time executive secretary-athletic commissioner. The organization established its own accrediting standards last year, but as of January, it had not implemented them.

Louisiana, which has the South's largest Catholic population, has many parochial schools. Nationally, parochial education has been suffering from rising costs and shrinking enrollments, a fact which was reflected in Louisiana's declining private school enrollment figures between 1964 and 1968. When whites began to flee from the public schools in significant numbers in 1968, the state's private school enrollment figures began to increase. Since 1968, enrollments have climbed by 30,000, offsetting whatever continuing declines in parochial school enrollments there might be.

how many in Catholic schools?

There is good indication that the public school desegregation issue has played into the hands of Louisiana's ailing Catholic

schools. Despite public announcements by many dioceses that parochial schools would not provide escape for fugitives from desegregation, white parents who had adjusted to token integration, but not to complete desegregation, have sent their children to parochial schools which have much lower percentages of blacks enrolled.

Litigation has been initiated to integrate the parochial school system in Alexandria, La., on grounds that the system is segregated and "serve(s) as a haven for white families fleeing public school desegregation orders." The suit asks that the system forfeit its tax exemption and federal aid if it does not integrate by the fall.

Lawyers handling the case see it as a test case which, if successful, would "give us the means to close one of the most substantial loopholes in the whole integration situation....to close the doors to white flight."

In the meantime, parochial schools which are providing an escape for many whites are able to enjoy tax-exempt status as religious institutions while some of the nonsectarian segregation academies are loosing their tax exemptions. In one Louisiana parish (county) resentment is growing against the tax-exempt parochial

school which was able to build a new gym this year because of increased enrollments due to white flight.

----Mississippi: The state department of education reports that there were 63,242 students enrolled in 203 private schools during the 1970-71 school year. This year's loss of 15,000 public school pupils indicates that perhaps as many as 70,000 students are currently attending private schools in the state.

The Mississippi Private School Association, another member of the Southern Independent School Association, reports that it had 45 member schools last year, 116 member schools this year and that "our membership is increasing."

In Jackson, according to a report from several civil rights agencies, "there are 30 private schools of which 15 are clearly segregationist academies. These 15 had an enrollment in 1969-70 of 4,162 students, and in 1971-72 had an enrollment of 8,889 students. Of that total, 5,312 were in schools sponsored by the Citizens Council Foundation."

----North Carolina: Public school enrollment declined by 36,670 this year, by far the largest drop in enrollment of any Southern state. This decrease, however, may prove not so dramatic

when year-end figures are available for the current school year. The 36,670 decrease was based on a comparison of year end figures for 1970-71 and first month figures for 1971-72. Because first month figures tend to be low in comparison to year-end figures, the actual decline is not expected to be so great.

North Carolina is one of the few Southern states which attempts to keep full and current records on private schools within its boundaries. However, its data is far from accurate because only the private schools which have voluntarily reported are represented.

From state statistics one is able to see the steady increase in private education since 1964 when 150 private schools reported an enrollment of 18,721 pupils. During the current school year state records show that 259 nonpublic schools reported having 49,168 students enrolled. Actual enrollment in private schools this year probably exceeds 50,000, with the Charlotte-Mickenburg area leading the statewide trend to increasing private school enrollment.

----South Carolina: State department of education figures show that 38,762 students were enrolled in private schools

of all types in the state last year. ~~and the department expects an increase of 11,500 students this year. Elliot Wanamaker, president of the 68-member South Carolina Independent School Association, said last fall that an even greater number of students were expected to enroll.~~

While enrollment figures for private schools are not available for the 1971-72 school term, South Carolina's public schools lost 5,614 this year, which indicates that ~~Wanamaker's estimate is exaggerated.~~ perhaps an additional 3,000 - 4,000 students are attending private schools this year.

The KKK seems to have taken the cue from the Citizens Councils and is now in the segregation academy business in Belton, South Carolina. The groundbreaking, which was accompanied by a cross burning, was held last July and the school was expected to open in January.

"Private schools seem to be the coming modern-day thing and the lodge in Belton decided it wanted a school," Dean Williams, grand dragon of the South Carolina Chapter of the United Klans of America, told a UPI reporter. The klan also said that it expects that others like it will be built in North Carolina, Alabama and Virginia.

----Tennessee: Private school information is not available from the state department of education because, as a department spokesman told this reporter, "we're in the public education business." This is unfortunate because segregation academies are skyrocketing as a result of a June 1971 federal decision requiring major busing of some one-half of the state's entire school population.

According to news reports, seven new schools opened in Nashville this year, four of them church-related, with a combined enrollment of about 2,000. Nashville also has 13 established private schools whose combined enrollment is 6,500. Twelve of these 13 are predominantly white.

No new schools were reported in Memphis where the busing order is limited, but there are two new private schools in Chattanooga and existing institutions are reportedly expanding enrollments.

In Tennessee, even the private military schools are experiencing enrollment increases. Nationwide, military schools have become unpopular and their enrollments have decreased significantly as a result.

Depending on which figure you use, Tennessee lost 7,000 or 8,000 public school students this year, a decline clearly related

to the surging segregation academy movement in the state.

----Texas: A spokesman for the Texas Education Agency said in a telephone interview that nonpublic school enrollment was declining in the Lone Star State, because of rising costs and shrinking financial support for Catholic schools. He added that he knew of a few new private schools in the Austin area which were opened in reaction to public school desegregation, but that in general the segregation academy movement had been very limited across the state.

A private school source in Tyler reports a newly opened academy there, and civil rights agencies report that the City of Houston collaborated with the new Northwest academy by extending a four-lane street in time for the opening of its $1.5 million building.

----Virginia: Enrollment in Virginia's private schools increased by almost 4,000 this year according to department of education officials. There are 75,009 pupils enrolled in the 381 private schools voluntarily reporting to the state for the current school year. This increase in private school enrollment is provably indicative of an even greater increase in segregation academy enrollments than is obvious, because Virginia's elite boarding schools,

which are numerous, are reporting declines.

The 40 members of the Virginia Independent School Association, a Southern Independent School Association affiliate, comprise a virtual network of segregation academies across Southside Virginia, the area of the state with an uncompromising racism dating back to the Nat Turner Rebellion in the early 19th century. The segregation academy movement first began in this area in the early 60's. Now into their second decade, most of the academies are into permanent facilities and well organized. The Virginia Education Fund, which did not respond to this reporter's request for a copy of its annual report (tax-exempt foundations are required by law to make such information available to the public), provides broad financial assistance to these schools. The headmaster of the Surry Academy, explained how the foundation worked: "If you live in Waynesboro (located in the Blue Ridge Mountains where the black population is considerably lower than it is in Southside) and think the private schools are a good idea, the Fund allows you to contribute to the cause."

Effect on Public Education

Segregation academies purposefully frustrate the desegregation process in the South. In many areas within the Southern states, public school systems are becoming all-black.

While the proportion of students enrolled in all private schools in the region remains below the national average, white flight to private schools has significantly decreased public school enrollment in seven Southern states. Mississippi alone has lost more than 55,889 public school students in the last two years. State revenues for public education, usually based on average daily attendance, have decreased as public school enrollments have dropped. In addition, whites sending their children to private schools are more likely to vote down bond issues to finance public schools.

In some areas where the public schools are predominantly black, school boards are controlled by whites who send their children to segregation academies. Conflict of interest is inevitable and several instances of private schools receiving benefits at the public's expense have been documented.

The federal courts, in the face of weak administrative commitment, have once again been called upon to insure the 14th Amendment rights of black citizens. The concept that all forms

of public support (direct or indirect) to segregated private schools are unconstitutional is fortunately gaining judicial support.

"Quality Education"

A very wide diversity exists among the South's private schools. At one end of the spectrum are the independent college preparatory schools whose proven excellence has given private education its reputation for quality. At the other end is the "private school" operated at home by the Miami parent who did not want her four children to attend public desegregated schools. Segregation academies fall somewhere in between.

The academies have become so varied that it is no longer possible to describe them in general terms. One can no longer say that all segregation academies are housed in stables and old bowling alleys, though some are. Many of these schools have moved out of make-shift quarters into newly-constructed facilities, outshining the public school facilities in some places.

Most segregation academies are co-educational day schools with an average enrollment of 300 students. The trend is toward larger enrollments. ~~One~~ segregation academy (A South Carolina) which opened with ~~has 900 students.~~ an enrollment of 239 students in 1969, has over 1,000 students this year, according to its headmaster, and expects an enrollment of 1,200 this fall.

The average tuition charge is $360 to $400, which is, as one academy official bragged, "at a cost to the average parent of less than a monthly car payment."

Dr. Allen Cleveland applied 37 quantitative criteria used by recognized accrediting agencies to measure the quality of the private, segregated academies in Alabama. Because his sample is representative, his observations about the quality of Alabama's segregation academies are probably indicative of the academies in other Southern states:

> "It was found that two-thirds of the academies currently employ one or more teachers who do not qualify for teaching certificates. Half of the schools have one or more teachers with less than the baccularеate degree. More than two-thirds of the schools assign one or more teachers to fields of instruction other than those for which they were minimally prepared....
>
> "The average annual per-pupil expenditure for current operational costs is only two-thirds of such expenditures in the public school districts of the state. Audio-visual equipment, science laboratory facilities and equipment and other instructional materials are grossly inadequate in approximately 50 per cent of these schools. Curricular offerings are conspicuously limited in the vast majority."*

*Phi Delta Kappan, Dec. 1971, p.238.

Accreditation

The generally inferior education offered by the segregation academies necessitates the establishment of minimal standards of quality which private schools must be required to meet if they are to operate legally. Up to now, attempts to regulate private schools have faced overwhelming opposition in state legislatures throughout the South. Accreditation of private schools by state agencies remains a voluntary procedure, and an inept one at that.

Virginia provides a microcism showing the strange twists and turns of state and regional accrediting policies. A recent alumni bulletin of the Woodberry Forest School reports that Woodberry, along with three other well-know independent college preparatory schools in the state (Episcopal High School, Foxcroft and St. Christopher's), was not recommended by the Virginia Department of Education for unqualified accreditation for 1972-73. Ironically, the Surry Academy, a small rural segregation academy with limited resources and an educational quality which is highly questionable, was accredited by the state (according to its headmaster) as well as by the Virginia Independent School Association to which none of the state's better private schools belong.

The problem stems from the fact that accrediting agencies, both on the state and regional level, attempt to judge private schools by the same standards as the public schools. The result is that many of the criteria for evaluation are inapplicable to the curriculum and general objectives of the best independent schools.

Many of the South's better private schools are not accredited by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges, the regional accrediting agency. None of the segregation academies are.

The solution, however, lies not in having the private schools assume the responsibility for accrediting themselves. For the better independent schools to urge such a plan would only be to play into the hands of segregation academies which already prey on public ignorance by proclaiming their accreditation by state independent school associations.

The solution is for the better private schools to persist in their efforts to get state accrediting agencies and the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges to adopt a separate private school criteria, a high set of standards geared to the

concept of the best in independent school education. Such standards would also tend to protect the good name of quality education in the South, a name already defamed by the segregation academy movement, and assure protection and assurances of minimal quality to all students who attend nonpublic schools.

The National Association of Independent Schools, the organization representing the nation's finest private schools, agreed last summer in convention to exclude from membership schools with racially discriminatory admissions policies. Its affiliate, the Georgia Association of Independent Schools (GAIS), went one step further this spring by not only requiring that member schools be accredited and have open admissions policies, but also by requiring that a school not belong to any association which admits segregation academies.

The GAIS is to be congratulated for carrying out the intent of the Green decision. Six schools were expelled because of their membership in the Southeastern Independent School Association (SEIA). Sixty-three schools belong to SEIA, which apparently is not directly connected with the Southern Independent School Association, and 49 do not have open admissions policies.

Saving Confederate Dollars

The most disturbing aspect about the kind of education served up by the segregation academies to the white community is that it is education geared to the past, an education which denies the social realities of the present and the future. Segregation academies are supported by people who are still saving Confederate dollars, people whose vision is not large enough to see that most of the world's population is non-white and are unable to realize that if mankind is to survive our children must be educated in ways which will not perpetuate the ignorance and injustices of the past.

A segregated education is as damaging to white children as it is to black children. According to psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, "racially segregated schools contribute to the moral and ethical retardation of whites even as it contributes to academic retardation of blacks. America's white children who are the products of racially isolated schools are required to struggle with inner moral conflicts, guilt, a gnawing sense of alienation and personal incompleteness. These certainly must militate against a sense of personal fulfillment and are antithetical to that quality and substance of life essential for humanity."

The South cannot now, any more than it was able to in the past, bear the burden of supporting two racially separate educational systems--the public system which is becoming increasingly black and the academy system which is exclusively white. The majority of the academies do not measure up academically with the South's public schools simply because they can't afford to. While public education also suffers the consequences of this divided commitment (communities with ~~seg~~ segregation academies are less likely to vote for bond issues or raise property taxes for public education), it is certain that the white students enrolled in academies are the ones who are coming out on the short end of this latter day version of "separate but equal."

Dot Routh

EXPLORATORY QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME _____ POSITION _____

CITY, STATE _____ COUNTY _____

NAME OF SCHOOL DISTRICT _____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE:

Number of private schools in school district? _____
Number of these that are segregation academies? _____

Please list all of the segregation academies that you know of in your district:

NAME	YEAR BEGAN	APPROXIMATE ENROLLMENT

IF THERE ARE SEGREGATION ACADEMIES IN YOUR DISTRICT PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING:

SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SEGREGATION ACADEMIES, IN YOUR OPINION:

1. Has there been a reduction in the millage (or taxes to support public education)?
   _____yes _____no

2. Has a school bond been voted down?
   _____yes _____no

3. Does it seem likely that a school bond could pass in the near future?
   _____yes _____no

4. Has there been a change in racial balance in the school population?
   _____yes _____no

   please explain, using percentages if possible: _____

   _____

5. Have there been changes in the public school curriculum?
_____yes _____ no
please describe _____

_____

6. Has there been a misuse of public school property, materials, and/or funds?
_____yes _____no

please describe: _____

_____

7. Has there been a change in racial balance of teachers and/or administrators?
_____yes _____no

please describe: _____

_____

8. Has there been a change in services available to public school children?
_____ reduction
_____ increase
_____ little change

please describe_____

_____

9. Have there been changes in extracurricular activities?
_____yes _____ no

please describe: _____

_____

10. Have there been changes in policies and governance regarding students?
_____ yes _____no

please describe: _____

_____

11. Have there been changes in community/parent involvement in school activities?
_____yes _____no

please describe: _____

_____

In my district the establishment of segregation academies has had the following effect on the public school system:

_____ helped
_____ harmed
_____ no significant change

in what way _____

_____

PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS

The Superintendent of Schools in my district is:

_____ elected
_____ appointed by _____

_____ white
_____ black

Members of the school board are:

_____ elected
_____ appointed by _____

Total number of school board members? _____
_____ number white
_____ number black

_____ number who have their children in public schools?
_____ number who have their children in private schools?

THE NEW DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS OF THE SOUTH

A CASE STUDY

Washington Research Project

Cynthia Brown
Marlene Provizer

May, 1972

--~~In~~ Terrell County, Georgia, ~~there is~~ has a dual school system - the 1972 version of a system of segregated education which separates whites from blacks, contrary to the spirit of the Supreme Court's historic 1954 Brown decision. But there is a difference between today's system and the system declared unconstitutional by the courts almost two decades ago. The Terrell County dual system is legal. One system is white; the other black and poor white. The Terrell County public school system has 2400 black and 200 white students. It is operated by seven school board members, all white, who send their school-age children to Terrell Academy, a private facility established as a haven for white students fleeing the public schools because of desegregation. Terrell Academy has 600 students, all white. It is directed by an all-white board of trustees. Its board members include the Mayor of Dawson (the County seat), the owner of the Dawson radio station, and the owner of Stevens Industries (whose subsidiary, Cinderella Peanut Butter, holds the major federal government peanut butter contracts for free lunch, military, and surplus commodities).

--In Greenville, Mississippi, with the complete desegregation of the public schools in September 1970, the wife of a Mississippi Loyalist delegate at the 1968 Chicago Democratic Convention, together with other community leaders, founded a "high quality, college-preparatory" private school. It has an all-white enrollment despite its proclaimed open admissions policy. The local branch of the Commercial National Bank has what amounts to a revolving loan fund for anyone who needs money to send his children to the private school.

--In Shelby, Mississippi, the local Ford dealer reports that his new car sales are sharply down, and he cannot keep a good used car on his lot. In Shelby, all the public school students are black. White students attend Bayou Academy; the financial drain on their parents apparently is forcing them to sacrifice new cars and other non-essentials.

--In Sumter County, Georgia, four of the seven public school board members openly support private segregation academies. One teaches at an academy; another was an academy founder; a third sends his children to an academy; the fourth has a daughter-in-law who teaches at an academy. One damaging ramification of this "conflict of interest" has been the decision of the board to lower the public school millage rate from 20 to 12 mills, thus cutting back on funds available to public schools and leaving more cash in the pockets of those who may wish to send their children to segregation academies. (The school

board is being challenged in federal court by a group of black and white plaintiffs, including Governor Jimmy Carter, for failure to meet the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in its election procedures.)

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

School desegregation has been very much on the minds of the American public recently. The outcry over big city and metropolitanwide desegregation, busing of students to effect it, and the support of anti-busing and other anti-school desegregation legislation and constitutional amendment proposals are threatening a reversal in the school desegregation progress accomplished since 1954. But there is a strong movement, practically ignored by the popular media and therefore little known to the general public, throughout the rural South. If successful, it would return education to a dual, segregated system. The movement aims at the establishment of private schools -- commonly known among public school supporters as "segregation academies" -- as alternatives to integrated schools.

The Southern Regional Council estimated in 1969 that enrollment in private, segregated schools in the 11 southern states was 300,000. By early 1971, the estimated enrollment had jumped to about 500,000. Although total enrollment in private, segregated academies represents just over 4 per cent

of the states' 11.7 million total public school enrollment, segregation academies are stronger and thus more threatening in some states than others. The Southern Regional Council has singled out Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina in particular.

In Mississippi, 168 segergation academies enroll 54,037 students, representing about 9 per cent of the state's school children, in 1970-71. In South Carolina, 40,000 students, representing about 7 per cent of the total state school enrollment, were attending 163 segregation academies.

During the 1970 school year, Georgia had 224 private academies with 50,078 students -- 4.6 per cent of the total state enrollment.

Segregation academies have existed in all parts of the South since 1954. In 1969 and 1970, however, the number rapidly grew as the number of integrated public schools increased. The academy typically begins in one of two ways: parents incorporate as an educational foundation and open a school, or a church founds its own school -- often known as a "Christian School." The academy usually opens in temporary facilities (churches, former public schools, private homes) while arrangements are made for permanent facilities.

Funding of segregation academies drains the resources of rural communities. The financial backbone of the academies is the tuition payment. Tuition generally ranges from $400 to $800 a year for a family's first child. The charge is reduced on a sliding scale for additional children. Operating funds are also collected through such diverse money-raising projects as barbecues, bake sales, collection of savings stamps and numerous other self-help projects. More funds are often raised through informal but pointed assessment of local merchants by the academies' boards of trustees. Funds for the building program usually are collected separately. Each family sending a child or children to the academy for the first time makes a contribution to the building fund in addition to tuition payments. Loans to finance the cost of new buildings are readily secured from local banks. And again, merchants are frequently assessed.

Besides locally-raised money, the state may provide indirect aid. Tuition grants to private school students now have been barred by the courts, but textbook aid continues in at least one, Mississippi. (The Mississippi textbook law is being challenged by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.) State property tax exemptions are granted to all educational institutions regardless of attitudes on race, and legislatures have declined to enact strict regulations for the operation of private schools.

Direct federal aid to segregation academies is practically non-existent, but there are examples of indirect Federal assistance -- most commonly the transfer to private schools of books and equipment purchased with federal funds for public schools. The federal agency most directly involved with private schools is the Internal Revenue Service, which grants or denies them tax exempt status. A recent court ruling in a Mississippi case held that private schools must adopt and publicize open admissions policies before receiving tax exemptions. Moreover, private schools established simultaneously with the desegregation of the local public schools are considered suspect by the IRS and subject to further review. (IRS has, however, been less than enthusiastic about enforcement of its policy with respect to newly established, all-white private schools.)

In general terms, the threat of the segregation academies is clear. But their devastating effect, to be fully appreciated, must be examined in their local context. One of the most serious situations is in Sumter County, Georgia (the home of Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter).

Sumter County, whose economy is primarily agricultural, lies in southwest Georgia. Its total population in 1970 was 23,931 -- 44 per cent black and 56 per cent white. Americus, the county seat, had a population of 16,091, with about the same racial composition as the county. Plains, southwest of

Americus (and the home of the Carters) and Leslie, southeast of Americus, are very small towns.

Within its boundaries, Sumter County has two public school systems, the Sumter County school district and the Americus City school district. Both systems were totally segregated until 1965, when HEW began accepting freedom of choice desegregation plans for compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1970, both systems were ordered to complete desegregation under a statewide court order.

There are three "segregation academies" in Sumter: Southland, Brooklyn Heights, and Heritage. A fourth all-white segregation academy, Smithville, is located in Lee County near the Sumter County line. It enrolls a large number of students from Sumter.

Southland is the most firmly-established of the Sumter private schools. It began in a former public school building in 1967 with grades 1-8 and 110 students. In 1968, it added a ninth grade, and enrollment increased to 159 students. Southland moved in 1969 to a plush, 40-acre campus with two new buildings and an athletic field outside of Americus. Enrollment jumped to 270 students, and a tenth grade was added. In 1970 (the year of complete desegregation of the Americus City and Sumter County public schools), Southland became a 12-grade academy with 700 students. For the current school year there are 1000 students, including those at a Montezuma branch in

neighboring Macon County which has six grades feeding into the main campus. There are 40 teachers at the main campus and 10 at Montezuma.

The Southland board of trustees has not established any criteria for admission, using instead its discretion in considering applicants. The school has an IRS tax exemption and therefore an "open admissions" policy. All the students are white. It has raised money through loans, donations, and tuition payments amounting to $385 per child per year. The loans are still outstanding, but Southland is in sound financial shape.

Brooklyn Heights Academy, now in its second year, is an extension of the Brooklyn Heights Baptist Church and has no board of trustees or separate tax exemption (the exemption of the church covers the academy). Unlike many churches sponsoring "Christian schools", the parent Brooklyn Heights church maintains its affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention, and the pastor, Reverend Windham, is headmaster of the academy. He originally planned to build the school a grade a year, but he received so many requests at the outset that he opened with six grades. This year, it includes grades 1 through 8. Three hundred forty students are enrolled compared with 217 last year.

Tuition at Brooklyn Heights is $650 for the first child, $550 for the second, $500 for the third, and no cost for the rest. The school is financed by contributions, tuition and, to some extent, through the church. The congregation built the

classrooms, and the physical plant now includes two new classroom facilities. An older building houses the kindergarten.

The school seems financially sound and has plans to expand. Rev. Windham is acquiring several more acres of land to accommodate expansion plans, including a junior high school to be built this year and a high school (with gymnasium and athletic field) to be constructed next year. There are no extra-curricular activities except music. Athletics and other extra-curricular activities are planned, however, for the ninth grade.

Heritage Academy is in its third year. It is housed in a former public school building used by Southland for a few years. When Southland moved to a new campus, it leased the building to Heritage. In 1969, Heritage had 100 students. Its enrollment increased to 270 students the next year. The Heritage founders include Hugh Crenshaw, Sumter County school board member. Henry Crisp, Sumter County school board attorney, drew up the incorporation papers. Interestingly, Heritage was organized by many of the same persons involved with Southland, most of whom are members of the John Birch Society. Heritage has been granted an IRS tax exemption.

About 115 of Smithville Academy's 250 students live in Sumter County, which provides most of its financial support although it is located in Lee county. Ed Bailey, headmaster of Smithville, was formerly superintendent of the Sumter County

school system. He left to organize Smithville when the federal government ordered Sumter County to desegregate in 1970. Smithville is housed in a former public high school. Tuition is $450, plus $150 for family membership.

Most observers believe that Southland will become a permanent educational fixture. But there is disagreement about its quality of education. James Gaston, a public school board member who teaches science at Southland, said that "kids come out here to get a good education. It is much harder than the public schools." On the other hand, the director of federal projects for the Sumter County school system, John Katopodis, said, "They may have carpeting on the floor, but the public school system offers as much." Billy Carter, Governor Jimmy Carter's brother, said that his daughter "learned absolutely nothing at Southland. She made straight A's there and almost failed the next year at Plains" - a public high school.

The college in Americus will not routinely accept Southland graduates. It automatically admits only graduates of schools accredited by the state, a status not accorded Southland.

It is generally agreed that Southland draws its financial support and student body from a higher economic group than other segregation academies in the area. It is nevertheless an equally racist institution. Southland reportedly has burned books with pictures of blacks in them and has bought books from American Opinion Company, a John Birch Society book publisher.

Southland has some former public school teachers. The headmaster, Melvin Kinslow, was employed in the public schools of Americus for many years. The private schools reportedly have a large turnover in teachers; one said teacher turnover every year at Southland is about 25 per cent.

Southland has a athletic scholarship program, including football, baseball, tennis, and track. It was having difficulty attracting Americus High students until this year because, as one person said, "high school students want to be where the action is." So the academy gave scholarships to the Americus football players, except the star, who is black. It also gave scholarships to the cheerleaders. It succeeded in attracting football players and cheerleaders.

Unlike Southland, whose objective is college preparation, Brooklyn Heights wishes above all to be know as a Christian school. It is a non-demoninational (Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, and Assembly of God students attend), but the principal emphasis is on Bible studies. Rev. Windham's next objective is to establish a conventional Bible school. He says that a local wealthy man had offered him a former public school building if he would establish a private academy, but he refused because he is interested only in a Christian or Bible school.

Admission standards at Brooklyn Heights are not fixed. Several factors, particularly the parents' commitment to "Christian ideals", are considered. Rev. Windham said he does not know whether a black student would ever be accepted at the Academy. He claims his teachers are not allowed to teach

prejudice but acknowledged some private schools in the area do teach it. Brooklyn Heights has the reputation as a hard-core Bible Belt, fire-and-brimstone school.

Several of the 14 teachers at Brooklyn Heights Academy previously taught in the public schools. The principal taught in Americus for 13 years. The school uses church buses, at least three of which are former public school buses with the name "Sumter County" painted out.

Heritage Academy appears financially to be the weakest of the three segregation academies in Sumter. It has lost students this year to the Sumter County and Americus public school systems. It opened with the intention of accepting every white child regardless of the ability of his parents to pay and is consequently having financial difficulties. Some observers believe the school will fade out in a few years; others believe it will survive.

Black leaders in Sumter are concerned about inadvertent assistance by the black community to Southland by patronizing rummage sales, refreshment booths set up at the county fair, wrestling matches sponsored by the Radio Band Citizens' Club, and other similar fund-raising activities. Some type of money-raising drive is almost always underway. Farmers' meetings, for example, give the Southland parent-teachers organization opportunities to sponsor barbecue stands. There is a large envelope at a Piggly Wiggly grocery store in Americus. It says, "Donate your green stamps to Southland Academy."

There has been a slight increase in white enrollment in the county public schools this year. This is partly attributable to the inability of many families to assume the financial burden of private school tuition. The local economy has been weakened because families who send their children to private schools are buying only necessities. Reports of heavy borrowing, wives taking outside jobs for the first time and mortgaging of cars and homes are common. Some public school supporters believe the private schools are adversely affecting efforts to attract industry. We were told that "some industries gave subsidies for private school education to officials they wanted to come in, but now some are thinking of dropping this." The only interest benefiting from the financial squeeze are the bankers, who generally support the private schools. One bank, the Bank of Commerce, has supported Southland openly in radio commercials and is probably giving money to the school.

Much of the success of the segregated schools in Sumter can be directly attributed to the county public school board. Four of the seven school board members are strong and vocal private school supporters, and one has his children in private school. These four board members are the focal point of the community's contention that there is an effort underway to destroy the Sumter County public schools. In Sumter, the county school system suffers more than the city system.

The Sumter County system operates six schools. There are three elementary schools: Northeast, located in the New Era community northeast of Americus; Southeast, in Leslie; and Westside; in Plains. Central Junior High is located just outside of Americus. Before desegregation, it was called Sumter High, the school to which both Americus and Sumter County blacks were assigned. There are two high schools now, Union High in Leslie and Plains High in Plains. Two public schools in Sumter County were closed to facilitate school desegregation. Thalian, a formerly white school located between Americus and Plains, is now used as an audio-media center distribution point. New Era, located in the New Era community and also a formerly white school, has been sold to the New Era Community Club.

According to Joe Wilson, superintendent of the county schools, the system lost about 500 students, mostly white, between the 1969 and 1970 school years. In 1969, there were 2,800 students enrolled; but in 1970, the first year of desegregation, enrollment slipped to 2,300 students. On October 30, 1971, there were 2,309 students in the system. There are 175 more whites this year than in 1970. Superintendent Wilson said that many of the whites who returned to the public schools came from Heritage Academy, and some from Smithville Academy. "The biggest loss was black students," Wilson told us. "They just didn't show up." Sumter County also lost teachers to the private schools. Despite the closing of two schools when the system desegregated, it still had a teacher shortage.

The Americus school system has seven schools, now all integrated. Before desegregation, Americus' black high school students attended Sumter High, the county's black high school, except for a few blacks who attended Americus High under free choice.

The Americus school board is appointed by the City Council (composed of the mayor and three councilmen). None of the school board members has children in private schools. The mayor, city council members and school board members are all public school supporters. According to Superintendent Spencer Davis, the Americus schools have lost about 400 white students to private schools since desegregation took place. White students no longer seem to be leaving, however, and this year about 80 white students have returned to the public schools. Davis said those who left "were fearful of what the school situation would be" and "when they saw it was all right, some returned."

Four of the seven members of the Sumter County school board have close ties with two of the segregation academies. James Gaston teaches at Southland Academy; E.L. Poole has a daughter-in-law teaching there. He also was a member of the New Era Community Club, which purchased a former public school at a giveaway price (reportedly with the intention of building another segregation academy or relocating Heritage Academy), but he quit the club to avoid the appearance of a conflict. Hugh Crenshaw founded Heritage Academy and was chairman of its board of trustees.

Roland Satterfield, the fourth board member, sends his children to Southland. Henry Crisp, the attorney for the school board, drew up the incorporation papers for Heritage and was one of the four incorporators of Southland.

Private school supporters are not at all reluctant to express their views on the future of integrated education. An article about Sumter County in the Wall Street Journal (November 4, 1971) quoted Roland Satterfield: "Fifteen years from now we will have a segregated system again. Federal pressure will get a little less and a little less, and we'll be back where we were." In the same article, Hugh Crenshaw is quoted as saying, "This parent came to me absolutely crying and said, 'what should I do?' It was a case where the child was one of two whites in a class of 26. I said, 'Put him into private school.'" Crenshaw added, "go ahead and quote me, I'm a public school-board member, but I said it."

Two board members who are private school supporters, Poole and Crenshaw, were appointed by remaining members to replace board members who resigned in 1971. (Those who resigned had been questioned because they had children in private schools.) The black community and liberal whites were particularly upset about the irregularities surrounding Chrenshaw's appointment. Petitions supporting black and white candidates for the vacancy were submitted to the board. The petition with the most signatures was for a black. The one with the second-highest number of signatures supported a white moderate. The one with

the fewest signatures backed Crenshaw; he was selected.

Black students boycotted at the end of last school year when Crenshaw was appointed to the board. The boycott lasted three days and included a daily march around the court house and a march through the downtown area. Superintendent Wilson said the boycott ended when parents talked their children into returning to school to take final exams. Black students estimated participation at nearly 100 per cent at Union High School (90 per cent black), and at about 25 per cent at Plains (50 per cent black). Participation was highest among black seniors. Most white support came from Koinonia, a biracial, Christian communal farm in Sumter County.

Two private school supporters were elected. James Gaston was elected to the board as a write-in candidate. Roland Satterfield was elected at the same time, and several irregularities were reported in his election. Some absentee ballots did not list the name of his opponent, Mary Ellen Hawkins. She called election officials and had new absentee ballots made available. Satterfield won by 250 votes, and Mrs. Hawkins challenged the outcome. It was the first time an election had ever been challenged in Sumter County. The local judge disqualified himself and an Albany judge heard the case and ordered a new election. Alleged irregularities included charges that the woman responsible for the voting lists was the county treasurer and secretary to the board of county commissioners, that some persons who had not voted in years were not dropped from the

voting rolls, and that some ballot boxes were not sealed. Satterfield won by only 13 votes in the second election.

Voting irregularities in Sumter County are not uncommon. Local registration forms ask voters to indicate race. In one election, the county voting office refused to deputize school principals to register blacks to vote, even though it is legal. There has been gerrymandering of districts in Sumter County. One school official stated that "the one-man, one-vote principle has been violated in Sumter County. The school board is illegal because the members are elected from districts which are unequal in population."

There is a state statute requiring school board members to have their children in public schools. Only two of the seven members of the Sumter County school board have school-age children. Chairman O.A. Williams has his child in public school; Satterfield has his in Southland. He claims that he is not violating the law because his children were not of school age when he was elected. Some Sumter County teachers and at least one principal, Buford Reese of Central Junior High School, have their children in private schools.

Early this year, the Georgia legislature passed a statewide law pertaining to the involvement of public school board members with private academies. The new law says that no one "employed or serving on the governing body of a private educational institution may serve as a public school board member." There is some question with regard to the legal interpretation of the law. As the state board of education now interprets the situation, the law makes it clear that a public school board member cannot serve on a private school board, own stock in a private school, or

teach there. Attorneys are now considering the issue of whether the law should also be interpreted to include cases such as wives/husbands or children teaching at private academies. If the law is enforced, it seems clear that James Gaston probably will have to choose between teaching at Southland and serving on the Sumter County Board of Education. The extent to which other board members may be affected is unclear.

Several petitions calling for the recall of Gaston, Poole, Satterfield and Crenshaw have been circulated in Sumter County by public school supporters. They have been signed not only by blacks, but also by some influential whites, including Governor Jimmy Carter's brother, Billy, and their mother. But supporters acknowledge that chances for recalling the private school supporters are slim.

The school board majority has subverted the public system by drastically cutting back the tax millage from 20 to 12 mills in the last two years. (The Americus tax millage is 12, but it has a stronger base than Sumter County.) In 1966, federal funds for the Sumter County system were terminated under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for failure to meet desegregation requirements. At that time, the board was forced to raise the millage to the maximum level (20 mills without a referendum) to carry on its educational program. Despite this level, the district was going into debt. Federal assistance became available again in 1970 when the district complied with the requirements of Title VI. The board also decided in 1970 to get out of debt.

School officials cut corners, and at the end of the year there was a $222,000 surplus. The school board then used the surplus as the rationale for cutting the millage. One school official said the "surplus" the school board claims to have is, in fact, money accumulated from unused teachers' sick leave.

James Gaston, a public school board member and private school teacher, has a different version of the surplus story. He said the board wished to save $100,000 each year for five years and then go to the people with a referendum calling for a new building. It would say it had enough money but needed voter approval. By July 1, 1971, the board had accumulated $222,000.

"The State Education Agency said it looked as if Sumter County was in the bank business not the education business," said Gaston. The money was being accumulated illegally, and because of that, he said, "We dropped the millage. But using the money saved and collected, we will have more money than last year. There was a lot of discussion about it because people didn't understand. We needed less money because two buildings were closed and seven or eight were cut out." When Wilson saw that the board was intent on lowering the millage, he recommended a level of 15 mills. The board was pressured to go lower by parents of private school children and large landowners. Jerome Etheridge, assistant manager of the University of Georgia Agriculture Extension Service experimental farm, led a group of white parents protesting to the school board when they heard that the board was going to lower the millage to eight or nine

mills. Their efforts, according to the superintendent, probably prevented the millage from being lowered below 12.

The Sumter County schools tax millage was decreased in the face of incredible problems. There is enough money to pay the teachers' salaries for only nine months, and teachers are on 12-month contracts. The board will have to borrow money to finish out the three months and also will have to borrow for next year.

The 1971 school boycott over board member Crenshaw's appointment hurt school financing because of the attendance factor in determining levels of state aid for hiring teachers. The overall loss of white students to private academies has cost the system 21 teachers. State aid for paying teachers is down from $883,566 last year to $771,893 this year. Local school funding has dropped to $360,000 this year from $512,437 last year.

Facilities are inadequate at many of the schools, yet the board slashed the superintendent's recommendation of $10,000 to be spent on replacement of equipment to $3,500. It cut his request for $6,438 to be spent on the new equipment to $3,219. At Westside Elementary, the board refused to do anything about the dangerous heating system (the boiler could have exploded at any time) until parents banded together to raise an uproar. The school board had known for well over a year that the heating system at Westside, Southeast and one other school needed to be replaced.

Plains High School has also suffered. The school has only two showers for girls and one for boys. The board called for bids to build new showers but then decided all bids were too high. The board subsequently gave the principal $3,500 and told him to use the money as he saw fit. He, the coach, and students have built the new showers themselves. The air-conditioner in the library at Plains had to be purchased with proceeds from the sale of soft drinks at basketball games because the board declined to spend the money. There is insufficient food storage and lunchroom space.

At Union High in Leslie, 40 window panes are broken, yet the superintendent said he cannot do anything about it. The gymnasium is being used as a classroom. A concrete floor in the Union cafeteria constitutes a health hazard. Parents were told if they wanted to get it tiled, they would have to do it themselves. Part of the school has been boarded up because it is unsafe.

The board cut the superintendent's $5,000 recommendation for textbooks to $1,000 and his $2,838 request for library expenditures to $838. Teachers and students complain about the lack of books.

Besides allotting inadequate funds to maintain facilities, the board has sold property at giveaway prices. The New Era school was sold to the New Era Community Club for $1,000. A group of black citizens headed by Arthur Pless of the Sumter County Improvement Association brought suit to have the sale voided.

The plaintiffs claim the school was sold far below its acknowledged value. Superintendent Joe Wilson said it would cost $50,000 to build another comparable school. The Plaintiffs contend that the school was purchased with the intention of turning it into yet another segregation academy. Others believe it was purchased to relocate Heritage Academy in New Era because the majority of its students come from that area.

Before the sale, the school was locked with all its equipment inside. The "club" refused to let the Sumter County federal programs director, John Katopodis, enter the school and remove equipment purchased with federal and county funds following the consummation of the sale. The equipment included overhead projectors, copy machines and science equipment purchased with federal funds intended to aid disadvantaged children (Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) and at least 1,500 library books and 13 sets of encyclopedias purchased with federal money. Katopodis was infuriated not only because the equipment was desperately needed (the book count in other schools was below accreditation level), but also because HEW threatened to cut off federal funds for desegregating school systems (Emergency School Assistance Program) because of the illegal transfer of public school property to private parties. "I begged the Office for Civil Rights [in HEW] to help me stop them before it was necessary to cut the funds off," he said.

Eventually he won out when Pless and his co-plaintiffs brought their suit. Federal District Court Judge Elliott ordered the equipment released. He did not void the entire sale but said he would reopen the case if the New Era Club opened a private school.

It is strongly suspected that equipment purchased with federal funds has been transfered illegally to private schools. The federal programs director, Katopodis, has had other problems with equipment purchased with Title I money. Some equipment has never been accounted for since he came to Sumter County. At first, there was no inventory available, so he did his own inventory. Some items were found to be missing when his inventory was compared with an earlier inventory list which was eventually discovered. Among them was an aquarium, now reportedly resting in the office of former Sumter County school superintendent Ed Bailey in Smithville Academy. A former black teacher suspects much equipment purchased with federal funds is at Smithville Academy. She told of biology supplies ordered "in triplicate" for the county system before desegregation which failed to appear at Plains or Union schools when the system was integrated. She believes there is also equipment not accounted for which was originally purchased from an army surplus outlet.

Katopodis has been approached surreptitiously by private school representatives interested in making use of equipment purchased with federal funds. Southland wished to borrow

band equipment purchased with these funds! He contacted Southland officials about participating in Title I:

> "I called them last year and said I was the federal program coordinator. I told them I had a remedial reading program and did they want to participate? I got several calls from them. They said they had problems and asked if I could send the teachers over. I said: 'That's not the way it works. Your students have to come over here.'"

The school board is indifferent -- sometimes hostile -- to the use of federal funds to aid the desegregation process, as demonstrated by its approval of the New Era sale, which nearly resulted in the loss of Sumter County's desegregation aid funding. Katopodis says, "it kills those people to see integration working."

Considering the competition of segregation academies and destructive policies of the school board, the fact that any desegregation has taken place at all in Sumter County and Americus public schools is quite remarkable.

When "free choice" gave way to desegregation in the 1970-71 school year, Sumter High, the black high school located in Americus, was converted to integrated Central Junior High School. Blacks from Sumter High were reassigned to formerly all-white Plains High School and Union High School. Plains is now about 50 per cent white. Union is nearly all-black. Two of the three elementary schools in the system were formerly black.

White parents who sent their children to formerly black schools were shocked at conditions. Said one white mother when her children enrolled in formerly black Northeast Elementary in September, 1970:

"I was really appalled. They had not done anything to it. The halls were dirty. Uprooted johns were sitting in the back. They decided to refloor the bathroom but it had not been done. There was a dirty mobile john in back. They had all summer to fix things but they didn't do anything. There were only going to be a handful of whites -- three or four per class. I called Dr. Gatewood [a board member]. He got someone to paint the halls in his spare time."

Desegregation has brought a cutback in some activities. At Sumter High (all-black high school before desegregation), students had a football team, but there is no team at either Plains or Union High School. Union students want a football team but cannot find support for it. Sumter High also had a marching band. Katopodis only recently hired a band director with federal desegregation funds.

The Sumter County school system not only has inadequate facilities and activities, but also has seriously overcrowded classes. The system has adjusted to the exodus of white students by closing two elementary schools. It would not be able to accommodate a re-entry of the white students without new classrooms. For the first six weeks of school, a black sixth grade student at Northeast Elementary reported, there were 50 children in his class. The overcrowding was "solved" by sending half of the children to the librarian, who was pressed into double-service as a teacher.

Relationships among parents and teachers have developed fairly well in the Sumter County schools. Superintendent Wilson believes tension between black and white students has largely

disappeared and that

> "Emotionalism is also wearing off among adults. We have no trouble with the students we have. They get along well. They are friends, though not so sociable yet."

Despite closing the black high school and subsequent reduction in school activities, black students still seem to accept integration as both a workable and viable goal. For example, Willie Fred Smith, a black senior at Union, said:

> "White and black kids are learning to get along together. If adults left them alone, they'd work it out."

David Laster, a black 1971 Plains graduate, said that while integration constituted no gain academically from the education he had previously received at Sumter High, he did gain something socially, "as far as understanding between people." Black and white students at Plains say integration is going well and they think highly of principal Cecil Dunn.

Dunn said few, if any, discipline problems are related to race. "I don't stay on the kids' backs all the time," he said. "I realize kids are kids whether they are black, white, or any other color." All school clubs are integrated, but the school board cancelled many extra-curricular activities when desegregation was ordered. Integration is planned at Plains. Precautions are taken to assure that if the president of an organization is white, that the vice-president is black. Both races are represented among class officers. Dunn explained:"We try to keep the class

officers mixed. We are going to keep it mixed until they learn to do this themselves. Now, I believe, they need some guidance."

Black students at Union High express positive feelings about their white principal, who "believes in integration."

A number of white parents have sent their children back to public schools. Two black seniors at Union High said there are about twice as many whites this year as there were last year. They say "most of the kids indicate their parents made them go to private schools."

Although the Americus school system is directed by strong public school supporters, it has had some serious in-school discrimination problems. As a result of its use of ability grouping to separate some black and white sutdents, HEW is withholding further desegregation aid funds. Blacks consider the former principal of Americus High a racist. Last year nearly 100 blacks were suspended. When fights broke out between black and white students, the typical pattern was that the white students were suspended for one day while black students were suspended for two weeks. Several blacks were "permanently expelled".

The most serious such incident involved the treatment of Sammy Clayton, a black student at Americus High School who became embroiled in a fight with some white students during the first year of school desegregation. One of the boys' mothers swore out a warrant for Clayton's arrest. The Justice of the Peace refused to swear out a similar warrant for the white boy's arrest

when Mrs. Clayton came to see him. Young Clayton was advised to plead guilty and received a year's sentence at the nearby state workfarm. Mrs. Clayton learned how badly her son was being treated through his cellmate. The intervention of outside legal help finally led to Clayton's release after five months and two weeks in prison.

Conditions have changed drastically at Americus High under the new principal, Mr. Fussell, who is also white, but fair and close to all students -- blacks as well as whites. All activities, which had been segregated since the beginning of free choice, are now fully integrated, and clubs and student government have been completely reinstated. An integrated homecoming was held this year for the first time. Sammy Clayton, who is back at Americus High this year, predicted that "there won't be any trouble over there this year." Clayton "senses a change" at Americus High, and he "gets a lot of respect" now.

Desegregation is working out among the students in Americus and Sumter County, but there remains harassment of adult public school supporters, particularly parents and school employees. Alleged victims of pressure and social ostracism include a bank president demoted to vice-president (with a salary cut) because his wife refused to send their children to Southland; a Baptist minister told by his church board to send his daughter to private school; and a young doctor who wrote the local newspaper complaining about discrimination, but who later succumbed to

social pressure and applied for admission of his children to Southland only to be refused because of the newspaper letter. Even Billy Carter, the Governor's brother, has suffered harassment because he joined the efforts of public school supporters. "In certain areas you are just a damn nigger lover if your kids go to the public schools," Carter declared.

But the greatest harassment has been reserved for Sumter County school officials. Superintendent Wilson was told last fall by the school board to look for a new job. Unlike past superintendents, he has never been invited to join the country club nor any other civic and social organizations. Wilson has contracted an ulcer since his arrival in Sumter County.

During the 1971 summer vacation, the school board sold the home of the Plains' High School principal, Cecil Dunn, a residence which was to be furnished as part of his two-year job contract. He was told he could live in the house until June of this year when his contract expired. He believes the board wanted to get rid of him because of his occasional visits to the biracial community, Koinonia Farm. Dunn commented, "If the officials were as good as the kids and parents here, we would have a terriffic school. They're going to run me out. I can't stay here."

Dunn's prediction was correct. On March 3, by the familiar 4-3 vote, the board fired Wilson, Dunn, Mrs. Bozeman, the black curriculum director, Mrs. Fuchs, a black counselor at Plains, and Mrs. Morrison, a white bus driver. No reason was given for any of the dismissals. Mrs. Bozeman had been in the system for more than 10 years. Her husband was assistant superintendent of the school system before he died. One board member reportedly said, "No nigger woman should make $12,000 a year." Mrs. Morrison, a poor woman, was beginning to work with blacks and represents a potential alliance between poor whites and poor blacks. Black and white public school supporters have joined together to fight this latest action by the board. Union students staged a one-day boycott. The board subsequently agreed to rehire Dunn but not Wilson or Mrs. Bozeman. Wilson is fighting his dismissal, and the mayor of Americus has agreed to be his lawyer.

If John Katopodis were not planning to leave (to attend graduate school next year), the board would no doubt fire him as well. He has been in the system two years. Although a member of the Kiwanis Club and Jaycees in other parts of Georgia, he was not invited to join any service club in Americus. Moreover, he has not been invited into one white person's home, with the exception of Koinonia families, for two years.

The board is now saying it does not want federal funds; it therefore may not hire a successor to Katopodis. If the board should actually decide not to apply for continuing federal funds, an estimated 50 to 60 jobs, mostly teaching positions, would be eliminated.

Local institutions, expecially churches, have not been particularly supportive of the public school system. One person told us, "Sumter County is in the heart of the Bible-Belt, but Christianity is pretty much a social function here rather than a commitment to Christ." The only integrated church is the Catholic Church. There are a couple of ministers who claim to be public school supporters, but they have taken at best a passive role in the struggle for survival.

The Lions Club, which previously purchased eyeglasses for needy white children, refused to do the same thing for needy black children because it now contributes to Southland Academy.

When the formerly all-black Sumter High became the integrated junior high, Sumter County, which owned all of the acreage surrounding the school, turned it over to Americus City so that the school could not use it for integrated recreational facilities.

With a school board intent on destroying the public schools for which it is responsible, the outlook could hardly be bleaker. But there are whites in all Sumter County schools, and blacks and whites in all economic levels are beginning to work together for the first time. Poor whites are beginning to realize that private school supporters are selling them out and that they must work with blacks to save the public schools. A dialogue between poor blacks and whites is developing through the vehicles provided by local federal program advisory committees.

Middle class whites are beginning to take an active role in integrated parent-teacher organizations. White middle-class parents such as Mr. and Mrs. Jerome Etheridge, native Georgians who have never before associated with blacks as equals, have assumed leadership of the public school supporters.

The Etheridges are a young couple who have lived in the Americus area for 10 years -- five years in Americus and the past five years about 10 miles outside Americus near Plains.

Mr. Etheridge is the assistant superintendent of the University of Georgia Agricultural Extension Service experimental farm. Mrs. Etheridge is a substitute teacher at Westside Elementary School. The Etheridges were born and raised in rural south Georgia -- she in Crawford County, and he in Baker County. They have three children, two of whom attend public school. They are soft-spoken and very religious. They are voices of the "New South".

The Etheridges did not arrive at their position of support for the public schools quickly or easily. Mr. Etheridge said:

> "We knew integration was upon us. You know how southerners have felt about this. We were all taught this -- taught we were a little bit better than blacks. At first we tried to figure how to send our children to private schools. But at the same time we were praying to do the right thing. Also, at the same time we got involved with a group of people hoping the courts would approve free choice. All this happened at the same time. Most of our friends were supporting private schools. It was a real up-hill battle. God led us to choose the public schools. We decided once we had made our decision we would support it 100 per cent. All are equal before God ... Really finances was not it. It would be hard [to send his children to private school] but we would not have to borrow. When we reached the decision we did not try to hide it. There is no doubt about it that we made the right decision."

Mrs. Ethridge concurs with her husband:

> "We have learned a lot. Our attitude has changed. Nothing short of something tragic would cause us to leave the public school. If the education was so terrible my child could not go to college, I would leave. But you can not pull out of something you have put your heart in. I do not think the education has gone down."

There are some wealthier whites -- Billy Carter, for example -- who support the public school in Sumter County. He operates the Carter Warehouse providing storage for peanuts, cotton, and other locally grown products. He has four children, all of whom are now in the public schools. Two of his children attended Southland and Brooklyn Heights Academies for a year, but he did not approve of the education they received. Of the desegregated public schools, he says, "I don't think the public schools are improving, but I don't think they're any worse than when I went to school." Carter has signed the petitions to recall school board members who support the segregation academies, and he now attends and speaks at school board meetings.

In early April, there was a development which changed the nature of the public school supporters' battle, particularly in terms of wealthy white support. Governor Carter took a public stand in his home county education crisis. He spoke to a Georgia Education Association convention in Atlanta and reaffirmed his personal commitment to public schools, denounced supporters of segregation academies, expressed his desire to return to Plains after his term as Governor and place his daughter in public school, and announced that he, his brother, his mother, together with other whites and blacks, were filing suit in federal court to have the Sumber County Board removed. The suit called for a new election to be held under the requirements of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The prospects for public education in Sumter County are indeed bleak, though perhaps not so bleak as before. Under the present election arrangement, which ignores the one-man, one-vote principle, public school supporters stand little chance of gaining control. With one-man, one-vote, public school supporters might gain control, but only through a black and white coalition.

Blacks alone have little chance of achieving more than token representation on the school board. They do not consider control of the board a possibility. They constitute 44 per cent of the county population. Under a single-member district apportionment for the purpose of electing school board members, concentration of blacks in certain areas might permit them to elect a couple of board members. Another problem is voter registration; only some 28 per cent of the eligible black votes are registered (2,000 out of 7,205 potential voters).

One of the ironies of the Sumter County situation is that blacks remain, despite everything that has happened, very much committed to integrated schools. In a sense, that commitment has been strengthened by the stark realization that the school board is prepared to abdicate its responsibility to a school system that serves only blacks and poor whites. Blacks have no choice but to support full integration as the only means of achieving full equality of educational opportunity. Similarly, sincere white public school supporters have no choice but to support full integration.

Consolidation of the city and county school districts might have the effect of purging the private school supporters from the Sumter County board. Proponents of consolidation contend that there are enough public school supporters in Americus to tip an elected, consolidated board in favor of the public schools. Consolidation is favored by both liberal whites and blacks. But there has always been hostility between the city and county school boards; two previous attempts to merge have failed.

Supporters of consolidation plans claim they would slow down the destruction of the public school system through two provisions incorporated in the consolidation plans: (1) School board members must have school-age children. (2) Members' children cannot be enrolled in private schools.

The first provision would unseat James Gaston; the second provision, which is already part of the state law but is blatantly ignored, would eliminate Roland Satterfield. Proper enforcement of these provisions would get rid of some of the worst offenders and substantially weaken the power of the private school supporters. Although supporters of consolidation expect the Sumber County school board to fight it, they think consolidation will have a fair chance in a countywide referendum. Arthur Pless, a leading consolidation advocate, believes "there are enough whites concerned with public education" to help it pass, and the campaign is running smoothly in Americus. Jerome

Etheridge, county resident, believes "consolidation has a better chance now than any time in the last ten years. Because of poor leadership, people are more anxious."

With little chance of black control or considerable influence on the school board, with only a slightly more optimistic picture for a coalition of black and white public school supporters, with a questionable possibility of consolidation of the two school districts, and with the ambiguity of the new Georgia law, legal battles take on increasing significance. Civil rights forces in Sumter County are desperately in need of good legal help. The nearest civil rights lawyer in the area is C. B. King in Albany, and his office is over-burdened. Otherwise, plaintiffs must go to Atlanta to find the too few lawyers who handle too many civil rights cases. Governor Carter's intervention is responsible for the legal assistance -- Emmet Vondurant, an Atlanta attorney and Carter man -- now available.

Depending upon the outcome of the present legal challenge by public school supporters, it may be difficult to predict the future of the Sumter County public schools. They could go the way of the public and private schools in Bolivar County, Mississippi, where the economy is withering, the Bayou Academy suffering, poor and middle class whites moving out.

Or perhaps whites will return to the public schools as they are starting to do in Indianola, Mississippi (the home of Senator Eastland). As a result of the area academies' drain on the economy, together with a successful black boycott of local stores, the Indianola power structure, which is completely behind the 1500 student Indianola Academy, has told lower income whites to go ahead and send their children to the public schools. Indianola Academy will probably survive as a school for the elite, but with a smaller enrollment of about 500. While blacks have token representation on the school board, however, it is still controlled by the private school supporters.

If all efforts fail and the public school board succeeds in its course, the Sumter public schools could end up in the position of neighboring Terrell County. The Terrell County public schools are 92 per cent black. The school board is all-white, and the members send their children to Terrell Academy. Terrell Academy is in its second year of operation. The elementary grades are housed in a new, completely-paid-for building on an expansive campus overlooking a lake. New junior and senior high schools are now being built. Pressure is the key to public support of the academy. Public school employees were forced to send their children to the academy. Merchants were "urged" to contribute to its support. One board member told us, "We pretty much know the economic state of every business, and so we tell them they should contribute so much. They either do it or drop dead."

Unlike Sumter County, there are no blacks willing to challenge the public school board or segregation academy. Nor are whites willing to step forward. Without such challenges and because of the financial security of the academy, the public school board is not nearly so repressive as the one in Sumter County. But it suggests turning the public schools into vocational schools. The result could be to close opportunities of higher education to blacks, since a full college preparatory curriculum would be offered only at Terrell Academy.

Perhaps Sumter County will be spared this fate. But while the furor over busing and failing bond issues goes on in urban America, public education is being destroyed in Sumter County and Terrell County, Georgia; in Greenville, Shelby, and Indianola, Mississippi; and in much of the rural South. Desegregation requirements may be unclear, but it is clear that the Supreme Court in 1954 did not intend that by 1974 we return to an equally separate education system -- this time one black and public, and the other white and private. But this could be the wave of the future in parts of our nation.

4/25/72

Dear Super-Editor:

Got your letter and glad to hear you are resting at the beach; God knows you deserve it.

I'll gladly attempt to justify my figures, which I broadly based on a 50 to 75 per cent of public school enrollment decrease. Because 100,000 will probably be on the high side when year end figures are in, I hedged with the 25-50,000 ~~xxxx~~ pupils enrolled. This figure takes into account the fact that in states with increasing public school enrollments (Fla, Ark, etc), there are also increasing private school enrollment figures.

It's hard to get an accurate gauge from state private school enrollment figures because not all schools report and not all states have current year ~~fixxxxx~~ figures. ~~Thxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Those statistics, however, show continued increases that seem to justify the 25-50,000 figure.

Had Reese been in on the juggling, he may have opted for 50-75,000, but I tend to be more cautious. To this day I don't know how accurate our base figure was, but I feel certain we're in the ball park on the proportionate increase.

The problem of better defining seg

academies stems from the fact that we're talking about all segregated private schools, not just the "rebel-yell" types. This would include parochial schools and schools like my old alma mater, Ashley Hall (which, by the way, with its one poor black 7th grader is no longer counted).

As for states not doing their job, really none are--not even N. C., because no Southern state has laws or enforces those laws which it does have requiring private schools to register with the state and submit annual reports. There is some indication that within this mostly voluntary framework some progress has been made, but still the situation is far from perfect. Perhaps a section saying just about that would settle your point.

Emory, I presume, told you that I'm quitting MARC. The reasons are many--both general and specific. I have no immediate plans except to travel South, eat grits and ward off the impending nervous breakdown. I'll keep you informed of my movements so that you can find me after I leave town to answer any questions which may arise.

I know I have probalby not answered all your questions. (Except for saying somewhere that I was at MARC, I don't

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ANTIOCH REVIEW Spring 1961

Labor in the South

By RAY MARSHALL

■ The American labor movement's concern about organizing the South is not a recent development. Millions of dollars, much bloodshed, and countless lives have gone into this task since the first general Southern organizing drive was launched by the Knights of Labor in 1878. The most concerted attempts were made in 1946 when the AFL and the CIO launched massive Southern campaigns. The AFL was stronger in the South than the CIO and gained about 200,000 members the one year that its drive lasted. The CIO drive was more extensive, but by 1952 it had few if any more members in the South than when the drive started; it claimed 400,000 Southern members in 1946 and a National Bureau of Economic Research study placed the CIO's membership at 400,500 in 1953. About seventeen per cent of the South's nonagricultural workers are unionized, as compared with about thirty-three per cent for the United States.

A number of developments halted the Southern organizing drive expected after the AFL-CIO merger. The merger coincided with the Supreme Court desegregation decision, and the Southern reaction to the AFL-CIO's equalitarian racial position is often cited as a reason for the campaign not having been launched. While national unions were obviously afraid of the race issue, other factors within the AFL-CIO were really greater obstacles to the organizing drive. These included: lack of agreement between competing unions over

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RAY MARSHALL, Professor of Economics at Louisiana State University, has been Fulbright Research Scholar in Finland (1955-56), Consultant, Trade Union Project, Fund for the Republic (1958-60), and Wertheim Fellow at Harvard (1960). The Fund for the Republic will publish his *Union Racial Practices* this year and he is currently writing a history of organized labor in the South for the Wertheim Committee of Harvard.

NEWS DIGEST

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

Week of February 14, 1966

EQUALITY WITH DISADVANTAGED WHITES
NOT A WORTHY NEGRO GOAL SAYS WIRTZ

Washington, D. C. -- Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz addressing the Fourth National Conference of Plans for Progress indicated that equality of opportunity for Negroes should be tempered with consideration of measurement against "equality with what?"

"I don't believe it's going to be enough for the Negroes in America that they be brought equal with the larger number of disadvantaged white people in the poverty class. That can't be a goal worthy of a country of this kind as it moves toward the building of a Great Society. Equal with what?

"We find as we look back that we were talking five years ago about equal rights.

"If you look back about two years ago, we started talking about equal results.

"I suggest that we're probably going to be moving in the next two or three years toward a still broader concept. A very good word for it, it's involved in whatever the difference is between equality and equity.

"I take it that equity is the broader concept that's going to involve our increasing attention, promoting every single person in this country up above the poverty level unless he wants out for reasons entirely his own.

(MORE)

On Plans for Progress

"I find that most of the significant events occurring over the past 5 or 10 years in this country happened because we put aside the concept of the inevitability of progress, and began to talk instead about planning for progress.

"I rather suspect that in the looking glass of history people will note more clearly than we realize now that the Civil Rights Program was brought about finally when Government and private industry, the labor unions and the Civil Rights movements, the Civil Rights organizations, and the churches -- and all the other bodies of a pluralistic society finally learned how to work together. We know from experience that we can find ways to do together what, for some reason or other, we were never able to do when we were operating separately.

"I assume that eventually the greatness of the Civil Rights movement in this country will be that it has awakened the conscience of the Nation to the fact that so many people were being left out. I find the meaning of the Great Society in the subscription of any people to the concept of their own complete perfectability. I see us moving faster toward that than I ever thought I'd see in my lifetime, and I find a great part in the contribution to that purpose in what's been done in the Plans for Progress and what it will do in the future.

On the Economy

"It is hard to realize that tomorrow morning and every morning there will go to work in this country 10,000 more people, on an average, than left work this afternoon. The rate at which this is developing is now almost inconceivable. (MORE)

"We all know that 1965 was a fantastically successful year in the history of this country. This is reflected by every indicator, every measurement available to us.

"Between December of 1964 and December of 1965, the number of jobs in this country increased by almost two and one-half million.

"A great deal of it comes simply from the stimulation of the economy. That is the best place to find jobs, to find jobs for everybody -- to find full employment which must necessarily include equal employment.

On the Neighborhood Youth Corps

"You know from your general knowledge about the Neighborhood Youth Corps, under which, in the course of a single calendar year, we have brought into meaningful work experience almost one half million boys and girls.

"In just a twelve-month period, we hit our half million mark -- on almost exactly the day of our first birthday, which was January 3rd. We were so busy that we didn't even have time to stop and notice that or call in a newspaper reporter.

"A half-million boys and girls actually took part in the Neighborhood Youth Corps Program in calendar year 1965. A very large number of them would have been listed among the country's unemployed this last year if it hadn't been for those programs.

"Oakland was one of the cities about which we were most concerned. There is a very high teenage population there, including a substantial non-white percentage who've not had the opportunities in other summers to work.

(MORE)

"The police chiefs answer as to why the juvenile delinquency figures went down was 'because the Neighborhood Youth Corps program provided work this summer for that whole group.'

"Not a single boy or girl in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program took part in the Watts riot. Not a single one. These are the reflections of the kinds of things being accomplished by these educational manpower and anti-poverty programs.

"We've entered into an agreement, two agreements, between the Department of Labor and the Employment Service in the Department of Labor, and the Office of Economic Opportunity to set up in the employment service 100 special Job Corps placement people and 200 special Neighborhood Youth Corps placement people.

"We're trying to regularize the program to take care of the problem of moving these boys and girls from the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps programs to actual employment. We're doing that through the Employment Service offices.

On Training

"I don't believe there is full realization in this country of the fact that in the last three years we have mounted a Manpower Development and Training Act program as a result of which today, between ten and fifteen thousand people a month are being graduated from these training courses.

"They're getting work for which they would otherwise not have been qualified.

(MORE)

"The number of teenagers in the work force increased by a phenomenal 940,000. And the number of people in that age group who had jobs increased by 900,000. Of the 2,500,000 increase in jobs in 1965, 900,000 went to teenagers.

"Too high a percentage of that particular group are non-white boys and girls, and when we say that they get jobs, when they probably ought to be getting more training, we should take very limited satisfaction from it.

On Family Income

"At this point we're receiving some preliminary returns on 1965 study of white and non-white family income. The preliminary report show: average income 1965 for white families $6,900; average income for non-white families $3,700, or still about half of that for white families.

"Fifteen percent of the white families fall under the $3,000 family poverty level mark in annual income. Corresponding figures for non-white, 39 percent. There won't be any complacency for a very long time."

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THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington, D.C. 20425

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY UNDER FEDERAL LAW

CCR Special Publication—Number 5 *March 1966*

RACE RELATIONS TO HUMAN RELATIONS

A NEW AGENDA

Keynote: 23rd Annual Race Relations Institute
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee
June 27, 1966, by Dr. Herman H. Long

The first of these Institutes for community leaders was held more than two decades ago in the midst of World War II, at a time when the nation was experiencing its most severe racial crises in recent history. It was a time of tension and unrest, of anxiety and racial rumor--manifestations of a nation undergoing the initial convulsions of change in the system of racial exclusions and discriminations it had allowed to develop over the 60 years which had transpired since the Reconstruction. The murder and brutalizing of some six million Jews and the threat of world domination by Nazi power and ideology had found American tragically compromised by commitment to a racial ideology of its own, floundering in a sea of inconsistency and needing desperately to find the basis upon which to reclaim its best ideals and purposes. To unify its people, mobilize its manpower and armed forces for the prosecution human freedom abroad was the urgent and demanding task required for national survival. And upon this directly hung the necessity of making a real and meaningful beginning, at long last, to the redress of the basic rights and opportuntiies denied the Negro and minority group citizens.

What was required then, and even now, was a re-shaping of the underlying assumptions, beliefs and policies which defined, both in theory and fact, the extent of national commitment to the enjoyment by Negroes of the rights of citizens and free men. Beginning haltingly in the 1940's with the elimination of the "lily white" voting primaries, the process began to take definite shape in the United States Supreme Court decisions which demanded

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Report for January - June, 1966

Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Education Project

Most of the work of the Labor Project falls into three broad categories: labor education, consultation and liasion, and employment problems. This report will attempt to summarize the activities which have taken place in each of these areas without detailing the on-going process of administration, preparation, informal materials development, and the interaction with the continuing programs of the Council.

Labor Education.

The Project's involvement in education activities has varied from participations of one day to one month in duration, and from an intense exploration of civil rights problems confronting Southern unions to a rather tangential handling of such problems as they relate to the day-to-day concerns of a union.

In January the Director spent one month heading the National Institute of Labor Education's Southern Union Staff Institute. This Institute was held at the University of Georgia in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. It was a useful and intensive educational experience providing tool courses, courses in social and economic understanding, and a fairly concentrated dose of subjects related to racial relations and civil rights.

The Virginia AFL-CIO conducted a week end education conference in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Education Department. The Director of the Labor Project taught four classes and made one general presentation to the entire group. The Tri-State School, sponsored by the state AFL-CIOs in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in cooperation with the national AFL-CIO Education Department, provided another opportunity for teaching a class and holding a general session on the changing South.

The Labor Project participated in two conferences sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. One of these was held in Atlanta for the Union's regional organizing staff and the other at Daytona Beach for local union leadership from throughout the region.

Two further week end institutes were worked out cooperatively with the Labor Project and the Education Department of the United Steelworkers of America and their District 36-G (Gulf Coast) Education Coordinator. One conference was held in Tampa, Florida, and the other in New Orleans. In each case the Project provided approximately one-half of the instruction.

The Director also taught in a one week summer school for members of the United Rubber Workers of America who held a regional program at the Blue Ridge Assembly grounds at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

The Project participated in a one day regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta.

The Director has taken several opportunities to explore with institutions of higher learning the possibility of their developing some continuing interest in the area of labor education. This activity has been confined primarily to two states to date. Two Georgia institutions have been approached through members of the faculty and administration who were interested in such possibilities.

These moves have been made in consultation with appropriate persons within the labor movement. This effort must be recognized as little more than an attempt to stimulate a beginning interest. Potentially it is a useful way to expand labor education opportunities within the region.

Consultation and Liasion.

On a number of items which might be included under this heading the Labor Project has worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Such items include jointly assisting with a conference sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee held in Durham on "Students and Labor," in settling problems which had arisen between a local civil rights group and a union engaged in an organizing campaign, and in assessing the impact of the primary election on the Alabama labor movement in regards to racial relations.

During the period of this report the Labor Project has had an opportunity to work with several Councils on Human Relations on a variety of problems. This activity has included work with state councils in Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, and local Councils in Atlanta and Palm Beach. Somewhat similar work has been done in cooperation with the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., Operation Breadbasket, and the American Friends Service Committee.

The Director spoke to a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference in Atlanta, to an American Friends Service Committee staff and advisory group, to the Daytona Beach Forum, and to the orientation conference for "Operation Speed-Up" sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The Director was asked to serve on the Task Force on Economic Security for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." This entailed several Task Force meetings in Washington and ultimately meant that the Director was involved as the spokesman for a panel appearing before four workshops at the White House Conference itself.

A few days were profitably spent in mediating between the union staff involved in organizing migrant laborers and an agency with which SRC has frequently cooperated, over difference that had arisen regarding approaches to migrant labor problems. This was an interesting and informative interlude. The outcome at this point seems to be a healthy one.

A few days were spent in Detroit attending conferences of the University Labor Education Association, the AFL-CIO Labor Educators, and Local 189 (Workers Education Local) of the American Federation of Teachers. This time was largely devoted to promotion and contact work and has led to further programs.

A regional conference sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor in cooperation with SRC and a few other agencies involved the Labor Project directly. This conference was aimed at reaching civil rights and other groups who have contact with disadvantaged persons. It was an effort on the Department's part to bridge the gap between their program proposals and policies and actually reaching the people who should be affected by those programs.

Employment Problems.

Although the Labor Project is not specifically committed to working in the area of employment discrimination, it is difficult, and unwise, to side-step these problems altogether. During the past few months we have participated in a national apprenticeship study (our part was limited to the metropolitan Atlanta area) and have worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in exploring and promoting the idea of an apprenticeship information center. Similarly, with the Civil Rights Department, we have been able to give some assistance in a study which they are doing cooperatively with other organizations regarding discriminatory practices in employment services. Both of our programs have worked cooperatively with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations in their interest to report the difficulties encountered in getting reliable information about apprenticeship and other training programs in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

From time to time employment requests come to the Council and are channeled through the Labor Project. These range from individuals seeking employment to companies seeking individuals in a variety of classifications. In some cases we are able to handle such requests fairly directly, but usually they are referred to other agencies such as the Urban League, Operation Breadbasket, or one of the vocational schools. The Labor Project has involved the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office in discussions with persons working with the Vine City Council in Atlanta regarding employment and training opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

The Director was asked to participate in a training program of Post Office Department personnel staff from throughout the region to discuss the problems of minority groups as they relate to employment both outside and inside the federal service.

The Project has been concerned with developing some of the background materials and locating outside staff for an unemployment study. Unfortunately, this project has not been brought to fulfillment.

In Conclusion.

It is envisioned that the main emphases of the Labor Project's work will continue to be in the three areas outlined above. Increasingly, the formal program will involve labor education activities. Some of these will be developed at the Labor Project's initiative and others will continue to be those developed by the labor movement with the Project being simply a participant. The liasion and consultation work will continue and is a natural outgrowth of the Project's contact with unions and governmental and private agencies. Our concern with employment opportunities will not diminish but is likely to find expression largely in stimulating interest in public policy and in making referrals to those groups most actively involved in this work. At this point it seems fair to say that the activities of the Labor Project continue to grow and the prospects for the immediate future are good that its services will not only be needed but sought after.

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Education Project

23rd Annual Institute of Race Relations -- July 1, 1966

FROM CUSTOM TO POWER AND POLICY

Paul B. Foreman

A student put it to me straight. The topic was race and change. His comment: guys like him used to have to come to sociologists like me to find out why nothing was happening; we now have to find them to learn what is happening and why. But, it doesn't do any good to tell us. We aren't with it. We are "establishment", brainwashed by books. We listen only to words of the past, not to what's happening out there.

Having had it straight, I turned stupid. "So we suffer from hardening of the paragraphs?", I quipped. And, he, to his eternal credit, let me have it. "There you go, man! What you suffer from is changing times!"

This will not be a polemic on sociologists, with it or not. Debate on our value premises and roles goes on forever, most elegantly.[1] My student said something about the world out there. Our guild debates on the nature of ourselves might be less turgid were it recalled that Cooley, the enduring pioneer of American sociology, spoke about a tentative process of becoming -- something pertinent to the world out there and to sociologists. These halls of Fisk have rung for years with Charles Johnson's word, agenda. It adds to Cooley's becoming the quest for pragmatic policy. It stands against the orthodoxy of traditionalism and the no-policy of gradualism on one hand and, on the other, those kinds of ideology which embellish ends for which there are no tangible means.

Johnson was not much for sermons on the past, the impossible present or the promised land. His interest was in the world out there and in how to do something with it. In no sense was this opportunistic. The very idea of agenda was and is dedicated to those fundamental propositions of Philadelphia and Gettysburg and ordered to their terms. Becoming is tentative and the function of an agenda is to tune policy and keep it tuned. This idea now convenes us here in a Fisk centennial.

I came of age in Mississippi at the time of Powdermaker's <u>After Freedom</u>, Johnson's <u>Growing Up in the Black Belt</u> and Davis and Gardner's <u>Deep South</u>, all of which were from the same world as Sydnor's <u>Slavery in Mississippi</u>. That world was set in custom bred of stability and isolation. Whatever the trends and turbulances and however values shaped the living and observing, the first imperatives upon sociologists were to explain variations and to chart trends in the system. Odum wrote <u>Southern Regions</u>; Johnson, <u>Patterns of Negro Segregation</u>. Even a fledgling could write in 1938,

> Mississippi appears today as the scene of social trends as far reaching as those resulting from its earliest settlement or from the redefinition of its economy following the War Between the States....[2]

Speaking for himself only, I feel certain he assumed t at

social trends would add to reorganization of the system. This was a faith that little drops of water and little grains of sand must mount somehow in cumulation. If and when they do, planning guides momentum. Southern sociologists looked to Chapel Hill bubbling with ideas of regionalism--a kind of planning set to social trends. But, regionalism was essentially foreign to Mississippi. Talk of change was incessant, but it was a mystic talk of hope and faith fear and frustration, all of which after a time had the ring of a Mississippi Book of Common Prayer.

Underneath the trends, the turbulances and the words, Mississippi was, as Jim Silver was to call it, a closed society--a system which could absorb trends, transmute turbulances and still persist in basic structure. What we did not see and would have confronted, is that faith in trends, taken alone or with ideas of planning, was in itself gradualistic. If we as sociologists dealt with organized social movements, public behavior, mass action and social revolution, such thoughts in no sense challenged our posture on local change as trends plus planning. If MacIver defined cause as precipitant[3], at least one who was aware of it, did not foresee that organized social action and popular groundswells had to occur and serve as precipitants before that closed society could become anything else.

That Charles Johnson was developing a strategy of social change here at Fisk--something coded by agenda and something that was neither gradualism nor heady ideology--could be heard, in a way, in Oxford, repeated and even applauded. The social system being what it was, what really happened is that this ideas was soon inserted in the Mississippi Book of Common Prayer under articles of faith and thus reduced to the same rote given regionalism, technocracy and agrarianism. Mississippi's stability and isolation made them all, even agrarianism, inherently impertinent. As time proved, Will Percy's Lanterns on the Levee was more insightful than any output of Oxford or Starkville in the 1930's and 1940's. Whatever social scientists had to say a out the system, the system held. The doctrine of Plessy itself was beside the point. Separate but equal was just court talk to uphold the orthodox Southern Way of Life. Nothing indicated that federal or any other power could in any real sense challenge the system.

Marshall, Meredith, Moses and now Meredith again have done just that. The problem before sociologists now is less a matter of explanning variations and charting trends than one of understanding power, fundamental action to reorder the system itself--and, indeed, to resist change. And what a world it is that Bob Mosses and Tom Brady have made! Agricultural displacement, natural increase, migration, urbanization, gainful employment and income, literacy and all of the old themes are now subserviant to interests in organized social movements, their issues, strategies and tactics and to problems of public and even mass behavior. Or, are sociologists, as this suggests, really historians of this second reconstruction? Are we to record, analyse and explain? In times like these when social organization itself is in the cauldron is Charles Johnson's idea to tune policy and keep it tuned something for reexamination? I think it is. By this admission I suggest that the obligation of this centennial at Fisk is to put this idea to work in modern contexts.

Before World War II Thurgood Marshall's confrontation in the courts through the Murray and Gaines casses had made Negro power pertinent and with it, ideas of strategy and tactics. But this use

of power, at least for Mississippi, was such a quiet thing. Marshall's plan was to use American political structures to make the doctrines of Philadelphia and Gettysburg work: desegregation through judicial action, by the people and for them. Through sacred institutional means of litigation the dilemmas of second-class citizenship were to be resolved. Then came Sipuel, McLaurin, Sweatt and Brown.

Back in Oxford I tested good minds on McLaurin and Sweatt. What I heard made me understand, really and for the first time, that Mississippi is or was then a world apart--a closed society, the norms of which were all but impervious to trends and cumulation. The main reaction was, "Oklahoma and Texas are not South. It can't happen here!" Even Brown in its turn was not believed. All that talk about states' rights and interposition, impeach Earl Warren and Dixiecrat balance of power. Wasn't it Jim Eastland who said that under all deliberate speed the art of litigation would preserve the Southern Way of Life for a hundred years and a day?

Nothing, it now seems, could have succeeded in breaking this cake of custom without litigation. As long as Plessy ruled, there could be no dialogue. The flaw of litigation was that the entrenched, orthodox, schooled in shaping laws to their own ends, could not believe it. Desegregation through litigation did prove token-slow; certainly it was not integration. If after Brown there were those still injured by inertias of the old system, let them, too, go to court to learn of all deliberate speed. Why so few cases from Mississippi? Were all Delta darkies happy? What could they do, down in Coahoma, Issaquena, Tunica and Yazoo? Court action, important as it was, wasn't much for them. But, for an Eisenhower decade it was about all there was. Other than court action it was a decade of color blind neutralism in federal power. Dan Dodson called it best,

The Supreme Court decision of May 1954 can be, and is, widely interpreted to mean that children reared in segregation are traumatized... This has injected a new value into the picture. This value indicates that when segregation, either enforced or de facto, occurs, it is the responsibility of government to use positive means to break it up. This cannot be done by being color blind.[4]

In this decade of colorblind federal neutralism what did not happen created in many minds an awareness of needs to commit federal power. This need for legal structures was reflected also in the states. Legislatures in the Deep South ground out "delay legistation" by th bale. There were some realists. When Big Jim Folson learned that the U. S. Supreme Court had declared Alabama's pupil placement law to be consolidated on its face, he observed, "Hell! It ain't got no face." Northern states adopted or buttressed "human relations" codes, but these, too, were essentially neutralistic. They established legal norms for public non-discrimination; their means for positive action are token--so token that in Pennsylvania, indeed, such laws have been cited by challenged functionaries as proof that positive action is illegal. On the other hand, even neutralism by enactment does establish legal structures in which dialogue over de facto issues, the bane of the North, can take place. The missing part, it seems, is a working, evolving agenda to gain even tentative commitment and consensus for dialogue, planning and action.

The arithemtic of Kennedy's election, if nothing else, proved that next steps in positive federal action were necessary. The assassation made them mandatory. We got the Civil Rights Act. If is seemed more symbol than substance, it was, indeed, a turning point to possitive action. The great philanthropic foundations and human relations organizations like the Anti-Defamation League and The Southern Regional Council had long committed their resourees to positive action, but this transition in federal posture is fundamental. This is in no way undermined by acts of Texas legerdemain which have changed the labels on implementation acts to poverty and Appalachian. The significance of the Civil Rights Act has been clouded by rubber guidelines, by the wails of massive resisters whose faith had not completely turned from separate and unequal to all deliberate speed and by the shouts of new ideologists. "More!", says Bayard, Rustin, "Much more! Let positive means create the new socialism!" And what does Staughton Lynd say? Saul Alinsky? Stokley Carmichael? And please tell me James Meredith?

But talk about political power, the traditional focus of reconstructionists ignores the very spark of the Negro Revolution. Montgomery and Greensboro set new dimensions for social power. By the people and for the people through governmental processes turned to by the people, for the people and of the people through direct popular processes. I recall the University of Alabama student who had been coached on Supreme Court cases and reacted most listlessly, but who in awareness of Montgomery exclaimed, "Why, Martin Luther King is so--is so--impeccable!" I also recall the girl from the other side of Tuscaloosa who said, "Dr. King is showing my people we can stand together and, I do believe, he's telling us how!"

The instant visability of direct conflict action is all--compelling. The sit-in in Greensboro was a Tarheel fact in capital letters; it was much, much more. Local incidents, if any are local at all under modern communication, are national and world facts with "image". Clippings on the Lucy riots from Cairo and Tokyo papers were passed around in Tuscaloosa a week after the riots began. They bore this moral. But, the circulation of new is only the beginning of mass action. When groundswells of human conviction focus on crisis, chronic deprivation and inaction, they can ignite. This is where cumulation really means something. At this point, institutional authority or leadership in organized protest movements can be incidental. How would you explain Watts?

The significant mode of the Negro Revolution is conflict, direct action against targets. Accommodation, so the new temper goes, means gradualism which is out of tune with these times. Local human relations councils and more widespread intergroup relations organizations, one hears, are basically accommodative keepers of "negative peace". They are either contrivances of powerless do-gooders or tools of a "power structure" which uses them to buffer protest into delay, inaction, and defeat. And, the devices of the new conflict change--change, it seems, as much with the ideological convictions of advocates as with their success with the issues they confront. Recently, I heard non-violent direct action strategems rated on their redemptive value. It seems, therefore, almost immoral to suggest that, if protesters would be winners and not messiahs or martyrs, tactics as tactics are subject to the most utilitarian sort of operations analysis

and that since the battles continue, there apparently are no ultimate weapons. Many plays may be needed, to be chosen on the probability that, given committed populations with given resources under organization, they have pay-off. Beyound this, there is a haunting idea that public attention focused upon interaction narrowed to conflict may discount other modes of encounter that might be serviceable to policy.

What has just been said mirrors a conception of power analogous to factional strength or the hope of it. Stokely Carmichael walks down a Mississippi road and explains Black Power to Frank McGee while Dr. King listens and then responds in kindly, stentorian tones. It seems almost subversive to suggest that power as a capacity for control through conflict depends on committed factional strength and the strengths of others: opponents, competitiors, middle moderates. Factional strength is not power unless all others are powerless. If I had a given liberal faction to commit to conflict in a civil rights dispute, I'd rather do it to win in Louisville than in Memphis, and, even today I'd pray for Memphis over Birmingham. If decisions and corporate policies are the things, one must look less to the factions and more to the encounter and beyo nd it.

The epic of the Negro Revolution is The Letter from the Birmingham Jail. Do you recall Dr. King's thesis that negotiation in good faith is the objective of social conflict through non-violent direct action? "Non-violent direct action ", he said, "seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue." And, what if it is? How does a community or its power structure negotiate with reformers? What can one expect of negotiation for "positive peace" in Dr. King's terms?

Lewis Killian has watched desegregation encounters closely and come to the conclusion that conflict with the factional strength of protesters for extended confrontation apparent is about all that pays off, but only under certain conditions and seldom dramatically as in full victory.[5] Like King, Killian sees negotiation as a nexus, but he has gone on to consider some of the reasons why negotiations after conflict, even when initiated in good faith, maybe flawed.[6] Such interaction is responsive not only to issues andthe role-conceptions of negotiators, but to the structure and conventions ofthe communities in which negotiation proceeds.

Negotiation over desegregation issues, Killian reasons, almost invariably brings to an encounter protesters and key functionaries or their lieutenants in established institutional or associational systems. The significant status of the protesters is spokesmanship for a loosely-structured pressure group. Once a negotiation encounter begins, this status in itself is dependent on pay-off with minimal compromise, adjustment or transition. The significant status of their respondents is control of systems which if they are to be adjusted must be adjusted through conventional means. This is the essence of their stewardship. Often decried as responsiveness to business as usual, it is, indeed, responsiveness to business.

When the protester presents his issues and his goals, he may

anticipate acceptance by those of good faith. His respondents have not begun to negotiate. Their move is to translate objectives, at least the ones they accept for an agenda, into procedures and operating details to define, if possible, a series of plausible decisions which may be ordered as acceptable alternatives. This may involve staff specialists who develop very complex alternatives for the respondents to put into negotiation. To respondents negotiation is what happens after objectives and possibilities are clear. If the protester lacks technical knowledge to reason from his posititon in this dialogue from demand to detail to operational choice in decisions, he can be overwhelmed. If overwhelmed, he may retreat to slogan-like repetition of demands stated as general ends. He wants Freedom Now! If he does not respond intelligently to the very detail his respondents hold to be the significant means to ends, he is to his adversary either a fool or an irresponsible agitator. Certainly he is no bargainer or negotiator. If he is a messiah, he is no manager.

Where there is no disadvantage for protesters in technical knowledge--where, for example, preacher andstudent spokesmen know or have adequate access to knowledge of the lore of educational or employment systems--time and detail may still be overwhelming to them. Protesters must press for decisions. Respondents frequently must defer even the decisions they personally endorse until related functionaries, up, down, or across channels, are briefed and aligned. What may at this point appear to be a shell game to the protesters may be their respondent' only device to insure support for agreements. Apparently even negotiation for "positive peace" need an agenda.

Killian holds that the complexities of negotiation may lead protesters to false images of respondents and the systems they represent. This in turn, may handicap future negotiation. Could it be that such epithets as "power structure", "establishment" and Southern oligarchy" operate this way? And what was it Dr. King said about "white moderates", people more devoted to order than to justice, the real stumbling blocks before the stride toward freedom? Are these terms ever ego-salving rationalizations for dilemmas and low payoff in negotiation? Rejection of the idea of negotiation by white functionaries, the traditional posture of segregationists, or failure in negotiation at the grassroots level, Killian thinks, forces protesters to seek their goals through governmental channels. After Watts it is clear that these are other means. Is the slow, uncertain pace of desegregation, determined in part by blocked or disadvantaged negotiation, related to Rustin's plea for political action. Or Stokely Carmichael's? Where King fails and Rustin, does this set the table for local disaster. Is this the basis for the faith of Elijah Muhammed that the white devil's day is ending? Is the recourse then only governmental? Can Washington, the state capitols or city halls assume the delegation and do it?

Rustin has used an ancient debater's crutch to make his case for reorientation of the Negro Revolution.[8] Seeking to establish grounds for current reconstruction in accord with the ends he favors, he has pushed aside the "classical phase" as a prelude preoccupied with de jure issues. I now want to borrow his crutch to suggest that what makes the long beginning classical is preoccupation with conflict in the absence of an agenda. Given an agenda, I think strategies

other than conflict are pertinent.

This is not to decry conflict. It has been, is, and in some forms undoubtedly will continue to be the major mode of intergroup encounters. In addition be being productive, conflict strategems, even when not judged according to redemptive value, may be enormously self-satisfying to men only newly heard. Continuation of controversy and the accumulation and spread of issues clearly suggest that no tactic is a panacea. What Killian has done is not play the devil's advocate, as some readers are quick to infer , but to describe conflict in negotiation in such a way that a logic for it, rather than a faith, becomes possible. Indoing just this, he has located points and shown the way to others for pragmatic or probabalistic decisions to tune policy and keep it tuned. He speaks in this sense with Johnson. Nothing, I think, would at this moment make greater contribution to the public interest than a full scale operational review of negotiation to resolve conflict in intergroup affairs.

But, I would use Rustin's crutch in another way: to point out that patterns of interaction other than conflict and in no sense tainted by accommodation's gradualistic image are now in operation, have promise as interests relate de facto segregation and positive action and, therefore, like conflict in Killian's view, deserve full operational scrutiny. These relations like integration itself, are in essence cooperative and assimilative. People work with instead of against. I presume you have already heard this from Milgrim, Seessel, Hotchkiss, Gilbert and Lewis and that in the days ahead in this centennial this theme will be offered in many keys. For my part I want to put it in the contexts in which I live, Proceeding from just two postulates. The first of these is that the trends of our times in intergroup affairs and in higher education as multiversities extend research and service functions have set an essentially new climate for positive action. The second goes back to a position Herbert Blumer developed here at Fisk at the dedication of Park-Johnson Hall in 1958, a position that can be epitomized in a sentence of his from another source:

The carrying through... of deliberate desegregation depends on mobilizing and focusing influence and power on central functionaries.[9]

I am impressed with the new interinstitutional compacts, following in the design of the Michigan-Tuskegee agreement. They have enormous potential to channel resources to problems and to develop in institutions like Tuskegee real centers of concentrated regional service. I, too, have long been impressed with Dan Dodson's Center for Human Relations and Community Studies in the School of Education at New York University, a modern Odum institute, known for its ability to face facts in the ghetto. Now that Martin Deutsch, his 125 researchers, consultants, teachers and social workers and still others like Frank Reissman and S. M. Miller have joined Dodson, N. Y. U. has a base to channel governmental and foundation resources into action in the ghetto that obviously must alert other multiversities. The point to stress, however, is not the fact that Dodson now has the mechanism to corral federal and foundation funds, but that he has new means for dialogue in the ghetto and for planning in terms of agends. In many ways, however, I have been most impressed by what is happening in our

great midwestern universities. A group of them, all at work on intergroup problems, have joined together to consider unified efforts in research and service. If they are aware that more new capital is or quickly can be made available to intergroup efforts than is available in all of the sacred institutionalized areas of agriculture and home economics, they are also aware that these functions demand unequivocal administrative policy and constant alertness to interests, significant not to sources of subsidy and professional inclination, alone but to the wants of people in the world out there. These schools have stated their policy most uniquivocaly in a charter entitled Blue Print for Action.[10]

What Dodson has done, along with these midwestern universities is to address a people's university to problems of ignored people in such a way that the casual self-rewarding aspects of academic entrepreneurship for grants is responsive to agenda, an agenda in which the needs of people out there count for more than capital or bureaucracy. This forecasts a new day in public service for institutions of higher learning.

Such agencies offer many things. In the first place their being and their unequivocal positive orientation should do much to counteract the impression of "neutralistic establishment". They create means for people in the streets to bring problems to people with technical ability and with resources under organization. If Michigan State, Michigan and Wayne are set and willing to listen, Black Detroit has an avenue for hope and does not stand alone and against. It has access also to technical knowledge and skills which can prevent the overwhelming in negotiation that Killian noted. Policy becomes significant before negotiation and may, indeed, proceed without negotiation defined in such nomiletic conflict verbiage as positive and negative peace and redemption.

Can agendas be set to maximize the potential of service of these great public institutions? To methe test is ridiculously simple. The key functionaries of these institutions are presidents and presidents, particularly presidents of public institutions, are indeed responsive to people in the world out there. Let me suggest that if the Knights of Columbus, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Urban League, NAACP and CORE would invite the presidents of great universities in their states to specify the position of their institutions in intergroup relations and to reveal recent and ongoing efforts, Dan Dodson might have enjoyable cause for concern. I think this would be true in Tennessee as well as in Pennsylvania or Kansas. No president could refuse and any president would realize that failure to produce would lead him over the road to Berkeley. I am also suggesting that human relations organizations need to revise their agenda as to utilize university resources in interests of policy. By doing this, they can obtain top resources going far beyond their own.

Now it is your turn. You have, if I have done my job, two problems. What do you make of agenda? How do you see modes of intergroup relations other than conflict in the strategy of desegregation and integration policy?

Notes

1. Some of us can remember the crackle of Oliver C. Cox's "An American Dilemma: A Mystical Approach to the Study of Race Relations", Journal of Negro Education, 14 (1945), 132-148 and E. B. Reuter's "Southern Scholars and Race Relations", Phylon 7 (1946) 221-235 For recent expositions see Martin Oppenheimer and others, "The Sociologist-Activist in the Civil Rights Movement" in Arthur B. Shostak, Sociology in Action, Homewood: Dorsey, 1966, 135-140 and John Horton, "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies", American Journal of Sociology, 71 (1966) 701-713.

2. Paul B. Foreman, Mississippi Population Trends, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Library, 1939, i.

3. Robert M. MacIver, Social Causation, Boston: Gin, 1942, 161-194

4. Dan W. Dodson, "Can Intergroup Quotas Be Benign?", in Earl Raab, American Race Relations Today, Gard City: Doubleday, 1962, 128

5. Lewis Killian and Charles Grigg, Racial Crisis in America, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964, 4-26, 105-144

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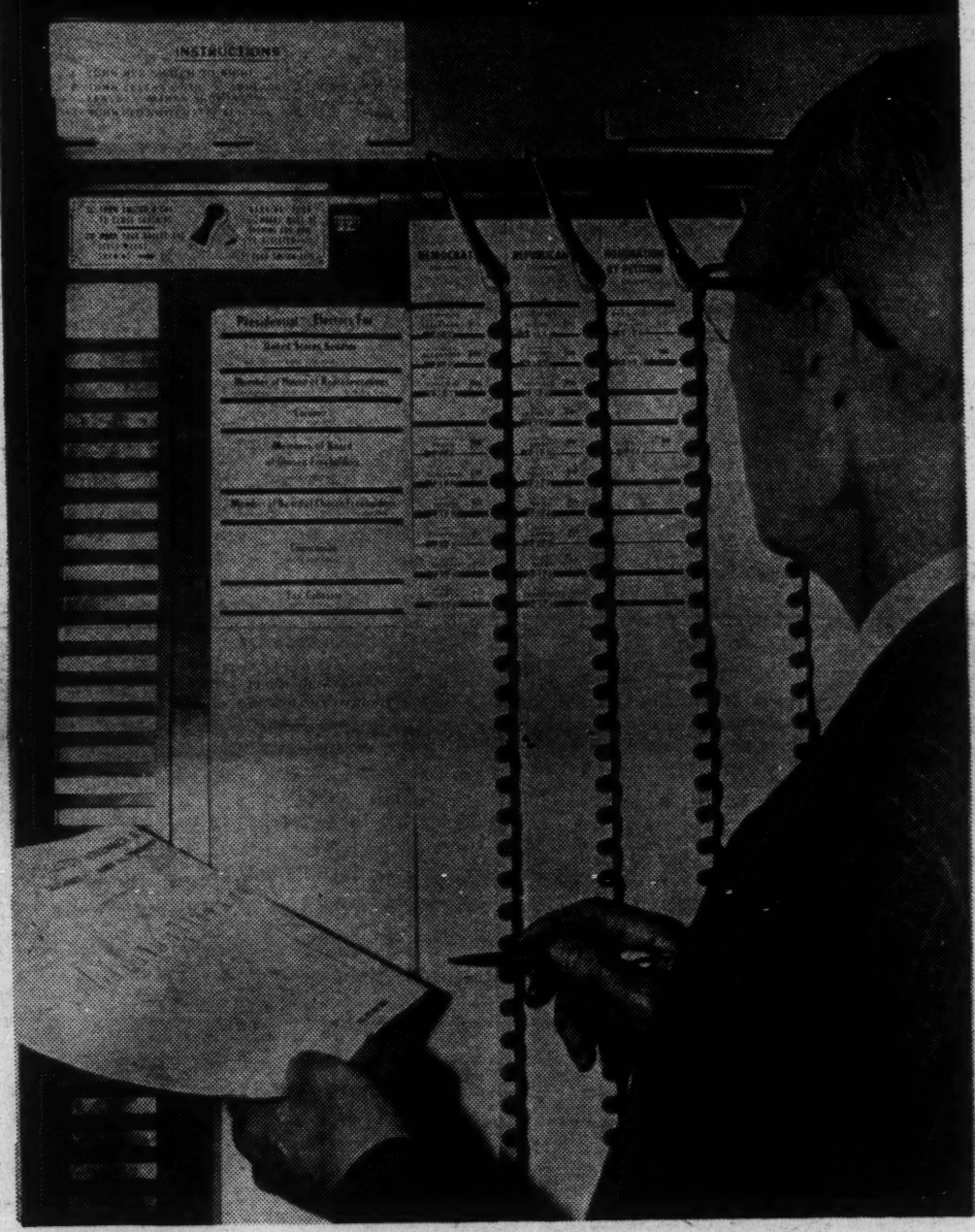
EQUAL VOTING RIGHTS:

200-Year-Long Struggle Nears Its Goal



IN the ever-changing world in which we live it's difficult to appreciate the fact that we, in our time, may be witnessing the successful culmination of a two-century fight for rights and equality at the ballot box.

There are still rear-guard efforts to stem the relentless movement of forces and events but all signs now point to this great, democratic triumph in our country:

- The right to universal adult suffrage is being enforced and guaranteed, and
- The value of each person's ballot is being about as equal as can be attained.

The 89th Congress should be credited with achieving the right to vote through its passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Before this, we too often gave only lip-service to the right to vote. This act negated the use of literacy and other gimmicks to deny voting rights to millions of people, particularly Negroes in Southern states. The act was recently upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Congress also wiped out the poll tax in Federal elections and the Supreme Court, in another recent decision, in effect, ended the poll tax in state and local elections.

We are indebted to the Supreme Court, too, for acting to make each person's ballot equal to every other person's. This was when it handed down its historic one-man, one-vote ruling.

Republican Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen has been fighting bitterly to upset this ruling but, so far, he has not been able to command the necessary votes. To date, some 30 states have reapportioned their legislatures so that time appears to be running out on Dirksen.

Labor's Proud Role

Organized labor can take extreme pride in its role in the fight for free and equal suffrage over the centuries.

In the colonial period and at the turn of the 19th century, mechanics and artisans were denied the right to vote. All but one colony, Vermont, had property qualifications and few of the workers owned property.

This carried over to a number of the states where critical struggles took place over the issue of universal manhood suffrage.

In the case of New York, for example, the fundamental conflict between landed rural and urban interests was clear. A spokesman for the elite, Chancellor Kent, declared in 1820:

"The small farmers are the surest guardians of property and its security against the motley assemblage of paupers, immigrants, journeymen, manufacturers and its indefinable inhabitants which a state and city like ours is calculated to invite. Universal suffrage jeopardizes property and puts it in the power of the poor and the profligate to control the affluent."

The emphasis placed on property —that Dirksen has stressed in his debates—has steadily and emphatically declined through the years. The Supreme Court not only expedited the process but stamped it "legal."

It was the 1850's when the U.S. prided itself as being the first great country in the world to achieve universal suffrage. Much of this achievement was in written legal documents, not in practice.

Women did not win the franchise until 1920. The District of Columbia gained and then lost the right to govern itself.

However, the most aggravating and undemocratic factors in our electoral picture were the well-calculated schemes to deny the right to vote to the Negro—particularly the Negro in the South.

The 15th amendment, on paper, gave the Negro the theoretical right to the ballot. In practice, he did not have it. He could be denied it for certain crimes, for not having the educational requirements, for not paying the poll tax. Ways could always be found to exclude him from the voting booth.

'Grandfather' Clause

Whites usually were exempted from restrictions. If one owned property, for example, the educational qualifications were waived. Five states once had the infamous grandfather clause, which provided that if the applicant was a descendant of a person who was a qualified person prior to Reconstruction days he could vote, notwithstanding his inability to meet other qualifications. This, of course, excluded former slaves and their descendants.

In effect, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 provided teeth for the enforcement of the 15th amendment.

Reports coming from the South indicate that, at long last, the Negro is being extended the right of franchise. This "hope" was expressed by Chief Justice Earl Warren when he concluded his opinion on upholding the 1965 act:

"Hopefully, millions of nonwhite Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the Government under which they live. We may look forward to the day when truly 'the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.' "

That hope, two centuries after the early efforts for it, is being realized.

—By Press Associates, Inc. (PAI)

'One Man-One Vote'—What It Has Meant In Michigan

LANSING, Mich. (PAI) — The "one man-one vote" principle for state legislatures, laid down by the U.S. Supreme Court, is paying off, according to the Michigan State AFL-CIO.

In an analysis of the work of the State Legislature over the past two years, the Michigan AFL-CIO says that the state's first Democratic-controlled legislature in some 30 years—elected as a result of "one man-one vote" redistricting—established a record "so outstanding that it has won praise in national publications as well as from a significant number of state organizations and leaders."

"In fact," says the federation's "Legislative Newsletter," much of the progress in such areas as education, labor legislation, mental health, social services, etc., is attributable to a legislature that for the first time was responsive to the needs of the people because it represented people on an equal basis.

"Problems in these areas had been ignored in previous legislatures, under Republican control, because majorities in those bodies represented only a small minority of the people—a minority that was unconcerned with the growing needs of the state's expanding urban population."

Among measures adopted by the current legislature were: expansion of medical care, modern-day reorganization of the state's Labor Department, a traffic safety program, a greatly improved mental health program, increased financial support for the state's educational system, consumer protection legislation, a conservation program, aid for migratory labor and improved benefits for retired workers.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HOW JOHN BRIGHT OUTSMARTED HIS UNION

A Story with a Moral

By T. F. Cauldwell

ONCE there was a fellow named John Bright. John worked in a small warehouse and was a member of the union——but not through choice. The shop was union when John started there, so he had to join; but he didn't have to like it.

The pay wasn't bad at the warehouse, and conditions in general were good. But there was a gripe John had that bothered him from the first day he took the job, and the bother grew and grew until it was all-consuming.

It began at the union office when the local president told John about conditions on the job, like "fringe benefits" and such.

"You and your family are covered for hospitalization, surgery, sick benefits," said the local president. "Then there's life insurance and a pension too, if you stick it out till you're 65."

John was not named Bright for nothing. "And

what will this cost me?" he asked.

"Not a cent," said the union president. "The company pays into the Health Fund and the Pension Fund, to the tune of $107.38 a month, for these benefits. I guess you could say this is your money, since it would go to you in cash if we didn't have these benefits, but . . . obviously it's better this way."

John didn't think so. He walked away from the union office mentally dividing $107.38 into hourly pay, and his resentment grew as the arithmetic was worked out.

It happened also that John at this very moment was suffering from a financial virus known as the "shorts."

"Hell," said John, "this fringe stuff will cost me 62 cents an hour — *my money* which they are horsing around with . . . *My money*, and they—the union—decides how I should spend it."

John Bright was not only a mathematical whiz, he was also a gifted orator. At the meetings of the Knights of Pichicarus, no one ever had the last word over John, and while some soreheads attributed a falling-off in attendance to this fact, John denounced this rumor as a vicious canard. At any rate, John was not the kind of guy to keep a big gripe like this to himself, and so after a brief period of acclimation to the job and the six other men in the warehouse, he brought up the subject at lunch.

"We get 62 cents an hour swiped from our pay every week," John said, for openers.

"How come?" asked one of the men.

"Because *they* (pointing in the direction of the union office) decide what fringe benefits we get," John said. "Seems to me we could decide for ourselves. With 62 cents an hour more in our jeans, we could do a lot of fringe benefiting on our own."

John was nothing if not persuasive. Came contract time, John had all but one of the men on his side, and despite all the arguments of the union officers, the shop voted 6 to 1 to convert fringes to cold cash. And it was so ordered.

John went home that evening a very happy man.

"Give that chuck roast to the dog," he told his wife. "We're eating steak. I got over a hundred dollars a month raise today on top of five bucks a week the union negotiated. And for the hundred bucks you can thank little Johnny Bright, 'cause it was me that got it, all by myself."

His wife was impressed, and being Bright also, was doubly impressed when he told her how the extra raise was maneuvered.

"Certainly it was smart!" she said. "What benefits can they give you that will be worth $107.38 a month? You outfoxed them, Johnny, and I'm proud of you!"

So the next morning, with a light heart and a head to match, John got in his car and started to work. When he arrived, there was a note for him to call his wife.

"John," his wife said when he called, "Junior stuck a pea up his nose and it has worked its way into his head. He's in the hospital."

"In the hospital!" John gasped.

"Well, he's just like you," his wife said. "He's got a brain the size of a pea and the doctor says they've got to be real careful that they don't make a mistake and remove the brain instead of the pea. It's going to cost us $48 a day for the hospital, and the doctor wants $150 for himself."

"Forty-eight dollars a day! A hundred and fifty bucks!" John gasped again. "Well, thank the Lord I've got hospitalization and surgical coverage!"

"But have you?"

With that John raced down to the union office.

"My boy's in the hospital with a pea in his head," he told the union president. "You haven't

cut off my hospitalization and surgical coverage, have you?"

"I had to, John," the president sighed. "It's a benefit, and we have to pay into the fund for anyone covered. You wanted the money instead . . . remember, that 62 cents an hour?"

"But I couldn't keep the dog at the vet for that kind of money," said John. "I need hospitalization, and surgical, and I'll buy it myself, for the family."

"It'll cost you maybe three times as much," the officer said. "We buy at a group rate, like wholesale."

"I ought to be shot!" John said.

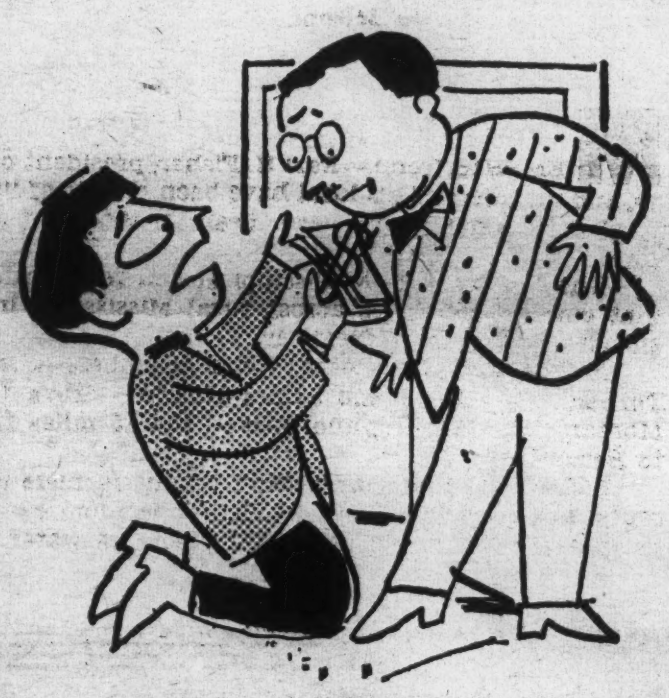
"You can't afford it!" the union man replied. "Your life insurance is cut off too. That's another fringe benefit. But of course, you have the 62 cents an hour."

John thought a moment, and asked, "How much will it cost me to get the same amount of insurance?"

"Maybe four times as much. We get that wholesale too."

John looked like he was going to cry. "I think I'll just retire!" he whimpered.

"You can't do that, either," said the president.



Record drawings by Marjorie Glaubach

"Your pension has been cut off, and to get an annuity that would match your pension would cost you over 10 percent of your salary per month."

"Well, I know what I *can* do!" John said grimly. "I can punch you right in the mouth. You let me talk the other fellows into pulling out of the fringe benefits plan. You let me make a fool of myself!"

With that, John hauled off and took a swing at the union president. The president ducked and John's fist went through the window.

"Well, don't just stand there," John snarled, staring down at his bleeding knuckles. "Get me a doctor for this hand!"

The president sighed. "I think you should be told first that the doctor's fee will have to be paid by you personally. You know that you're no longer covered for treatment."

John looked at his hand, and then at the union officer.

"Can I make a suggestion?" he asked.

"Sure, as long as you don't expect a suggestion award. What is it?"

"All I want to suggest," said John, "is this: take back the $107.38 a month. Take back the lousy money and give me back my benefits."

"Gladly," said the president. "We know you're one man who will really appreciate them."

Editorial

Weakness

You can't win them all. But that lesson is hard to learn, no matter how often you are reminded.

In this month's election, labor lost some of its best friends in Congress and at the state capitols. It has also helped to re-elect some of its best friends.

Seasoned campaign observers report that in most states, labor's efforts to re-elect its friends and punish its enemies were more vigorous, better organized and better financed than ever before.

In several states, the results show that it was not enough. In California, for example, labor did more than it has ever done for a friendly Governor.

But in California, as in Michigan, Illinois and Ohio, too many union members have not yet learned that civic elections are just as important to their welfare as contract negotiations. The results reflect the lack of an effective means of communication within their trade unions.

We believe that the lack of adequate communication between union officers and union members is the basic weakness of the American labor movement.

In too many local lodges, too many state organizations and too many international unions, the officers are trying to operate with the same tools and the same methods their grandfathers used before them.

Well, the election results in Cleveland, Chicago, Detroit and San Francisco—for examples—showed that the labor movement failed to get through to many of its members.

Need for friends

But, sorely needed as it is, union communications is not labor's only weakness exposed by this month's elections. Labor needs more friends and allies outside its own organizations. The labor movement is a minority in almost any election. We can't do it alone.

Yet, in few communities has labor really tried to explain its policies and its problems to its neighbors. We seldom try to get acquainted with other organizations—the farmers, the teachers, the small businessmen and other natural allies.

Unfortunately, communications and public relations have never had a high priority in most unions. We are proud that the IAM is one of the big exceptions.

Perhaps, as a result of this month's losses at the polls, union members and union officers will now be willing to give more attention, more time and more funds to getting labor's message across.

1968 campaign under way

The next two years are going to be rough. The storm signals are flying in Washington and in many state capitols. If the trade union movement wants to stay strong and healthy, it will have to develop the means to answer its detractors and to enlist public support.

The 1968 campaign has begun. The results will be even more tragic if we wait until the closing weeks of the campaign to try to solve these communication and public relations problems.

The Machinist

The official weekly newspaper of the

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers

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Gordon H. Cole, Editor

7 Associates: Jane Stokes, Henry Lowenstern, Dean Ruth, Richard J. Calistri, Robert J. Kalaski

Art Editor: Richard F. Richardson

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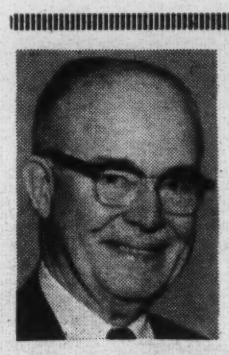
Storm warning



Live a Little Longer

Causes of tension

By Dr. William A. Sawyer

Last week I called to your attention some of the problems of the troubled worker. Thinking about this reminded me of a young man who had taught in high school for several years. He liked it, but it was hard on him. It's not easy to hold the attention of young people and open their minds to the possibilities of learning.

As the years rolled by, he became more and more tense. His appetite fell off. One food after another disagreed with him and his diet became more and more restricted. He lost a lot of weight. Finally his wife persuaded him he'd better change jobs. Life held little pleasure for him.

Since he'd taught science for twelve years and knew considerable about electronics, perhaps he could get into some sort of radio or TV repair work. He talked the situation over with his doctor, who could find nothing wrong with his physical condition. Perhaps he would feel better if he didn't worry so much, the doctor thought. Working with things rather than people might remove the tension.

Healthier and happier

Finally he made the break. He found a job in a radio and TV shop. Today after several years, he owns a share in a small business. He is pretty much his own boss. He has regained his appetite and can eat anything. His weight has come back. He feels like a different man. The old tension is gone. He asked me if I could explain why he had gone down hill from his teaching, and why he felt so much better now?

I told him that apparently he was unsuited to the teaching of high school age children. Perhaps he was not constituted to work so intimately with young people. The stress of tension affected his nerves and took away all pleasure and benefit of eating.

I explained that when we are nervous or worried, our stomach literally "ties up in knots." We just don't want to eat. How often we have heard people say when troubled about some problem, "I don't feel like eating." It's better, at such a time, not to eat. If this loss of appetite continues, you lose weight, as did this man. From all of this comes more worry and one's mental state grows worse.

Getting free of an unhappy situation relieves anxiety and tension. The body begins to function as it should. Appetite returns and weight comes back. A state of well-being is restored.

Typical experience

This man's experience was rather typical of what happens as the result of continued fears and worries. This was the effect of the mind and the emotions on bodily functions. If such states of unhappiness and worry continue, there is not only a change in routine of the functions of one's organs, but eventually there may be a change in the structure of these organs. Stomach ulcers, for instance, are examples of change in body structure. They are often the result of tension and anxiety.

I mention this, not because this man had any ulcers, but because it shows to what extent one's emotional state can affect body structure. Many serious illnesses are the result of fear, worry and real unhappiness.

Not all of us can change our jobs. Usually we can find a way out of troublesome situations without it. One can very often get rid of anxiety by talking over problems with the right people, a doctor, a clergyman, a counselor in one of the social agencies, a wise friend, a union officer, or even a boss.

It is said one gives away his anxiety in this way. Do not keep your worries to yourself.

SHOP SHAVINGS

The young lady ordered the most expensive item on the menu, and her escort glowered. The waiter held his pencil poised over his pad and inquired of the man, "What do you wish, sir?"

"I wish I hadn't brought her," he moaned.

★ ★ ★

The trouble with school drop-outs is not that they can't see the handwriting on the wall, but that they can't read it.

★ ★ ★

This week's brain twister: Using only one plus sign, and nothing else, can you make 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 equal 99,999? (Answer on page 2.)

The Man Who DOES NOT Read Has No Advantage over the Man Who CANNOT Read

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AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS

1966 FACT SHEET NO. 4
(Second Revision)

The AFL-CIO urges approval by the House of Representatives for H.R. 13712, the bill approved by the House Education and Labor Committee on March 29, 1966 to improve the Fair Labor Standards Act.

H.R. 13712, sponsored by Congressman John Dent (D-Pa.), chairman of the House General Labor Subcommittee, was substituted for the more comprehensive Roosevelt bill, H.R. 10518, approved by the Committee in 1965. The substitution was the result of deliberations and consensus in the Subcommittee following appointment of the former Subcommittee chairman, Congressman James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) to be U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council, effective September 30, 1965.

Although the Dent bill, H.R. 13712, differs in some respects from the Roosevelt bill, the AFL-CIO urges that the Dent bill be promptly passed by the House of Representatives.

H.R. 13712 raises the minimum wage to $1.40 an hour in February, 1967, and $1.60 in February, 1968, and extends coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to more than 6.5 million additional workers.

Enactment of legislation along the lines of this bill would be a tremendous step forward toward the wage-hour objectives of the AFL-CIO. It would help assure a decent minimum standard of living to America's working people and it would make a major contribution to the elimination of poverty.

Therefore, AFL-CIO affiliated organizations should urge prompt action by Congress to enact into law the FLSA improvements contained in H.R. 13712.

Coverage

At present, some 17½ million non-supervisory wage and salary earners who should be covered are excluded from FLSA protections by unduly narrow coverage definitions and by special exemptions. Excluded workers are among the most poorly paid in the nation and must endure the worst working conditions.

H.R. 13712 would extend minimum wage protections to more than 6.5 million workers in the following categories of employment:

Industry	H.R. 13712 Dent Bill (Thousands)
Retail and Service:	
Retail Trade*	1,500
Restaurants	425
Hotels and Motels	275
Hospitals, nursing homes	1,471
Miscellaneous services	50
Subtotal	3,721
Other Industries:	
Laundries	505
Transit	65
Processing in areas of production	90
Taxicabs	100
Logging	37
Cotton ginning	34
Construction	581
All other industries**	960
Subtotal	2,372
Agriculture	485
Grand Total	6,578

* Includes: General Merchandise Stores; Limited Price Variety Stores; Food Stores; Gasoline Service Stations; Apparel and Accessory Stores; Furniture and Appliance Dealers; Drug Stores; Auto and Farm Equipment Dealers; Food Service Enterprises; Building Materials Dealers; Hardware Stores; Auto and Accessories Dealers.

** Includes: Non-profit Organizations; Professional and Educational Organizations; Wholesale Trade; Finance, Insurance and Real Estate; etc.

Enterprise Coverage

H.R. 13712 changes the Fair Labor Standards Act definition of an "enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce" to include an enterprise which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and which has an annual gross volume of sales of $500,000 or more beginning February 1, 1967, until January 31, 1968; and an annual gross volume of sales of $250,000 or more thereafter. There is no dollar volume test for laundries,

drycleaning, construction enterprises and hospitals. "Mom and pop" establishments remain excluded as do individual retail and service establishments with annual sales of less than $250,000.

$1.60 Minimum Wage

Enactment of H.R. 13712 would be a substantial step forward toward the AFL-CIO objective of assuring low-paid job-holders a standard of living above the poverty level.

The bill would raise the minimum hourly wage both for workers now covered by FLSA and for workers newly covered. Here is the step-up schedule for increasing the minimum hourly wage under H.R. 13712:

For 29.6 million presently covered employees:

(1) Beginning February 1, 1967 ..... $1.40
(2) Beginning February 1, 1968 ..... $1.60

For 6.0 million newly covered employees (nonfarm):

(1) Beginning February 1, 1967 ..... $1.00
(2) Beginning February 1, 1968 ..... $1.15
(3) Beginning February 1, 1969 ..... $1.30
(4) Beginning February 1, 1970 ..... $1.45
(5) Beginning February 1, 1971 ..... $1.60

For "tipped employees," the wage paid by an employer shall be deemed to be increased by the amount of tips received by or attributed to such employee, but not by more than 35 percent of the applicable minimum wage rate, during the period February 1, 1967-January 31, 1969; 40 percent during the period February 1, 1969-January 31, 1971; and, 45 percent thereafter.

For 485 thousand agricultural employees:

(1) Beginning February 1, 1967 ..... $1.00
(2) Beginning February 1, 1968 ..... $1.15
(3) Beginning February 1, 1969 ..... $1.30

The present minimum wage rates affecting Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands would be increased by the same percentage amounts as the minimum wage increases on the mainland, i.e. 12 percent in 1967 and 16 percent in 1968. The rate for newly covered workers in the islands would be fixed on the basis of recommendations by special industry committees.

Overtime

H.R. 13712 would extend overtime protection to many workers in the following categories of employment:

- Retailing
- Hospitals and related institutions
- Construction
- Laundering and drycleaning
- Automobile, truck and farm implement dealerships, (excluding salesmen and mechanics)
- Agricultural processing
- Gasoline service stations

These newly covered workers would get overtime protection starting July 1, 1967. For these workers, overtime pay—time-and-a-half pay—would be required after:

44 hours any workweek after February 1, 1967
42 hours any workweek after February 1, 1968
40 hours any workweek after February 1, 1969

AFL-CIO Wage-Hour Goals

H.R. 13712 is a significant step forward toward the AFL-CIO wage-hour goals. The bill's improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act deserve the support of AFL-CIO affiliated organizations.

Opponents of wage-hour improvements are trying to convince members of Congress that H.R. 13712 will injure business and cut back job opportunities. This is not true. A 1965 U.S. Labor Department study shows that "the economy adjusted easily to the increase in the minimum wage" under the 1961 Fair Labor Standards Act amendments, and that "employment in these newly covered segments did in fact go up."

It is vitally important that Congressmen learn immediately that there is strong support in their home districts for Fair Labor Standards Act improvements contained in the 1966 wage-hour bill, H. R. 13712, as approved by the House Education and Labor Committee.

Urge your Congressman to vote for the wage-hour bill approved by the House Labor Committee, and to oppose weakening amendments.

For additional copies of this fact sheet, write to the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

THE WHITE MAN CAN'T HELP THE BLACK GHETTO

by Mark Battle

With considerable fanfare, governments, foundations and charities are spending millions to help Negroes in the urban ghettos. Yet in city after city these "action plans" bog down in confusion and disappointment. Meanwhile the ghetto spirit of revolt continues to grow. White America watches in bafflement and asks with horror: What do these people want? Don't they realize how much we're doing for them?

The truth is that the white man's programs to help the ghetto cannot succeed as expected. The legions of white lawmakers, administrators and social workers who devise and run these programs may have the best intentions, but they make a momentous mistake. They assume that white America's middle-class standards of sexual morality, parental behavior social propriety and economic success are universal.

The fact is that many Negro slum dwellers know little and care less about middle-class morality. These people have had less direct, personal contact with white life than any other generation in the American Negro's history. Even during slavery, blacks and whites lived side by side in a larval stage of integration; in urban areas today, the whites have escaped to the monochromatic beauty of the suburbs. Walk with a Negro youth in his ghetto environment and if you know where to look you'll quickly get a taste of the components of his life: a drug addict nodding in a doorway; a drunk vomiting or urinating in a hallway; a sex party on a rooftop; seven-year-olds scampering over fences with stolen jars of pigs'feet; a floating crap game in an alley; bars full of prostitutes; fights in which the strong pick on the weak; merchants who overprice their shoddy goods and charge one dollar to cash a Government allotment check.

White America says: "Let us solve the ghetto problems-the illegitimacy, the delinquency, the crime. To accomplish this, we will remove legal obstacles to assimilation, grant adequate relief and welfare payments, provide good education and decent housing."

Unfortunately, all the gold in Whitey's world will produce little more than a puerile intellectual exercise until ghetto life is understood. Still baffled by Los Angeles' Watts riot that killed 34, injured more than 1,000 and caused $40 million in property damage last August, whites search unsuccessfully through their libraries of liberal cliches for an explanation. Police brutality, white-absentee ownership of more than 70 percent of the dwellings, and rejection by California voters in 1964 of a fair housing law all contributed to the explosion, but it was a more complex matter than the editorial writers think.

...none of these factors-prejudice, housing, policemen-really explain Watts because they do not take into account one of the most important factors in ghetto life. In essence, the Watts riot was a revolt of the young Negro ghetto males who were attempting to display a sense of manhood that had been denied them by both the whites and the Negro women. To a white, that may sound like vague sociology, but in the ghetto it is real life.

Ignorance about the ghetto is particularly damaging when white America seeks to deal with "chronic social ills"-for instance, illegitimacy. The Negro illegitimacy rate is close to 25 percent; the white rate is less than 4 percent. The solution usually touted for the ghetto is birth-control education. In fact, most Negro youngsters get practical information about contraceptives at elementary-school age. Whites assume that no girl would have an illegitimate child if she knew how to prevent conception or could marry the father. What is rarely considered is that the Negro girl has likely been trained to be contemptuous of Negro men, and marriage may be the last thing she wants.

It has always been easier for Negro women to find employment than for Negro men. Today, 56 percent of Negro women aged 25 to 64 have paying jobs; for white women the percentage is 42 percent. Negro women consider themselves worthwhile persons, but they see their men in the images of their fathers and brothers who constantly shifted from one menial task to another and mostly sat around the kitchen drinking beer. It is the daughter rather than the son whom the Negro mother brings up to hope for a better life. More than three quarters of the Negro honor students in high school are girls. A presidential committee reported in 1964 that there were proportionately four times as many Negro females as Negro males in significant white-collar jobs. Girls who are striving for a place in the white man's white-collar world are not eager to marry boys who work only seasonally and come home with a laborer's dirt on their clothes and hands. In the ghetto, the Negro girl proves herself a woman and gains a tie to the future not by becoming a wife but by becoming a mother. To expect birth control education to change that picture significantly is a hallucination.

To expect that men in a matriarchal society will worry about family life when a riot erupts is a dangerous illusion.

White America assumes that the youths of the ghetto are a little stupid, and cite statistics: eighth-grade students in central Harlem test out at a median IQ of 87.7, which means that about a third are at or below the level of the mentally retarded. But almost all in-depth studies of the ghetto show that the inhabitants, particularly the youth, have a high degree of what the sociologists call "copability", meaning that they deal successfully with problems that would quickly destroy middle-class white youths of that age. White, middle-class America misses or ignores the point. In the aftermath of riots such as the one in Watts, white leaders always hold meetings to promote fair-hiring practices among business men. Yet the Negroes don't get the good jobs because White America assumes that the slightly stupid ghetto man will be satisfied with any job that pays him more to stay alive. This is a dangerous error. The Negro male is no longer satisfied by "handouts" from Whitey or by jobs without dignity or satisfaction. He knows that job programs are rigged against him - that vocational schools are seldom integrated, and the ones with mostly Negro students teach dry cleaning while white schools teach electronics and data processing. A man doesn't get to feel better from swabbing a floor. Stealing offers more pay and satisfaction and at least it requires some wits.

Time after time the white man tries to solve specific "problems" of the ghetto and achieves Pyrrhic victories. He sends social workers into the ghettos, and these workers rage at the garbage worker who buys $35 alligator shoes rather than provide well-balanced meals for his family. It is a waste of time. A hungry man only asks for a full stomach and, besides, a man who works on a dung heap all day may well feel compelled to put on alligator shoes as soon as he gets home. He spends millions to build low income housing projects, but they do not break down the pattern of street life, menial jobs, low income and inadequate education. The white man spends more millions to destroy the fighting gangs, only to discover that the members have joined the far more pernicious ranks of the drug addicts and the street hustlers. The white man finances make-work jobs to provide pocket money and gets nothing but abuse from the cats who know there is no future in jobs that require no skills. A major community is now planning to teach ghetto mothers to make their hovels so pleasant their sons and husbands will want to stay there. Negro women, many of whom work as domestics, have had plenty of chances to learn how to run households. But they also know you can't establish a middle-class home without money. And, as matriarchs, they don't see the point of keeping the males around.

Any ghetto dweller could tell the planners that such "solutions" will not calm the Negro revolt, and that this revolution may explode into many more Watts riots. After seeing Whitey's welfare, the ghetto now is convinced that what the white man defines as good for Negroes is what is convenient and economical for whites.

What the ghetto needs immediately is a disproportionate share of all city services. A "fair" share will not do; ghetto problems are unfair, unthinkable by middle-class standards. Extraordinary actions and extraordinary spending will be necessary, no matter how much urban governments and taxpayers may suffer when they realize the implications of their insistence that the ghetto adopt middle-class ways.

The ghetto needs the *best* in schools, in police protection, in public utilities, in welfare services, in testing and job training. The contradiction between what Whitey says and does must be eliminated. A city policy of open housing merely adds to racial tension when the ghetto dwellers know that the power to perpetuate segregated housing is merely transferred to the real estate boards. What the ghetto needs is not larger doses of old-fashioned charity. It needs much more - capital to finance Negro-owned businesses and funds to find potential executives, to train them and to provide them with jobs worthy of their skills so that the ghetto can have its own middle-class look. Ghetto males must be given experience in decision-making which means white America must permit, even assist them to develop organizations competent to exert political influence in their own self-interest. It's a large order, but the pathology of the ghetto cannot be cured with aspirin.

****

This article appeared recently in the column: "Speaking Out" in the Saturday Evening Post. The author, a specialist in the problems of Negro slum dwellers, is now a U. S. Labor Department deputy director in the War on Poverty.

meeting your needs

THE

NAACP

NAACP

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

The Story of the NAACP

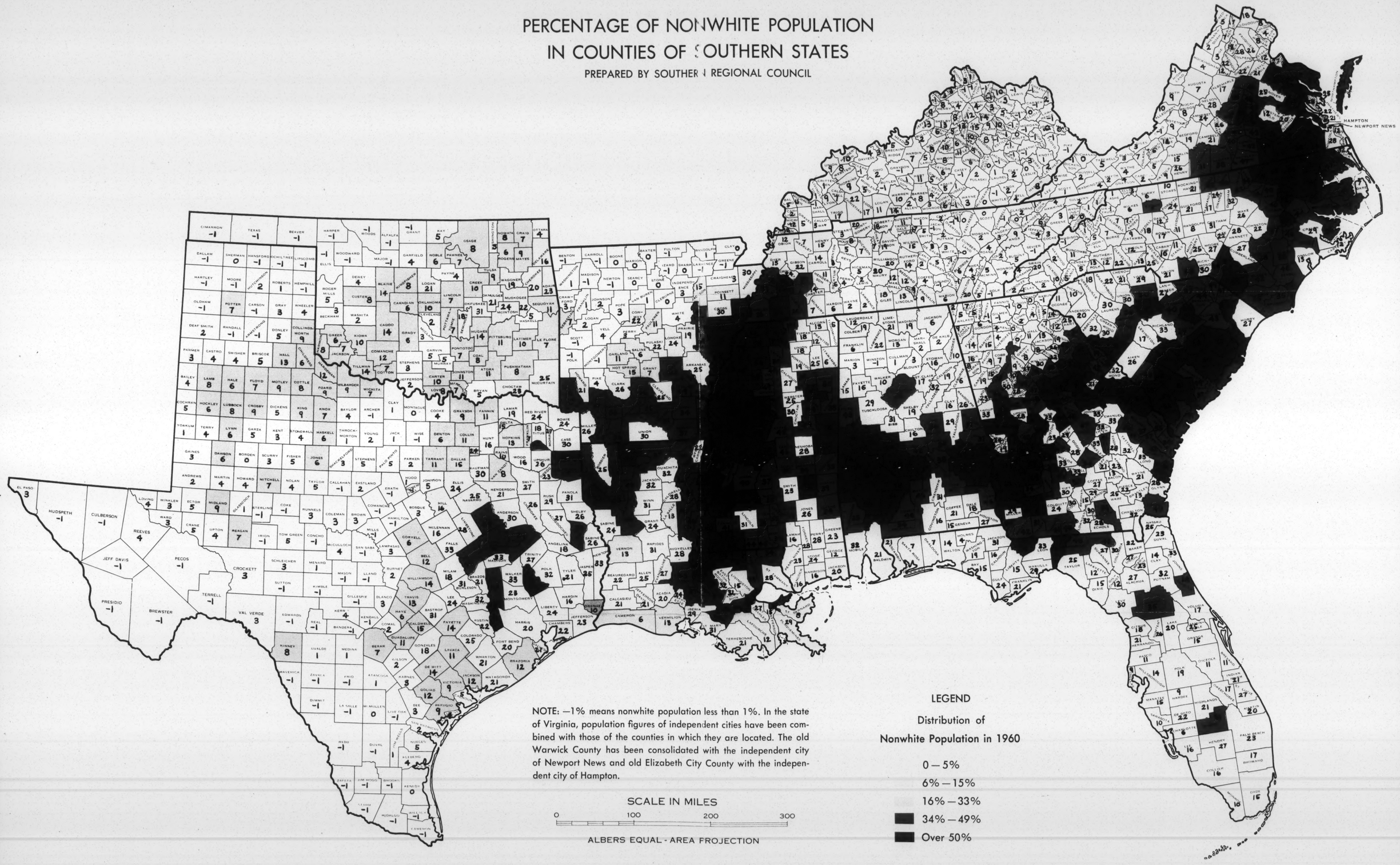
ERRATA

Yadkin County, North Carolina, should be yellow (0-5%) instead of red.

Catoosa County, Georgia, should read "2" instead of "7".

PERCENTAGE OF NONWHITE POPULATION IN COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN STATES

PREPARED BY SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL



NOTE: —1% means nonwhite population less than 1%. In the state of Virginia, population figures of independent cities have been combined with those of the counties in which they are located. The old Warwick County has been consolidated with the independent city of Newport News and old Elizabeth City County with the independent city of Hampton.

SCALE IN MILES

0 100 200 300

ALBERS EQUAL - AREA PROJECTION

LEGEND

Distribution of Nonwhite Population in 1960

- 0 — 5%
- 6% — 15%
- 16% — 33%
- 34% — 49%
- Over 50%

UNITED PRINT. TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL ATLANTA, GA.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

April 16, 1959

Mr. Russell Allen
Director of Education
Industrial Union Department
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Russ:

Two apologies at the outset: one is for the long delay and the other is for the personalized typing since I am without secretarial help at this point.

This will be an attempt to give some response to your query prompted by the request from several internationals regarding an institute in the South this summer on the general theme of race relations and unions in the South.

Personally, I would like to see such an institute held. Had I stayed with the Southern Regional Council, I was looking forward to an expanded program for this year.

I would propose two possible alternative programs; one would be substantially more ambitious than the other and what I would favor if it could be swung. The more ambitious program would run for about five days and the entire time would be used in a program put together just for this occassion. It would not be in conjunction with another program such as the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. I beleive only two problems stand in the way of such aprogram -- housing it and financing it. I guess you could ~~find the answer~~ give me the answer on the ~~former~~ latter and I or the Southern Regional Council could supply the former.

Plan A would include sessions on the curent Southern scene(Harold C. Fleming, director of SRC), the national union scene and Southern problems(perhaps Shishkin, the Civil rights guys from the various unions, and perhaps Ray Marshall who is currently doing a study for the Clark Kerr group under the Fund for the Republic), the implications of the current struggle in the South for a free society(possibley Fred Routh or Les Dunbar of the SRC or even me, orsome name person) the political significance of the Southern scene(some comination of the following: V.O.Key --if he feels he is really current, Alex Heard who is a chief pol. sci. type in the South on this topic, Gravel -- the national Democratic Committeeman from Louisanna, Sam Lubel, or a man like Morris Abram --an extremely articulate and brilliant lwayer and politician from Atlanta), the economic implications of the struggle(Phil Hammer who has beeen doing a good bit in this area, very well informed economic consultant in Atlanta -- athoroughly decent and intelligent guy) the desegrgation controversy and manpower utilization(John Hope II who is now doing a project with the Manpower Commission but who serves as the industrial and labor relations guy for the Fisk departemnet of race relations and perhpas Herb Hill of NAACP who by bombast and hard pressing rubs many of union staffers the wrong way

but does have a wealth of experience an information.

Othertopics and possible resources would include: Meeting problems in the local, city and state central bodies(we could draw from the participants themselves for this plus tapping my experience and that of others who have worked in the field), we might add in prblems of organizing on the same day and ask Franz Daniels and either someone from the research dept. or from Roper & Assco. who worked on the survey done a couple of years back -- if that is free to be discussed(I would like to look at it closely myself since I guess that time and circumstance have altered the situation in a number of places), problems in political education and action(using some combination of Phil Weightman, Earl Davis, and Dan Powell -- all of COPE and all have worked in the South) . I would want a session at least on the groups at work in the South and this time let representatives of these groups do their own talking(Ruby Hurly, NAACP reg dir would do an excellent job as would ARTLevin from the Anti Defamantion League, Will Cambell of the National Council of Churches southern social relations office, and a man like Paul Rilling who directs the Virginia Council on Human Relations -- one of ten such state groups which cooperate with SRC). Time spent on race relations and the law could review the court decisions and civil rights legislation, consider the attaks on the court, review the work of the CivilRts. Comm., and specialized legislation or executive orders that affect employment, govt. contracts, etc. A topic which I think is increading in importance again, especially in the need for southern labor leadership to either have answers or to know how to under gird their own poitions has to with the nature of prejudice and the biologiacl and psychological facts regarding race.

The general purposes of such an institute would be to shore up the southern union leadership in their own best positions and help them to find ways to support their personal and organizational committments to democracy, to increase the sense of common bond among unionists who face the southern problem and wish to be constructive, to provide sound information and interpretation, and to provide enough new insights and imagination so that the participants can find new things to do to affect the outcome.

Plan B would include many of the above topics, but most of them would get a once over lightly treatment. The institute would be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institue on Race relations for one week and only the afternoon sessions would be exclusively for the union group. Fisk would be amenable to our coming there on a cooperating basis. SRC will cooperate fully with us on either type of program. I could be available for the week(if we can get a proper date) and would probably be able to give the equivalent of two weeks work towards shaping the program and at least supporting the recruiting job. The cost per individual would run considerably higher under Plan A than it would under B. But on the more ambitious program I would shoot for 40 - 50 participants and feel that anything over 25 or 30 would be worth it. SRC feels that holding such an institute before August (thinking in terms of "preparation for the fall) would be highly desirable. I could make an earlier date such as June 14-20 or 21-27, I could also make it during the first two weeks in July which is when the Fisk Institute is held, but you will recall that I said this was a bad time for TWUA and ILGWU in the South. If it were not to be at the earlier time then I would have to wait until after August 22. I beleive I could do my end of the job before June 21st, but I realize that this would rush the promotion quite a bit.

Conflict Southern Labor School

As to costs, etc. Plan A would certainly take the equivalent of three weeks time from me for which I would like about $600. but this can be altered to suit circumstances. My expenses would be primarily for the trip South and phone calls in arranging the program. SRC will furnish me with some assistance(secretarial)during the week of the institute. I can imagine a phone bill of around $150. if we attempt to shoot for the earlier date. The agency type speakers would probably come for their expenses and the union resource people would of course be for free, Some of the resorce people would require about $100 plus expenses. If we can house the conference in Atlanta we could save substantially on expenses all the way around.

TENNESSEE STATE LABOR COUNCIL
AFL-CIO

939 CHURCH STREET
PHONE ALpine 6-5687
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

May 4, 1959

AIRMAIL SPECIAL

Mr. Emory Via
Wisconsin School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

4 sessions of 1 hour each Mon-Thur

Is it possible that you could devote five days to the Basic Institute of the Southern Labor School from June 21-26? We would like for you to handle a class on "Labor History" -- with accent on the South in which the segregation issue would be handled in context.

The states involved: Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The place: Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama. Due to the lack of college housing for women, this one will be "For Men Only". Enclosed is a copy of the call which has gone out to all locals in the three states.

We would like very much for you to do this and will be hard put to find a competent teacher if you can't. We will pay your expenses and the usual honorarium of $100.00.

Please let me hear from you as soon as possible.

With every good wish, I am

Fraternally yours,

Stanton

STANTON E. SMITH
President

SES:mh

Enclosure

oeiu 182

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM - MAY 20, 1959

TO: EMORY VIA

FROM: NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

DID YOU RECEIVE MY LETTER OF MAY 4. PLEASE ADVISE

BY COLLECT TELEGRAM. REGARDS.

STANTON E. SMITH

W.U. AL 51631

~~Sorry for delay. Can give you an Answer Monday May 25th. Attempting to Adjust Schedule.~~

Collect

Sorry for delay. Attempting to adjust schedule. Can give answer May 25th. Regards.

Emory F. Via

Flanbeau

electric Switch Mfg.

hires 90% Indians — about 100 employees

Carpenters Council Unitewerted

Teamsters had 2 guys in for 6-8 weeks

no luck — couldn't even get a place to meet

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • • EXECUTIVE 3-5581

WALTER P. REUTHER
PRESIDENT
JAMES B. CAREY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
ALBERT WHITEHOUSE
DIRECTOR

May 21, 1959

Emory Via
School for Workers
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Don Slaimon tells me that the Southern Trade Union Committee is meeting in Nashville on June 6. A proposal such as we have discussed will be made to them at that meeting. Whether they will take it up and what our role will be if they do is of course problematical.

In view of the fact that the meeting is definite and soon, I have decided to await developments.

Meanwhile, will you keep all of this information in confidence.

Sincerely yours,

Russ

RA/gw

Russell Allen
Education Director

oeiu #2 afl-cio

VICE PRESIDENTS: I. W. ABEL • JOSEPH A. BEIRNE • L. S. BUCKMASTER • JOSEPH CURRAN • GORDON FREEMAN • A. F. HARTUNG
ALBERT J. HAYES • O. A. KNIGHT • PAUL L. PHILLIPS • WILLIAM POLLOCK • FRANK ROSENBLUM • PETER T. SCHOEMANN
LOUIS STULBERG • ARNOLD ZANDER

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations
A Contract College of the State University **EXTENSION DIVISION**

UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

To: ULEA Members

From: Lois Gray

June 18, 1965

We are developing a collection of teaching aids for use of parttime extension teachers in labor classes. Consequently, we would be interested in receiving copies of any material that you may have developed for your teachers; for example: case studies, role-playing scenarios, questionnaires, specific reading material on labor history, labor law, labor economics, union administration, civil rights, and collective bargaining.

We are not so much interested in outlines as we are in the teaching aids which illustrate the outlines or in course material which is designed for specific industries, professions, or unions.

We will be grateful for your cooperation in this project and will, of course, reciprocate in making available copies of material which we develop.

LG:dg

Saint James Church
8412 WHITFIELD AVE.
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA 31406

RT. REV. MSGR. JOHN D. TOOMEY, PASTOR

October 15, 1965

Rec'd 10/18/65

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

I am grateful for your letter of October 12. Please be assured that we are most anxious to involve union leaders in this program. I am enclosing a copy of the invitation which will be mailed this weekend. Unfortunately, there was a delay in Washington on printing these letters.

Mr. E. T. Kehrer of the Atlanta office AFL-CIO will be one of our speakers. His subject will be the role of unions under the Act.

We are sending invitations to all labor organizations listed in the Savannah telephone directory. If you have a more extensive list, or names of others who should be invited, please forward it to me at once. Any other suggestions in this regard would be most appreciated.

We would be most happy to have you attend this conference. With very best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

John D. Toomey

MONSIGNOR TOOMEY

JDT/imb

Encl.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

October 12, 1965

ADDRESS REPLY TO:
Rt. Rev. Msgr.
John D. Toomey
P.O. Box 2227
Savannah, Georgia

OFFICIAL BULLETIN

TO: Employers, Union Officials, Student Counsellors, and Civil Rights Organizations.

FROM: Rev. James L. Hooten
Rt. Rev. Msgr. John D. Toomey
Members, Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights

The Georgia Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has scheduled an information meeting on Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, dealing with matters affecting equal employment opportunities.

This meeting will be held in the Veranda Room of the Manger Hotel, Savannah on Thursday, October 28, beginning at 2:00 p.m. and concluding not later than 5:00 p.m.

We shall provide several speakers who are well versed in the field of business and employment. A staff member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will give an explanation of the provisions of Title VII, after which a panel discussion will deal with:

- the role of business under the Act,
- the role of unions under the Act, and
- the role of private agencies under the Act.

Sufficient time will be given for questions and answers.

We believe that this meeting, which is strictly informational, will be of great benefit to you in understanding the provisions of Title VII and its effect on the business community. We urge you to attend or send a representative.

There is no registration fee or other charge. However, we do request that you promptly return the enclosed card so that we may determine the number expected to attend.

Enclosure

EV—

Taylor —

Brim — Security clerks

Rehner — Union Secretary —

35.00
3.75
22.75
61.50

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
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STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-9164

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 3, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: SRC Staff

FROM: Emory Via

- : -

We are now subscribing, through the labor program, to "Fair Employment Practices," which is a part of BNA's (Bureau of National Affairs) Labor Policy and Practice service. The service is a well-indexed resource to laws, regulations, union and company policies and practices, court rulings in the employment area. The service is added to and updated every two weeks. There is also a regular bi-weekly "Summary of Latest Developments."

Although the service (a very thick ring binder) will be housed in my office, you should feel free to make use of it. Since I will be needing it regularly, however, please let me know if you need to actually remove it from my office. Perhaps those of you who think you might need to use it and who are not familiar with BNA services would like to take a look at it soon so that you will know what it offers.

EV:js

Saul Nesselroth,
ILGWU, Ed. Dept.
Sent c/o Marty Mann, So. Reg. Office, Atlanta

11/12/65

Dear Saul:

In order to get this to you in time and becausee our secretarial situation is jammed up until after our annual meeting, I am sending you these rough notes on possible instuctors in Southern states who could be used in union education programs. I am sure we can develop a much more complete list over the next few months. George Guernsey could supplement it usefully. I think that the list as it now stands has two major drawbacks. Most of these people do not teach working adults very often, for one. The other is that there is an the group very little experience in the teaching of basic union courses at the local leadership level. For instance there would be almost no familiarity with teaching stewards training, union administration, the union in the community, elementary contract interpretation and so forth. So with these disclaimers, on with the list.

Labor History

Ray Marshall, Dept. of Economics, University of Texas, Austin.
Ray is also one of very few experts on southern labor history.
Mac Moore, Dept of Econ., Georgia Tech., Atlanta.

Earl Williams, O.E.O., Washington, was Univ. of Tenn.; may be at Memphis State in the future.

Collective Bargaining Trends, issues, problems(but not necessarily on the level of how to prepare for in the local, use of local committeee in conjunction with union rep. and national union resources, etc.)

Ray Marshall
Mac Moore
Earl Williams

Economics
Of unemployment, manpower requirements, understanding national fiscal policy, and southern economic problems.

Ray Marshall
Mac Moore
Earl Williams Atlanta
Vivian Henderson, Pres. of Clark College, was prof. of econ. at Fiske. also major participant in a Twentieth Century Fund study of southern manpower needs.

Labor Law
DathBoMLiEtgoRbbfrufstaff,tWaimingfpWogrgmbhapPal Hill; he has taught in

Labor Law(cont.)

Jim Youngdahl, L abor attorney, Little Rock, Ark.
Nat Wells, Labor Attorney, Houston(?), Tex.
George Barrett, labor lawyer, Nashville , Tenn. closely identified with Tenn. Labor Council and its politics.

~~Politics~~

Politics

Malcolm Jewell, Dept. of pol. sci., University of Ky. ; especially good on problems of reapportionment and on state legislatures.

Bill Collins, Dir., Institute of Govt., Unive of Ga., Athens good on state govt.. problems

Dan Powell, COPE, Memphis. Experienced in teaching summer school and other programs, knows his area well. His teaching is at times reasonably good.

Wilbur Hobby, COPE, Durham, N.C.(but not responsible for N.C.), knowledgeable but iI have not seen him teach.

Barney Weeks, Pres. Ala, Labor Council, Birmingham. Would do careful and informative job of showing importance of labor political action in his state and give a good interpretation of why labor works with other groups. Also good to use on general role of a state body.

Claude Ramsay, Pres. Miss . AFL-CIO. Can give a fairly graphic story of need for labor in politics in Miss and why a coalition is required. Also useful in terms of explaining work of state labor body and probably good on problems of local organising.

Vernon Jordon, O.EO. , AtlantaRegioanal office. Probably will return to So. Reg. Council to head voter ed. project. Knows patterns and problems in Negro voting, coalitions, and need for fundamental pol. ed. Also good on explaining poverty programs.

A variety of civil rights leaders would be useful in this general area when the emphasis is especially on Negro participation.

Problems of the South, especially as touched by(or touching) racial relations. And also similar problems of particular states.

Paul Anthony, Dir., SRC
Aaron Henry, for Miss., from NAACP
John Griffin, Southern Education Foundation, Inc. (afoundation interested in educational problems) ; a good teacher, excellnt on education, general problems of south and on arbitration.

The directors of the various State Councils on Human Realtions. I can serve as contact and give more candid observations about usefulness for a specific purpose.
Ray Marshall
Earl Williams
Herman Long, Pres., Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

Arbitration

Ray Marshall
John Griffin
Mac Moore

Out of this group you have many excellent people. They are well informed in the areas for which I have suggested them. Most of them can give an excellent presentation. Most of them know how to teach, but they do not have, as a group, the skills that I think are needed for your kind of local groups. Some of them would listen to advice as to how to proce d, however, and do an excellent job. I would be happy to consult on any proposed use of such people to try to give a realistic appraisal on a case by case basis. Many of them have worked with union groups in some program, but it has most often been at the staff level. You will have some difficulty in securing their services for a local union group unless the time and place were especially convenient.

I will pass on one further suggestion of a person whom I have not met , but who can probably come closer to doing an across the board basic union education job than the persons listed above. Frank McCallister recommends her. She is MissJosephine Clark, P.O. Box 286, Mount Holly, N.C. She worked on the J.P.STevens campaign in SC with the I.U.D. until this summer when when that drive laid off its extra help. She has had expereince with Retail Clerks, Teamsters, TWUA and has performed most of the union chores from greivance handling to publicity.

Lastly, I would be pleased to be of help where I can. As you know I do most of the basic kinds of union education programs. Add on labor and politics and the southern scene. The kind of program that it would be easiest for me to justify my participation would be one in which either the course included some ~~time~~ matter related to racial relations (in a union context, is fine) or where a separate course or presentations relating to race or civil rights was included.

For example, in a particular institute or series of classes I could teach stewards training or union administration and also have some sessions on other matters. I am quite flexible about starting where the group is and about how much emphasis on these matters is wise in a given program. Beyond this, Saul, I do hope to be either uncovering or developing some people over the next few months who can do the more basic union education job.

I hope this scramble of information is of some use to you, Tell if Ican be of further service.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

CABLE ADDRESS: ILGWU-NEW YORK • PHONE: COLUMBUS 5-7000

UNION LABEL
INT. LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION
UNION MADE
ILGWU
AFL-CIO

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

AFL-CIO

1710 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19 • N. Y.

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PRESIDENT

LOUIS STULBERG
GENERAL SEC'Y-TREAS.

LUIGI ANTONINI
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

•

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November 22, 1965

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Program Director
South Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

It was wonderful seeing you, Margaret, and David again. I especially appreciated being able to sit down for a few relaxed moments.

As you probably know by this time, Josephine Clark was put on staff as an organizer. I met her for a few minutes and was impressed.

Your list should form the basis of a useful tool. It seems strange that no one has taken the trouble of putting together a workable resource directory. Do you think that the AFL-CIO Speaker's List would be of any help?

Margaret Lenord wishes to contact you. I am sure that you can help her greatly.

Lots of luck.

Fraternally yours,

Saul

Saul Nesselroth

SN:ys

P.S. Aida asked me to thank you for the guide to Atlanta. I may be down there after New Year's for a 5 day conf SN

426

Dr Emory Via

Communications

1.13
x1.44

GLENN E. WATTS, *Vice-President*

Workers of America

(AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO)

1925 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: FEderal 7-7711

Visited
Via helped with the
Schedule — IAGWU
Staff institute
Labor leads
Personal conference

November 22, 1965

Mr. Oscar Paskal, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan
Mr. Bill Good, United Auto. Workers, Detroit, Michigan
Mr. Stan Rosen, Chicago Labor Education Program, University of Illinois, Chicago
Mr. Norris Tibbetts, School for Workers, Madison, Wisconsin
Mr. Owen Tapper, School for Workers, Madison, Wisconsin
Mr. Don Vial, University of California (Berkeley), San Francisco, Calif.
Mr. Art Carstens, University of California (Los Angeles), Los Angeles, Calif.
Mr. Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Jim Wolfe, Education Director, Brewery Workers, Cincinnati, Ohio

Fraternal Greetings:

We had an opportunity to meet Wally Clement in Washington this week. He is a printer, a fulltime officer of his local in Wellington, secretary of the City Central Body, and is now Vice President of his International Union.

He is especially interested in two matters:

1. Developing participation and leadership among the younger members.
2. Collective bargaining approaches to the technological problems in tne industry.

It is interesting how similar the problems are to some of ours. New Zealand has a leadership that was forged in the 30's now nearing retirement age. They have had little labor education -- education is unnecessary in the view of the leadership. And there is a new generation coming along that is not familiar with trade union possibilities.

I thought you would like to know about his visit, and would be interested in talking to him if you have a chance. In each of the cities he visits he has been set with various appointments by tne Labor Department, which as you know may or may not be helpful. But in any case if you have a chance to talk with him you might be able to snow him some of the education activities in your area.

over ...

They are planning to establish new programs in New Zealand and Wally is interested in seeing all the varieties of institutional arrangements, types of classes, recruiting, financing, etc. I think you would be interested in meeting Wally Clement.

Enclosed is his itinerary along with a sheet which gives his title and address.

Fraternally yours,

Holgate Young
Education Director

Enclosures

ITINERARY

ARRIVE WASHINGTON, D.C. October 30, 1965

WASHINGTON, D.C. October 30 - November 16	Statler Hilton Hotel 16th and K Streets, N.W. Telephone:, EXecutive 3-1000
NEW YORK, NEW YORK November 17 - November 25	Park-Sheraton Hotel 56th Street and 7th Avenue Telephone: CIrcle 7-8000
DETROIT, MICHIGAN November 26 - November 30	Statler Hilton 1565 Washington Boulevard Telephone: 965-7800
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA December 1 - December 3	Sheraton-Lincoln 117 W. Washington Street Telephone: MElrose 4-1361
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS December 4 - December 5	Eastgate Hotel 162 E. Ontario Street Telephone: SUperior 7-3580
MADISON, WISCONSIN December 6 - December 7	Madison Inn 601 Langdon Street Telephone: ALpine 7-4391
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA December 8 - December 17	El Cortez Hotel 550 Geary Street Telephone: PRospect 5-5000
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA December 18 - December 25	Statler Hilton 930 Wilshire Boulevard Telephone: MAdison 9-4321
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO December 26 - December 27	Travelers Motel 220 East Cimarron Street Telephone: 473-2774
RACINE, WISCONSIN December 28 - January 2	Racine Hotel 535 Main Street Telephone: 633-3551
ATLANTA, GEORGIA January 3 - January 4	Atlanta Biltmore 817 W. Peachtree Street, N.E. Telephone: TRinity 5-3461

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE January 5 - January 8	International Visitors Center Dinkler Farragut Hotel 530 S. Gay Street Telephone: 525-0955
KINGSPORT, TENNESSEE January 9 - January 11	Downtowner Motor Inn Center and Shelby Streets Telephone: 247-3111
CINCINNATI, OHIO January 12 - January 18	Terrace Hilton Fountain Square Telephone: 621-6600
WASHINGTON, D.C. January 19 - January 21	Burlington Hotel 1120 Vermont Avenue, N.W. Telephone: 265-4000

Depart for home January 22

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20210

Biographical information on Mr. Walter Henry CLEMENT, an international visitor from New Zealand participating in the program of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State. The Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor, has been assigned the responsibility for his program.

Period of Visit to the U.S.A.	October 28, 1965 - January 25, 1966
NAME:	Walter Henry CLEMENT
ADDRESS:	38 Wainui Road, Lower Hutt New Zealand
PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH:	Dunedin, New Zealand April 15, 1909
PRESENT POSITIONS:	Vice President, New Zealand Printers Union Secretary, Wellington District Trades Council (New Zealand Federation of Labor) Secretary, Wellington Printers Union

March 4, 1966

Mr. Dwight H. Ferguson
Children's Bureau
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

Thank you for your generous check. Our receipt is enclosed.

Under separate cover we are sending you an additional copy of the Winter issue of New South. We will add you to our mailing list for other publications.

We enjoyed having you at our staff meeting. As you saw, we try to keep this bureaucracy very informal. Please come by often.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

REGIONAL OFFICE

WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30323
March 2, 1966

P.A.
J. Smith
M-J-file

Please place on interagency mail list
J N S Sub -

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Emory F. Via, the Director of your Labor Program, recently furnished me some excellent research material which has been published by the Council. This was of great assistance to me as I presented a request to our Bureau for a region-wide study of child neglect in the southeastern region.

I was particularly interested in your new journal "New South," and I am attaching a check as I would like to receive this journal on a regular basis. This check is made out for more than the amount of the journal and I would like to have this go to the support of your Council.

Please send the journal to me address as follow, and I would also appreciate receiving an additional copy of the latest issue of the journal: Dwight H. Ferguson, Regional Child Welfare Representive, Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Room 404, 50 Seventh Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30323.

It was a real treat to me to be able to attend your recent staff meeting for a short time and I will be looking forward to dropping in more often to the Regional Council as I am sure there are many ways in which we can be mutually helpful as we work toward the betterment of families and children in the southeastern region.

Sincerely yours,

Dwight H. Ferguson

Dwight H. Ferguson
Regional Child
Welfare Representative
Children's Bureau

Enclosure: 1
Check $20 2-3-66 rh

Labor Programs — Reports

Labor Program Emory F. Via, Director

January 1 - March 31, 1966

The Labor Program director has participated in the following activities:

Jan. 3-5	International Ladies Garment Workers, one week school for southeastsrn staff.
Jan. 9-Feb. 4	Directed Southern Union Staff Training Institute sponsored by National Institute of Labor Education and Departments of Education and Civil Rights of AFL-CIO, for full-time union staff in the region.
Feb. 2	Assisted in arrangements for conference and installation of regional director of EEOC
Feb.-March	Planning and promotion of regional conference between U. S. Department of Labor and persons working with disadvantaged and minority persons. Held March 23.
March	Preparations for unemployment project study. Collecting materials, contacts for research-writer.
Feb.-March	Collection of information and interviews on Atlanta area as part of ~~material~~ national study of apprenticeship programs as related to minority groups.
Mar. 12-14	Field trip and speaking engagement - Daytona Beach and Tampa, Florida.
Mar. 25	Began service on Task Force on Economic Security assisting in preparation for June White House Conference, "To ~~Secure~~ Fulfill These Rights".

During this period arrangements have been made for several programs, extending into the summer. The Labor Program has worked on a number of smaller projects cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. On a number of occasions union leaders have been involved, through the Labor Program, in activities sponsored by SRC and others.

March 30-31 WLEA - Union Ed

17 union leaders at Katzenbach

Labor Program

4/6/66

Labor Program Emory Via, Director

The labor program has shown steady growth during the first quarter. The efforts of the director have been split between program development and promotion, execution, and research.

As a part of program development, the director attended meetings of university and union labor educators in Detroit the last of March.

Two research related projects are under way. One is an attempt to develop a pamphlet on hidden unemployment and underemployment. Materials have been collected and negotiations started with a research-writer. The labor program is also participating in a national study of apprenticeship programs as they relate to minority groups. Our responsibility is limited to the Atlanta metropolitan area.

The director of the labor program assisted in some of the arrangements for a conference and installation of the new EEOC regional director. An interesting attempt by the regional staff of the U. S. Labor Department to expand its effectiveness in reaching disadvantaged persons, led to a cooperative effort with the Council and other agencies. The labor program made a significant contribution to the planning, promotion and execution of the conference on March 23, with assistance from other members of the SRC staff.

The labor program has worked cooperatively with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. On several occasions we have successfully involved union leaders in programs sponsored by SRC and other agencies.

The director of the labor program has participated in a staff training program for the southeastern representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers, and in a month-long Southern Union Staff Training Institute.

The Southern Staff Institute was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. Emory Via served as director of the Institute held from January 9 - February 4

at the University of Georgia. The Institute was attended by twenty-one full time union leaders from twelve states and fourteen international unions. It is rare to get working adults together for a full month of concentrated study. It seems to have been a most successful undertaking. One interesting by-product of the Institute was the bringing of Roy Wilkins to the campus to speak to an audience of students, faculty, and a few townspeople. It was the first time that a major, national civil rights personality had addressed a public meeting on the campus.

In recent weeks the labor program director has been serving on the Economic Security task force convened to assist in planning the White House civil rights conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

TO: EMORY VIA

FROM: JERRY DELL GIMARC

DATE: JUNE 20, 1966

Mr. Via, you asked that I remind you of Dr. Gomillion's question about where and how can we influence or move the state commissioners of labor and their staffs.

According to my cursory notes you replied that the first and most obvious answer was to defeat these people. But other kinds of pressure might be exerted. For example, the Labor Program might package a set of ideas to give to the state councils on human relations to pass on to a member or members who might be interested in this area. Beyond this the Labor Program could attempt to educate the commissioners as to the responsibilities, opportunities and limits of their jobs, and as part of this point out to them how action by the commissions can influence race relations.

Limitations — failure to specify "Substantial" or "as soon as possible"

Zone plan — does not specify how mid disc.

Adequate time for choosing — & publicity

Argue for No Plan but for delay!

The 1966 Title VI Guidelines for School Desegregation

The 1966 Guidelines require:

1. Substantial achievements under free choice desegregation plans,
2. Significant progress in desegregation of teachers and staff,
3. Progress in closing of small, inadequate schools established for Negro students or other minority groups,
4. Simplified procedures and periodic reports from school districts to measure progress in implementing desegregation plans.

Assurance

To be eligible for Federal funds, each school system must assure the Commissioner that it will abide by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. The type of assurance varies with the nature of the school system;

Desegregated Systems: A school system that never had or has already eliminated all forms of segregation submits an assurance of full compliance by HEW Form 441.

Dual School Systems: School systems that are working toward desegregation submit either a Federal Court order for desegregation or a voluntary desegregation

Why Boozer?

Sara Ragsdale — Sch Bd — "Re — liberal white teachers for AFT —

plan. School systems with voluntary plans file Form 441-B, which provides that a school system's voluntary desegregation plan will be carried out in accordance with the standards outlined in the 1966 Guidelines.

Any compliance assurance or plan is essentially a statement of intent, and is not a substitute for performance. The Commissioner may require additional assurance or evidence of performance if he has cause to believe that a school system is not living up to its original assurance.

Types of Plan

No single type of desegregation plan fits all school systems. Each school system is responsible for selecting the plan best suited to accomplish desegregation as quickly as possible. However, if the Commissioner has cause to believe a plan will not work in a particular district, or has evidence that a previously accepted plan is failing, he may require the adoption of a different plan.

full?

A. General Requirements

The school system--not the State or Federal government--is responsible for making its plan work. The system must inform the community of its plan, solicit community support, and take the necessary steps to protect all persons exercising their rights under the plan.

The Guidelines require periodic reports to help the Commissioner determine a system's progress under its plan. These reports include data on student and faculty assignment by race and school; maps of the system's boundaries and the location of schools within the boundaries; notification of any changes the system seeks to make in its plan; and descriptions of special circumstances hampering the progress of desegregation.

B. Specific Requirements

1. Attendance Zone Plans: Under this type of plan, students are assigned to schools within a school system according to their area of residence. The school system must establish a single set of attendance zones, and then assign students to schools serving their zone, regardless of race, color, or national origin. Students with special educational needs--handicapped children, for example--can be assigned to a school outside their normal attendance zone.

2. Free Choice Plans: These plans require students to choose their own school, regardless of where they live. The expectation is that students of each race will choose the same school, and thus break down the dual school pattern.

Every student and his parent must choose a school each year...in most cases 4 or 5 months before the school year begins. The school system must ensure that this choice is free, and that students and parents can choose in safety and without fear of reprisal. & go to School

School systems must make significant progress in eliminating the dual school pattern under free choice plans. Progress in the transfer of students from segregated schools will be measured in relation to achievements of prior years and will be judged in accordance with the Federal court rule that school districts which start late must move faster in desegregating their schools.

?

Desegregation of Faculty

The 1965 Guidelines required at least a first step toward faculty desegregation through integrated staff meetings in the first year. The 1966 Guidelines require actual desegregation in the school staff.

In general, school systems with bi-racial faculties must assign staff in such a way as to produce some faculty integration in every school. The Commissioner may approve different patterns where the school system shows that another method would be equally effective.

The 1966 Guidelines also include safeguards against discriminatory hiring, firing, promotion, and extension of tenure. They do not violate a system's right to administer its staff according to professional criteria, but they do require that such practices not result in discrimination by race, color, or national origin.

Desegregation of Facilities

Any facility or activity--including athletics, transportation, parent-teacher or student assemblies, extra-curricular programs, special educational opportunities--identifiable as being school-related must be open to all appropriate persons without discrimination.

Summary

The basic concept behind the design of the 1966 Guidelines is substantial progress in each district beyond what it achieved under the 1965 Guidelines.

The basic criterion for the Commissioner's interpretation of these Guidelines is measurable evidence of progress and good faith effort to eliminate the dual school system as quickly as possible.

March 1, 1966

GPO 903-578

1431

Daytona

Haledy-Tom, West —

Perry Harvey, Sr,
ILA — Tampa
Pres of Local —
Intl V-P —
(appearance of field hand
until get to know him —
well-read & shrewd —)

The Labor Program of the Southern Regional Council

In September of 1965 the Council established a program designed to work with unions throughout the region. The program has received support from the Taconic Foundation for a two-year period and from the Ford Foundation for a period of three years. The National Institute of Labor Education cooperated with SRC in the request for funds.

The primary focus of the labor program is on work with intermediate union leadership in the South on problems of racial relations and the contemporary South. "Intermediate leadership" will be broadly defined to embrace at least top local union leadership tp to and including full time union staff.

The methods of the labor program will be largely educational. In the first instance this will mean developing two to five day programs devoted to regional problems with a primary emphasis on matters pertaining to civil rights and race relations. In other instances, SRC staff will be involved in programscoconcerned with other issues sponsored by unions or other groups in which it was thought wise to include some human relations material.

On occasion, the labor program will experiment with other ways for reaching unionists. For example, it is frequently more effective to deal with race relations problems within the normal framework of the union's operation. So, if the consideration of such matters can be included in stewards' training or union administration classes, so much the better.

The program will continue to perform a liason function between human relations agencies and unions. It will serve in a consultant capacity to individuals and organizations where this is seen to be mutually desirable. The program will seek to develop and distribute materials pertaining to the Council's areas of interest which will be useable within the labor movement.

The program works cooperatively with the state AFL-CIO bodies in the South and with the national AFL-CIO departments of Civil Rights and Education. Similarly, the program will cooperate with the national unions represented in the region which have education or civil rights programs.

It is anticipated that an advisory committee to the program will be established in the near future. Currently, it is thought that the best approach to this is to use the labor members of the Council and to add to that group a limited number of other union leaders who could be of significant help in the further development of the program.

Re-write

Length of time
SRC Labor Program or
Program -
Sponsorship -

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING OF UNION LEADERS

PROPOSAL FOR AN INSTITUTE

Purpose of Institute.

The purpose of the Institute is to provide an educational program for a selected group of union leaders which will increase their understanding of current economic and social changes. Primary emphasis will be placed on how such changes relate to unions. Special attention will be given to race relations as a part of the changing scene in American life. Based on past experience, we believe that such training can make union leaders more effective within their organizations and in their communities. Both of these things, in turn, will contribute toward more effective unions.

Possible Subjects.

The subjects which might be included in an Institute are quite varied. Although any one Institute would focus on only two or three subjects, the topics may be selected from the following suggestions (other topics are quite possible):

- Perspectives on the South of 1966
- Economic ~~Problems~~ Development of the South
- The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics
- The Civil Rights Movement -- in the Nation and in the State
- Case Studies in Southern Union Civil Rights Problems
- Understanding the Local Community
- The Union's Role in Poverty Programs
- Union Administration
- Labor Problems
- The Civil Rights Law - What It Says and How It is being Interpreted
- Developments in the Field of Civil Rights
- Southern Labor History
- Changing Southern Voting Patterns

Negro-Union Political ~~Coalitions~~ Cooperation
Labor's Role in Politics

Alternate Approaches.

Two different approaches as to the selection of subjects for an Institute are offered. In each case thought should be given to which approach better suits the needs of the unions in the area where the conference will be held. The first approach places primary emphasis on civil rights and related matters. ~~It would be understood that~~ This would be used where the interests of the group were such that they would welcome an opportunity to ~~concentrate~~ focus directly on these ~~kinds of~~ problems as they relate to unions and their community. In general, this approach would be used in situations where unions are more advanced in ~~their~~ dealings with ~~such problems~~ racial relations and/or where they have ~~accepted that it is important for~~ acknowledged the importance of focusing such problems quickly ~~them to meet race relations problems more directly or~~ to find constructive ways of improving community relations and their relations with Negro organizations.

The second approach would put the main emphasis on general union courses such as union administration, labor problems, or labor's role in politics. Such materials that deal with civil rights would be introduced in the natural context of ~~such~~ the courses. In other words, the leaders participating in such a program while discussing would find out how these problems relate to their on-going interests as unionists.

Actually, there is a third approach which might well emerge here, and that is some combination of the two outlined above.

An argument that has a good deal of merit is to use the second, or more general, approach. Unions must be interested in a whole range of problems in the modern world. Many unionists now recognize the relation between broader economic and social issues to collective bargaining. There

is no doubt that Southern economic and social problems are affected by racial relations and by new views and actions related to civil rights. Given this kind of situation can local union leaders gain greater understanding of race relations developments by considering them as they relate to other matters of interest to unions? In any case, the approach and particular subjects can be worked out cooperatively between the Labor Program and the sponsoring union group.

Faculty and Staff Assistance.

The Southern Regional Council's Labor Program will assist fully in arranging for an appropriate faculty for the Institute. Staff assistance will also be available for planning and promotion.

The faculty will be drawn from qualified experts from the Council, universities, public agencies, civil rights groups, and the labor movement. Such faculty will be a matter pf mutual agreement between the sponsoring group and the Labor Program. The faculty proposed by the Labor Program will, in the main, be persons who understand and accept the labor movement, know the fields in which they are asked to teach, and who are able to teach union leaders.

The Labor Program will cooperate fully with AFL-CIO departments and will work especially closely with the Departments of Civil Rights and Education.

Financing.

In general there will be no charge for the planning and administrative services provided by the Labor Program. In some cases, especially in a first program, very substantial financial assistance can be given in securing an appropriate faculty. Certain mailing costs, costs of rooms, housing (where required), transportation of delegates (where required), and

lost time (if needed) would be born by the sponsoring unions or participating individuals. In general this will mean that programs of high quality and interest can be sponsored at a minimum cost.

Size and Location of Institute.

The Institutes are not intended to reach a large number of persons so much as to reach a selected group of leaders who can profit from a serious education program. In general it would be good to have from twenty to thirty persons attending an Institute. Under special circumstances a smaller or larger group will be considered.

The location of the Institute should conform to the best judgment of the union leadership as to convenience and interest.

It would be possibpe to have a conference in each of several areas. In this event careful thought should be given to using a different approach appropriate to the particular section of the state.

About the Southern Regional Council's Labor Program.

The Labor Program was established in September, 1965. It is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave from the University ofnWisconsin's School for Workers. The program was set up in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education in Washington, D. C. Both the NILE and the SRC receive financial support from the AFL-CIO.

An advisory committee to the Labor Program is being established which is composed of the labor-related members of the SRC Board plus a representative each from the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and the National Institute of Labor Education. These members are:

Labor-connected SRC Board members:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO
Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO

Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO
Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO
James Youngdahl, Labor Attorney, Little Rock, Ark.

National Institute of Labor Education members:

Joseph Mire, Director, NILE

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department Member:

E. T. Kehrer, Director, Southern Office

For Further Information Contact: Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia

EV

MEMORANDUM

~~TO: ED STANFIELD~~

~~FROM: EMORY VIA~~

I thought you would like to know of the attached. I am sure we could get more to send to state councils if you thought useful.

I know that the project hopes to get more Southern teachers involved this year. Last year 90% of all the teachers were white northerners.

Thanks - I have ordered some.

Ed

AFT — Freedom Schools

SOUTHERN STATES COUNCIL

Boilermakers

Name	Address	Local
Edward Adams	R. R. 1 Philpot, Kentucky	726
William Carroll	R. R. #2 Box 210 Wilmington, North Carolina	905
Thomas Clune	801 Oak Bluff Rd. Brunswick, Georgia	26
John Drawdy, Jr.	2126 E. 56 St. Savannah, Georgia	26
J. F. Godwin	3151 Willow Ave. Brunswick, Georgia	26
H. B. Hatcher	60 Azalea Ave. Savannah, Georgia	26
Jack Lanier	2207 New Mexico Savannah, Georgia	26
L. E. Mc Dowell	605 Northern Blvd. Wilmington, North Carolina	905
E. L. Mintz	R. R. 1 Box 273 Chesapeake, Virginia	684
Edward Roberts	R. R. 2 Philpot, Kentucky	726
William Robbins	242 Rose Ave. Wilmington, North Carolina	905
M. J. Shapiro	2308 Pacific Orange, Texas	587
John Smith	315 Rutledge Wilmington, North Carolina	905
Foster Thrift	2609 13th Street Savannah, Georgia	26

Emory:
These are the names of the students from Southern states attending this year's Boilermaker's Institute. They all seem to be reasonably decent guys – but probably all look understanding on the race issue (and Viet Nam). Tap.

Not included

We have had occasion in the past to comment on the continuing need to build respect for law and for democratic government. and that such respect ~~Problems have arisen in a special way when disadvantaged~~ is undercut when people ~~come~~ are led to expect performance from the agents of government ~~and then find~~ only to find that what has been promised or intimated cannot be delivered. The judiciary, too, is affected ~~by~~ when what seems reasonably promised by law and Constitution ~~but which~~ is circumvented, ~~even if only temporarily,~~ by ~~the~~ some courts. ~~Judicial decisions have the special quality of being~~ ~~Unlike some decisions within our democracy,~~ ~~judicial/ones/~~ ~~those made by courts usually choose between contending parties or interests.~~ Court decisions have characteristics which ~~affect~~ special attention ~~to them~~. First, they come from a source believed to protect fairness for individuals & groups, even against the acts of other agencies of govt. They are definite as to time and as to the denial or granting of rights. They are public and, in ~~serious/~~ cases of general interest, widely reported. At a time when much of the ~~country~~ ~~the South~~ is struggling to give performance on what our great nation promises its citizens, it is an even greater tragedy to have a chief refuge of hope be a party in so observable way in undermining faith in legal due process. The result of such undermining can only be discontent and disrespect for those values most needed in making ~~the/nation/strong/~~ a nation whose strength ~~lies/in/part~~ rests significantly on fundamental fairness.

AJK — Manley — Alliance - 11-12

~~Ga Council~~ ~~Atlanta Meeting~~ ~~Civil Rts~~

Southern justice today is in the national spotlight. Recent action by local, state juries and, indeed, in some instances of state judges themselves~~,~~ in civil rights cases, has underscored again the old sterotype of a dual system of justice in the South-- one for Negroes and yet another for whites. Enforcement of new federal civil rights legislation with the shift of focus from state to federal courts has placed a heavy responsibility upon the federal judiciary, for historically federal courts have been the one judicial sanctuary where Negroes could feel their cases were not prejudged at the outset.

List of specifics re judges?

The Members of the Southern Regional Council understand how essential an independent judiciary is to our democratic soeicty. We have on many occasions been called on for service on various committees and for consultation with federal administrators. We shall be honored to continue to help as we can in this great task. We are, therefore, extremenly reluctant to comment as a body on the qualifications of any person to fill any vacancy on the federal bench. However, the record of many civil rights cases in the South offers inescapable evidence that a number of federal judges before which such litigation has been brought is not only without sympathy toward the laws they are called upon to adjudicate--but in many instances antagonistic to them altogehter.

? dealing with justice

The power of a federal judge is in many ways absolute. Use of this power should be neither arbitrary nor capricious. There is no question but that men of professional competence and legal scholarship should be charged with the judicial responsibility of enforcing federal laws in the South~~--though we would in no way minimize these qualities~~. Yet coinciding with such attributes, we believe, should be wisdom, compassion, devotion to the declared principles of the Constitution and to ~~the implementing~~

legislation ~~of~~ implementing its provisions. It is our further conviction that no appointment inimical to these qualifications--however ~~strongly~~ strongly urged by state or congressional spokesmen, would serve the best interest of the South-- or for that matter the nation in its posture before world opinion.

The appointment of any judge of well known segregationists views--to put ~~it~~ it as plainly and at the same time as charitably as we know how, would, in our view, be a direct rebuff to the principles of ~~elementary~~ equality already so eloquently outlined in the civil rights acts of 1964 and 1965 and in the ~~xxxx~~ public utterances of the last three presidents of the United States.

We make this statement ~~xxx~~ out of deep convition without desire for any public attention whatever. We merely want these convicitions--formed as they are out of our understanding of the great social urgency of the matter, to be conveyed to responsibile ~~xxxxx~~ ~~responsibility.~~ authority.

Now, therefore, we designate the President of the Council, accompanied by such other members of the Council as he chooses, to seek promptly an appointment or appoinments with the appropriate high federal authorities in order to present these sentiments, in such ~~xx~~ manner as he sees best.

~~There xxxx

Emory Via

Foundation wants?
personal pitch
overlap { expansion of fund-raising
upgrade benefits
of existing staff

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Arthur Singer, The Carnegie Corporation

FROM: Paul Anthony, The Southern Regional Council

RE: The Establishment of the Center for Research and Information of the Council

Strategic use of info
Ind. groups
Court
Press

This memorandum is being written on the assumption that we can, to the extent you wish, provide supplimentary information on the Council, program, staff, income, and financial needs. We assume, too, that this is a first report from which further conversation can be held should you decide this appropriate.

It is highly desirable that the Council establish a Center for Research and Information. In broad terms this is not a new program. It is, rather, a logical next step in expanding those Council services which are needed and which will, to an unprecedented degree, be used by persons and institutions within the region. It is important to underscore that we request consideration for support of an expanded program based on experience gained, reputation earned, and investment made during more than twenty years.

The Council is a unique agency, neither research oriented in the academic sense nor action oriented in the usual sense of that term. Our goals are to correct old evils and, equally important, to build a strong and healthy society within the region. In attempting to achieve these aims we have long since learned to lean heavily on a reliable and imaginative information and research function. Perhaps this can best be illustrated by the fact that at present more than one-third of our total staff is directly engaged in these efforts.

It is difficult to describe beiefly the techniques and methods we have developed. There are, however, several major essentials. They are: (1) Reliability. We are careful to issue reliable and factual information. Doing so effectively has led us to an unprecedented opportunity to service the mass media of this country.

(2) Analysis. Having provided factual information the Council reserves the right to interpret its findings. We feel that fact without understanding can be as misleading as ignorance. We are pleased when a Southern newspaper reports our findings without disputing their authenticity while sometimes taking

exception to our conclusions. It leads to a healthy dialogue.

Timing Timeliness

(3) ~~Promptness.~~ Timing There are ~~times~~ instances when it is necessary to produce material quickly if it is to offer healthy influence to a critical situation. When the sit-ins began in North Carolina the Council, within two weeks, issued a Special Report which helped to coin the term and to warn the nation and the region that these were no "panty-raid" incidents, but a serious and profound challenge to injustice deserving of a like response. In late September, 1965, we were asked by some forty agencies concerned with race relations in the region, the Southern Interagency Conference, to issue a report correcting the widespread notion that school desegregation was proceeding with rapid improvement. The result was "School Desegregation, September 1965" issued in October. Contained in that report were statistics which the U. S. Office of Education informed us was were more reliable than those they had been able to gather and our analysis of the role of that office continues to be a basis of discussion within the press and the educational establishment of the region.

little weak more explicit yet O.E. has acted on in statements & orders

(4) Responsibility. There are times when the Council must be concerned with certain subjects.

Separate from calculated, spell out

Such a situation occured beginning in 1964 when the nation was more than curious about the young people in the direct action movement in the South. Who were these young people? What did they believe? What were their objectives? What would be their future? More than six months of investigation by a number of competent persons went into a study written by Pat Watters of the SRC staff. The results were entitled "Encounter With the Future." This study answered these difficult questions and I honestly feel it will become a classic. It is now required reading in classes of at least three universities.

not just to immediate, but also looking ahead — Food Exp., etc.

?

(5) Depth. There are times when a subject needs to be explored with great care. Implicit in this is the ability to determine those areas which will become of major concern in the future. For example, in September 1965 the Council issued the study, "Black Belt Schools, Beyond Desegregation." This study, two years in preparation, was done by four professors of education at Emory University. Its concern was the education of children; given desegregation how does a rural county with dwindling population and sparce resources adequately educate its children?

With no illusions ~~of~~ about our shortcomings these are our guideposts.

To request assistance from the Carnegie Corporation we feel two questions must be answered. Why are project funds needed, given the record just summarized? And, to what extent do we need funds beyond our present general operations commitment for the legitimate area of project expansion.

To answer the first question, we need funds for stability. As stated in the director's annual report of program (enclosed) an asset of the Council is ingenuity and leanness. I want to be no part of an affluence that would diminish either of these characteristics. But, ingenuity and leanness can be pushed to the point of a bailing wire operation. We must have resources to attract a good staff and to keep them. We have an exceptional research and information staff and modest expansion will make it an adequate one. The best of them, which is the majority, could earn more elsewhere. We would like to use one-third of the total requested funds for ~~modest~~ staff expansion on the semi-professional level and for the purpose of assuring relatively stability and fair compensation to our staff in this department.

report? the suggested

The res staff we have is exceptional but it needs modest expansion to make it adequate for current demands

In addition to our present commitment we do need funds for expansion. We would like to establish an identifiable research and information center ~~to best inform~~ so that as wide an audience as possible will know ~~that~~ there is a place where reliable help is available ~~can be given.~~ State and local, as well as federal, government officials increasingly turn to us for assistance. Our requests from the mass media, foreign as well as domestic, increases regularly. The same is true with students and scholars. These requests, serviced frequently in detail, need the best we can offer.

Our publications program needs to be expanded. A major publication of the Council is now issued in five to ten thousandcopies. This has been an efficient number. It is increasingly a less than adequate number. Funds are needed to increase the number of copies of publications we produce.

Perhaps most important we need expansion in areas of depth. The era of the simple answer to the regions racial problems is rapidly ending. It appears, in retrospect, that it was enviably simple to transfer nine Negro pupils to formerly white schools in a Southern city. Now, how do we adequately educate all of that city's children? We have made considerable progress in "merit employment". Skilled and semi-skilled persons usually can be placed in adequate jobs. What do we do with the great majority of the people who remain unemployed and who increasingly become unemployable?

To answer these questions we need to involve the best minds of the South. They are available if we have the resources to commission them and to allow the time required to allow them to adequately develop investigations into these complex problems. This area of expansion is the most needed for any additional resources available.

But not just independent research — focused research will be more fruitful

Finally, I feel this opportunity to involve a significant number of the scholars of the region in a program of "blueprinting" the future course of regional development is exciting almost beyond the point of comprehension. Should it be appropriate,

I would be happy to offer more detail of our thinking in this area. I feel, too, this is education in its most solid sense.

In the Southern region many people from different interests and directions have made substantial investments. We respectfully request an opportunity to explore with the Carnegie Corporation an opportunity to build imaginatively on the investment which has been made.

?

Birmingham:

Leroy S. Gaillard, Jr.
President, Gaillard Co., Inc.
1 Finley Avenue
Birmingham

Frank Newton, President
Chamber of Commerce
Birmingham

Sidney Smyer, President
Birmingham Realty Co.
2118 First Avenue North
Birmingham

David Vann
Vann & Patrick
1910 City Federal Bldg.
Birmingham

James A. Head
Mames A. Head & Co.

Paul Johnson, Esq.

Dr. J. F. Volker
Dean
School of Medicine
University of Alabama
Birmingham

Charlotte:

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, M.D.
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte

Nashville:

Dr. Alexander Heard
Chancellor
Vanderbilt University
Nashville

Matthew Lynch
President
Tennessee Labor Council
226 Capitol Blvd.
Nashville

Nashville (cont.)

Greenfield Pitts
Vice President
Harvey's Department Store
518 Church Street
Nashville

Stephen Wright
President
Fisk University
Nashville

St Petersburgh:

Donald Baldwin
Executive Editor
St. Petersburg Times

Raleigh Greene
President
First Fed. Savings and Loan

Morgan Goldmer
Representative

Herman Goldner, Mayor
City Hall
St. Petersburg

Miami:

William Baggs
Editor, Miami News
1001 NW 7th Street
Miami

L. E. Singer, President
Royal Castle System, Inc.
3800 NW 62nd Street
Miami

Mitchell Wolfson
Wometco Enterprises, Inc.
306 N. Miami Avenue
Miami

Tampa:

Cody Fowler, Esq.
220 Madison
Tampa

Hon. Robert T. Mann
725 E. Kennedy Blvd.
Tampa

Louisville:

Barry Bingham
Ed. and Publisher
Louisville Courier-Jnl.
525 Broadway
Louisville

Lee Thomas
(SRC mailing list)

Atlanta:

Carling L. Dinkler, Jr.
Pres-Dinkler Hotel Corp.
98 Forsyth Street
Atlanta

Ben S. Gilmer
Pres. So. Bell T&T
67 Edgewood Avenue, SE
Atlanta

Eugene Patterson, Editor
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.
10 Forsyth Street
Atlanta

Richard Pulver, Pres.
Lockhead-Georgia
South Cobb Drive
Marietta

SLEP

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Recommendations for Workers Education Program at the University of Minnesota 1959-1960

Introduction--The Role of the University in Workers Education

The role of the University in Workers Education is relatively recent. Although there have been limited programs of one kind or another in different universities dating back 30 years or more the increasing wide-spread interest in, and growth of, university programs for union members and officers is a distinct post-war phenemonen. The reasons for this recent rapid development are quite clear and have been spelled out in "The Advisory Report on Workers Education at the University of Minnesota." This Report also reviews the reasons why most of the programs have been centered in land-grant schools.

For the purposes of setting forth recommendations for specific programs at Minnesota it is sufficient to note that Workers Education Departments have been established in universities as a consequence of the increasing importance, self-assertiveness, needs, and demands of the organized labor movement. But if Workers Education is nothing more than the result of successful union pressure to get services-any services-for their membership, a philosophy of education is futile. It would then be possible to look, at, and dispose of, university activity in this field as the same kind of educational excrescence which burdens extension with such courses as real estate salesmanship. But if, as we believe, a free society has delegated to the union movement responsibilities of critical importance which touch the lives of millions and which, for good or bad, affect the general welfare, we must emphasize the basic meaning, function and purposes of workers education as we understand them.

Certain assumptions of Workers Education must first be stated. It is assumed that freedom in industrial life is impractical without the existence of free trade unions. It is further assumed that American society believes in strong, ethically-centered and democratically-run unions. Upon these assumptions

must be based the University's role in Workers Education working within traditional university functions. These functions subsume a host of activities but all are related to the university as an institution with goals of service to the community in being the source of knowledge and the center for teacher training. Implicit in everything that the University's Workers Education program does, is the major and continuing role of educational guidance and leadership. This then is the framework of workers education with service to the community of labor as its starting point in a manner similar to the services performed by schools of law, medicine, business and agriculture.

The Organization of the Workers Education Program:

In line with the recommendation of the Advisory Report, it is urged that the Workers Education program "shall be given departmental status within the University with usual departmental responsibilities for the development and implementation of university-level programs of instruction, research, and service; as well as maintaining and expanding the Extension program of non-credit courses in this field." It is further urged that professional responsibility for the Workers Education Department be placed in the IRC. It is, we think, unnecessary to belabor this point as the very concept of industrial relations as an interdisciplinary body of knowledge makes this assignment of responsibility mandatory.

Proposed Recommended Programs:

1. Extension courses for rank and file members and local officers.
2. Leadership training extension courses for local officers and stewards.
3. Development of advanced courses for full-time union leaders and staff specialists.
4. Pilot courses in Workers Education training to develop instructors in Workers Education within the Twin Cities and out-state. — caveat
5. Internship experiment for workers education specialists.

6. Research and evaluation of Workers Education courses and programs.

Analysis of the Programs

Program 1

Extension courses for rank and file members, stewards and local union officers. First-level courses directed at rank and file members, stewards and local officers have constituted the bulk of Workers Education courses at Minnesota and elsewhere. Subjects covered in these classes have included: Grievance Handling and Steward Training, Parliamentary Procedure, Labor History, Collective Bargaining, Leadership Training, Labor Legislation, Public Speaking, Human Relations, Local Union Administration, Job Evaluation and Time and Motion Study.

These courses should continue to be offered within the limits imposed by the size and other responsibilities of the staff. However, the significance of these courses lies in their serving as a laboratory in which teaching aids can be tested and teachers trained. In particular, students' and instructors' manuals will, as they are developed, be constantly checked and revised in accordance with classroom experience. The order in which material is to be prepared for these courses are as follows: Outlines of each course with detailed subject headings are to be distributed to students. On the basis of past experience, manuals done elsewhere and assigned work by the WED staff, each subject heading will be expanded in mimeograph form to serve as a draft of an instructors manual in the course. This manual will contain the core of the course, set its educational level, give guidelines as to the course's boundaries, provide illustrative examples, contain questions for discussion and test purposes, and refer to available audio-visual and other teacher aids. It must be emphasized that the purpose of the manual is to help non-professional teachers, particularly union officers, teach first-level courses.

On the basis of the outlines and instructors manuals, material similar to

text books are to be distributed to the students for study and reference.

Comments: It must be stated as strongly as possible that no downgrading of first-level courses is intended by the above recommendations. Nor does this proposal comtemplate a lessening of services to the labor unions; at the very least an equal number of first-level courses will be taught by staff instructors as has been the past practice at Minnesota. As a matter of fact, it is likely that more such courses covering a wider range of subjects will be offered and taught. The contemplated program shifts the emphasis from first-level course teaching as the final result to one in which such courses are a means of greater service.

Program II

Leadership Training Extension Courses for Local Officers:

These are commonly referred to as second-level courses for which either some experience or completion of first-level courses are prerequisites. One of the major problems in Workers Education in every university has been the unsystematic way in which such courses are organized, offered and taught. Despite the various titles given to such courses-and they range from collective bargaining to labor legislation-the lack of any standard material that is presented has led to a breakdown in attempts to institute progression in courses.

The immediate task is to establish a list of courses which are an extension of the courses offered in Program 1. These courses are, in the normal academic fashion, to offer advanced, more intensive training with specific prerequisites for admission to classes. It is contemplated that there will be such courses as Stewards Training 1, 2, and 3; Collective Bargaining and Contract Negotiation 1, 2, and 3; etc. Each of these courses shall have outlines with detailed subject headings and, in a manner similar to that described for Program 1 courses, instructors' and students' manuals will be prepared.

In addition to courses sequential to offerings in Program 1, second-level courses will also be offered in new areas which will require some first-level courses as prerequisites. This category includes such subjects as training in Community Services, Social Security, Public Relations, Local Union Accounting and Government Reporting, Local Union Educational Activities, etc.

Comments: Although there is some overlap between Program 1 and 2, distinctions must always be kept in mind. Primarily, the students in Program 1 are an undifferentiated group with wide diversity in experience, education and motivation. In planning for Program 2 students, the educator knows that, notwithstanding individual differences, the students share some common motivation for increasing knowledge and personal advancement. Advantage can be taken of this by requiring more rigorous standards including prescribed readings, advanced preparation, written assignments and the like. More freedom in the use of workshops linked with lectures and discussions can also be utilized. And perhaps most important of all, Program 2 should not be considered terminal for those students eager and qualified for additional training. As experience is gained and formal sequences of Program 2 courses are set up, the awarding of certificates of achievement would be appropriate. Some transition to Program 3 must be worked out, possibly involving the educational guidance of students in the specific value of general extension, IRC and other courses offered at the University. It is hoped that Program 2 students will constitute the source from which the labor movement will draw its future full-time leaders.

Program III

Development of Advanced Courses for Full-time Union Officers and Staff Specialists

It has been pointed out elsewhere that an inescapable consequence of increasing knowledge is increasing ignorance. Professionals in all fields have found it imperative to take refresher courses at the University to keep up with

advances in knowledge and research. Full-time union officers ought to be no exception. The field of industrial relations is in constant flux and significant changes in the economy, in the law and in other areas are the rule.

The courses to be offered will call upon the full resources of the University particularly the staff members of the IRC for planning and teaching.

As a preliminary step the potential students in this program are divided into two groups: top policy makers including the highest echelon of union executives, and all other full-time union officers. For both groups courses will be normally offered during the day and standards of required readings and homework will be maintained.

The lessons learned from the pilot course in Arbitration given last fall will be applied. It is significant that the uniform criticism by all participants was that the course was too short. This reaches to the lack of adequate course planning which was not an unexpected result of its novelty. It is suggested that planning of future courses be done in the following way: Subject matters of future classes be selected based upon the most obvious needs of labor leaders in close consultation and cooperation with them. Some possible areas to be covered are: Economic Issues in Collective Bargaining, Sociology of the White Collar Workers, Labor and the Law, Significance of Recent Findings in Industrial Relations Research, etc. A faculty committee shall then be set up composed of members of the Workers Education Department, IRC, and of the academic department or departments affected by the subject. Under the direction of the committee a syllabus shall be drawn up setting forth the subject area to be taught. The committee shall also have supervisory responsibility for the preparation of special materials to be used as a text or text auxiliaries. Co-ordination of teaching assignments from the university faculty shall also be made by the committee.

Research assistants from the Workers Education Department, IRC or from the academic departments are to aid in the preparation of materials.

The distinction between top union executives and other full-time union officers is not to be considered a hard and fast line separating the two. There are many areas in which both would attend the same class. But the needs of the business agent or the international representative for technical information and specific tools is of a different order then the kind of general information required by policy makers. Possibly the line between the two groups can be eliminated by establishing course progression here similar to that outlined in Program 2.

Comments: In the long run the goals sought by Program 3 can best be achieved by the establishment of a professional school for union leaders offering both undergraduate and graduate degrees. The demands made upon union leaders by the increasing complexity of industrial relations have been pointed out recently by many authorities including Clark Kerr, Harold Davey and Dale Yoder. If these authorities are right then this program can be the academic bridge to such a professional school.

Program IV

Pilot Courses in Workers Education Training

The materials developed in Program 1 shall be the starting point in the planning of training courses for teachers in Workers Education. The Workers Education Department staff will draw up a syllabus which will include lectures, practice sessions, and participation in regular extension courses as observers and teachers. Initially, it is anticipated that students in this program will be drawn from union officers and active rank and file members with a demonstrated competence in the subject matter. It is not intended that the substance of any area is to be covered in this program. The qualifications of the students for

admission to the classes will be judged by the WED in consultation with the labor advisory committee. Successful completion of this course shall entitle the student to have his name listed on a roster maintained by the WED to be used in meeting requests for courses if the university staff is unavailable.

A special effort will be made to institute these classes in areas remote from the university in order to have qualified teachers accessible to as many union members as possible throughout the state.

Comments: In many respects, the training of teachers is the core of the whole program as outlined in this report. It should do at least two things: help the labor movement help itself and eliminate the bottleneck of a scarcity of trained instructors in this field. At the same time it will permit the WED to use its limited staff as effectively as possible.

Consideration will also be given to the possibility of offering courses in the regular university summer sessions in such areas as labor history, parliamentary procedure, job evaluation, etc. for teachers and other individuals interested in teaching workers education classes in their home communities.

Program V

Internship Experiment for Workers Education Specialists

This program contemplates the full-time training of selected individuals in workers education for one quarter. These individuals are to be nominated by the Labor Advisory Committee with final selection to be made by the Workers Education Department. The interns will be expected to follow a prescribed schedule under the supervision of the WED staff. This schedule will include the taking of regular courses at the University, participation in the planning, preparation and teaching of regular extension courses and involvement in all other functions of the Workers Education Department.

The purpose of this program is to have the university train the most

promising candidates of the labor movement in as many of the arts and techniques of workers education as can be accomplished in three months. It is also hoped that full-time exposure to university standards of achievement will prove beneficial in the student's future career as an education specialist.

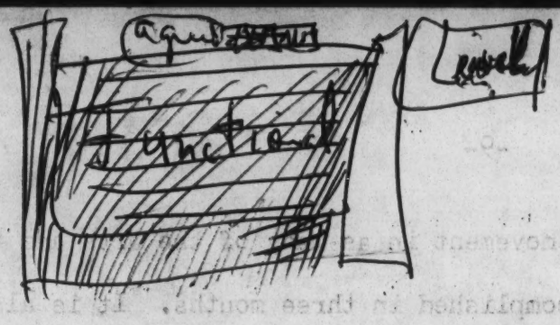
Comments: It is to be expected that in the beginning most if not all of the interns will not be full-time union officers. It is therefore imperative that these interns be paid by the University, at least in this biennium, of no less than $400 a month. It cannot be over-emphasized that the interns will be performing useful work for the department. It should also be noted that the hours that an intern will be required to work will be long, normally covering both day-time duties and attendance at evening classes.

Program VI

Research and evaluation of Workers Education courses and programs

The Advisory Report sets forth the need for Program VI forcefully and concisely. This Report states, "A good program requires that the teaching and research functions be closely allied. The research functions of the Workers' Education Program should be expended and improved. A strong research program would strengthen training and service functions. There should be more research and evaluation of the educational programs as well as research in union problems."

Comments: The experimental nature of some of the proposals recommended in this report requires the most careful kind of evaluation carried on concurrently with the development of the programs. In addition, the importance of the research activities of the WED to the success of the whole program must be emphasized. The inadequacy of knowledge on many fundamental union problems coupled with the swiftness of change in industrial relations require the WED to examine critically existing assumptions and to institute new inquiries as the needs arise.



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Labor Education

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Workers Education Local 189

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS—AFL-CIO

ARTICLES - LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS SLEP 12/20/65

1. "The Choice, Mr. President", A. Philip Randolph, NEW REPUBLIC, July 6, 1963

2. "Changing Employment Practices in the Construction Industry", U.S. Conference of Mayors

3. "Civil Rights", C. Van Woodward, NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, 8/29/65

4. "Civil Rights and Union Rights--They Go Together", AFL-CIO

5. "Civil Rights Movement and Employment", R.B. McKersie, INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, May 1964

6. "Education and Title VI", Southern Regional Council

7. "Equal Employment Opportunities", Ray Marshall, LABOR LAW DIGEST, August 1965

8. "Extend the Minimum Wage", A. Philip Randolph Institute (STATEMENT BY CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS)

9. "IMPORTANT Events in American Labor History 1778-1964", U.S. Department of Labor

10. "The Law and Racial Discrimination in Employment", Sanford Rosen, CALIFORNIA LAW REVIEW, Vol. 53, No. 3, August 1965

11. "The Law and the Unions", A.H. Raskins, THE REPORTER, September 10, 1964

12. "Mississippi--Battlefront for Labor", FEDERATIONIST, October 1965

13. "The Negro Family", Daniel Moynihan, Government Printing Office

14. "Negroes in South Push to Sign Up", BUSINESS WEEK, November 13, 1965

15. "Next IUD Target: the "working poor", BUSINESS WEEK, November 13, 1965

16. "Out of Many", Oscar Handlin, Anti-Defamation League

17. "From Protest to Politics", Bayard Rustin, COMMENTARY, February 1965

18. "Religious Leaders Back Free Collective Bargaining", AFL-CIO

19. "Report on the Ku Klux Klan", Arnold Forster, Ben Epstein, ADL

20. "Research on Negro Job Success", Ellison Chalmers, JOURNAL OF INTER-GROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS, No. 120, 1963

21. "The Right of Public Employees to Organize, Bargain Collectively, Picket and Strike Against their Employer", Research Report No. 117, Little Rock, 1963

22. "Social Change and the Negro Problem", Arnold Rose (pamphlet)

23. "Southern Justice", Southern Regional Council

24. "Urge Congress to Increase and Extend Unemployment Benefits for all Workers, A. Philip Randolph Institute (STATEMENT BY CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS)

25. "The Voting Rights Act...the first months", U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1965

26. "Voting Rights Act of 1965", Civil Rights Commission

27. "On Work, Alienation, and Leisure", B.B. Seligman, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY, October 1965

28. "REPEAL 14B", A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE (STATEMENT BY CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS)

SLEP

AFL-CIO FUNDS HELP FINANCE OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The national headquarters of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) spends large amounts of money each year for contributions to other organizations.

AFL-CIO records show that of total expenditures of about $11.5 million annually by the federation headquarters, well over $1 million goes for contributions to other groups. Some of these outlays are basically altruistic. They go to charitable institutions and other causes (such as the promotion of democratic trade unions in other countries) which do not directly benefit the American labor movement. But many of the other contributions help support labor's political and legislative allies, including some organizations engaged in lobbying Congress for the passage of legislation backed by the AFL-CIO. During the campaign for "medicare," for example, AFL-CIO funds helped finance several other organizations also working for enactment of the bill.

This story describes over-all AFL-CIO spending and contributions.

Annual Spending Figures

Statistics published in the proceedings of the AFL-CIO's sixth biennial convention (Dec. 9-15, 1965) show that the AFL-CIO national federation headquarters spent $11.3 million in fiscal 1964 and $11.8 million in fiscal 1965 for its own basic activities and for special contributions and expenditures. These figures represent spending by the national federation headquarters only. They do not include spending by individual national and international unions or their locals or by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department and certain other groups and do not include direct political contributions made by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. The national federation's expenditures were financed almost entirely by a 7-cent-per-member monthly per capita payment which affiliated unions make to the AFL-CIO federation headquarters out of union dues.

Regular Activities. The convention proceedings show that of the $11.3 million total spending in fiscal 1964 and $11.8 million in fiscal 1965, by far the largest portions (some $10 million in 1964 and $10.4 million in 1965) went for regular on-going activities to promote the over-all interests of federation members and organized labor in general. The figures show the following major items for regular activities in fiscal 1965 (figures for 1964 were similar):

- $2.5 million for the maintenance of 24 regional offices located all over the country and in Puerto Rico and Hawaii.
- $966,000 for the administrative expenses of the national federation -- salaries of executives, accounting, library services, mail room, etc.
- $984,000 for public relations, about three-fifths of which went for radio and television programs, including the AFL-CIO-sponsored daily radio newscast by Edward P. Morgan.
- $607,000 for the AFL-CIO publications department, whose chief publications are the weekly AFL-CIO News and the monthly magazine The Federationist. The AFL-CIO News plays a particularly important role in providing a general weekly summary of labor and legislative developments considered important by the national leadership of the federation, and thus provides a focus of the organization's point of view.
- $430,000 for the AFL-CIO's research and education departments.
- $282,000 for the AFL-CIO's legislative department, which handles the active lobbying for the national federation on Capitol Hill. The department is headed by ex-Rep. Andrew J. Biemiller (D Wis. 1945-47, 1949-51) and includes five other active lobbyists as well as supporting personnel. (The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department and many individual unions maintain their own, separate lobbying staffs.) The AFL-CIO national federation headquarters, together with its departments and affiliated unions, forms by far the largest and most powerful pressure group supporting liberal causes in the United States.
- $973,000 for the basic expenses of the AFL-CIO's political arm, the Committee on Political Education (COPE). The $973,000 covered expenses like salaries, printing costs, research materials, travel, mailing and phone costs, the preparation and publication of candidates' voting records and of AFL-CIO evaluations of candidates. However, the $973,000 did not include money spent by COPE for direct contributions in support of candidates for federal elective offices, because the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act forbade unions to use dues money for contributions to candidates for federal offices. (All of COPE's direct contributions to federal candidates were financed separately through voluntary contributions by union members and not out of dues money; the total of such contributions was not described in the convention records.) Nor did the $1 million include COPE spending for voter registration campaigns, which was listed separately. *(See special contributions, below)*
- $1.8 million for various organizational housekeeping functions, like maintenance of the AFL-CIO headquarters building in Washington, D.C., and contributions to health, welfare and pension plans for employees of the national federation.
- $818,000 for the international affairs department. A large portion ($327,000) went to help pay for the regular operating expenses of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), an international organization of unions from free nations, devoted to maintaining unions against government control, opposing Communist control of union movements, improving labor standards and improving conditions for working people. Another $74,000 of the $818,000 went to the ICFTU's Western Hemisphere affiliate, the Inter-American Regional Organization (ORIT).

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Henry F. Via (B)

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL VALUES AND ASPIRATIONS AMONG SOCIAL STRATA,
Various Gallup Polls, 1939 - 1949

1. AIPO 150A (1939)

PERCENT "YES" TO THE QUESTION: "DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE HAD ENOUGH EDUCATION?"
(Among males)

Occupation	Percent	Number
Professional	27%	75
Business	24	173
Skilled workers	11	114
Unskilled workers	17	134
Skilled white collar	20	81
Unskilled white collar	24	41

2. AIPO 298K (1943)

PERCENT "YES" TO THE QUESTION: "Men like Henry Ford have had practically no schooling and yet have become a big success. For most people, do you feel education is absolutely necessary to be a success in life? (Among males)

Education	Percent	Number
Some grammar	48%	181
Elem. grad.	55	166
Some HS	53	161
HS Graduate	58	176
Some college	61	119
College grad	65	121

3. Fortune # 71 (1948)

Among young people only, answers to: "Considering your abilities and opportunities, what do you think you might earn per year at your peak earning period, if all goes well?" (Among males)

Percent Saying	AMONG Nonmanual Workers	AMONG Manual Workers
Less than $5000	17%	54%
More than $15,000	26	7
Between 5 and 15	57	39
100% =	(254)	(291)

Table 1 (continued)

4. Fortune #71 (1948)

Among males, answers to: "Here are three different kinds of jobs. If you had your choice which would you pick? 1) Low income, but sure of keeping, 2) Good income, but 50-50 chance of losing, 3) Extremely high income, if you make the grade, but in which you lose almost everything if you don't make it."

Percent saying	Nonmanuals	Manuals
One sure of keeping	27%	59%
Where 50-50 Chance	39	23
High Income	34	18
100% =	(670)	(588)

5. Fortune #71 (1948)

Answers to the question: "Generally speaking, do you think a person has to have a college education if he is going to get and keep a really good job, does it make it easier, or do you think he can do as well or better by spending those years on something else?" (Among males)

Percent Saying	Nonmanuals	Manuals
Need college	29%	15%
Makes it easier	59	55
Do something else	12	27
Don't know	0	3
100% =	(675)	(596)

6. Fortune #76 (1949)

Answers to the question: "If you had a boy graduating from high school, would you personally like to have him go on to college, or would you rather have him do something else?" (Among males)

Percent Saying	Nonmanuals		Manuals	
Go to college	76%		51%	
College if can afford it	4	83%	13	66%
College if accepted	3		2	
Something else	5		14	
Depends on boy	11		14	
Don't know	1		6	
100% =	(1101)		(1225)	

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION, United States, 1938 - 1957

Date	Survey	Percent Participating	Period of Time Asked About	Percent Desiring to Participate	Type of Course Asked About
1938	AIPO 137	6%	Now	44%	Adult Education
1944	AIPO 335	18%	Last five years	34%	Adult Education
1948	AIPO 418 K	Not asked	--	58%	College
1950	AIPO 452	6%	Now	35%	Adult Education
1952	AIPO 484 K	Not asked	--	62%	College
1957	AIPO 591 K	10%	Past 12 months	35%	Adult Education
1957	National Census Study	8%	Past 12 months	Not asked	Adult Education

*AIPO refers to American Institute of Public Opinion surveys, obtained from the Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Williamstown, Massachusetts. The sample size ranged from 1500 to 3000. The national census was conducted by the Bureau of the Census in Washington, with a sample of 35,000.

TABLE 3

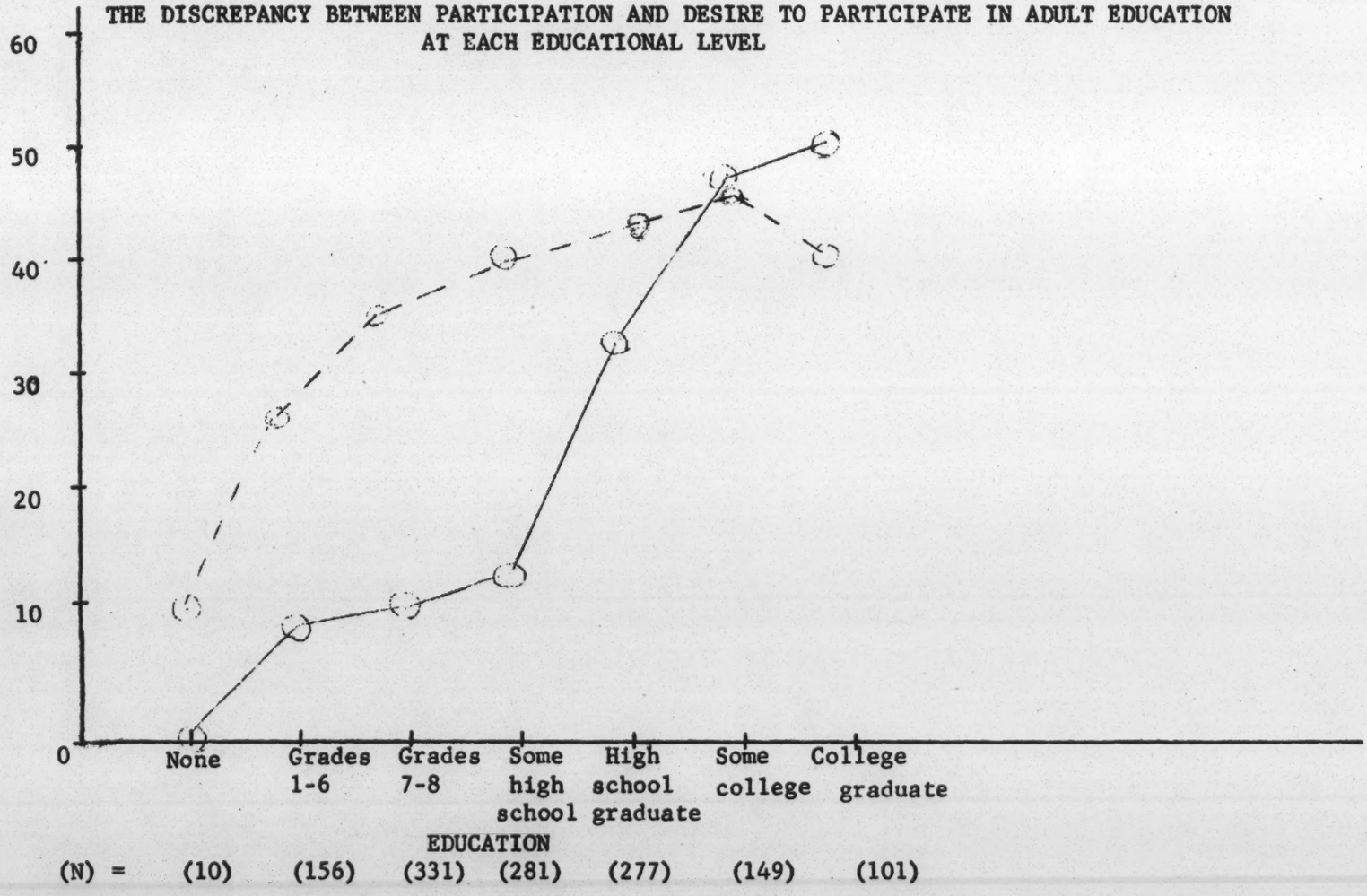
PERCENT PARTICIPATING IN ADULT EDUCATION, BY EDUCATION AND BY OCCUPATION, AMONG EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER NOT ENROLLED IN REGULAR SCHOOL, 1957.

Occupation	EDUCATION										
		Grade School			High School		College				
	None	1-4	5-7	8	1-3	4	1-3	4	More than 4	Total	Range
Professional	0 (3)	0 (5)	8 (63)	8 (132)	10 (266)	19 (1086)	20 (1138) (1791)	27	29 (1516)	19 (7417)	+21
Managerial	0 (29)	2 (156)	2 (373)	4 (777)	7 (1050)	10 (2101)	14 (987)	18 (699)	26 (189)	10 (6361)	+24
Clerical-Sales	0 (6)	8 (101)	2 (543)	4 (918)	7 (1883)	12 (6358)	17 (1691)	22 (673)	18 (135)	11 (12,308)	+14
Crafts-foreman	0 (49)	4 (345)	3 (980)	5 (1672)	7 (2148)	13 (2626)	16 (472)	27 (127)	-- (9)	9 (8428)	+23
Operative	3 (136)	2 (759)	2 (1995)	3 (2816)	5 (3290)	9 (2845)	10 (369)	17 (46)	31 (13)	5 (12,269)	+29
Service workers	0 (148)	1 (557)	2 (1239)	3 (1497)	6 (1596)	11 (1580)	12 (278)	13 (68)	-- (10)	6 (6973)	+12
Laborers	0 (288)	1 (910)	2 (1356)	3 (1220)	5 (1034)	10 (850)	14 (151)	5 (18)	-- (0)	5 (4927)	+13
Total	1 (659)	2 (2833)	3 (6549)	4 (9032)	6 (11,267)	12 (17,446)	16 (5088) (3422)	24	28 (1872)	11 (58,683)	
Range		+7	+6	+5	+5	+10	+10	+14	+11		

*Source: Recomputed from Marie D. Wann and Marthine V. Woodward, Participation in Adult Education, A Statistical Analysis of the Adult Educationa Data obtained in the October 1957 Current Population Survey of the Bureau of the Census, (US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, Circular No. 539, 1959), p. 26. The numbers in parentheses represent statistical estimates of the actual numbers of persons in the American population with the indicated characteristics, and do not refer to the numbers of persons actu lly in the sample.

FIGURE 1

THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN PARTICIPATION AND DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION AT EACH EDUCATIONAL LEVEL



* Source: AIPO Survey No. 452, February 3, 1950

TABLE 4

PERCENT PARTICIPATING IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL, 1957

	Socio-Economic Status			
Education	Low	Medium	High	Total
Elementary	1 (266)	3 (123)	5 (79)	3 (468)
Some High School	7 (11)	1 (141)	6 (101)	5 (331)
High School Graduate	10 (100)	11 (109)	15 (178)	12 (387)
College	30 (37)	28 (50)	27 (109)	28 (196)
Total	6 (542)	8 (383)	14 (455)	

*AIPO 591K, 1957. The numbers in parentheses refer to the actual numbers of cases in the sample, not to an estimated proportion of persons in the population. SES was judged by the interview from the neighborhood, condition of the home, and other visible symptoms.

TABLE 5

PERCENT DESIRING TO TAKE AN ADULT EDUCATION COURSE, BY EDUCATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL, Non Farm Males, 1957

EDUCATION	SES Lower	Middle	Upper	Total
Elementary	18 (78)	15 (34)	31 (31)	20 (143)
Some High School	28 (43)	18 (28)	25 (25)	24 (96)
High school graduate	45 (36)	40 (42)	36 (36)	40 (122)
College	50 (14)	67 (24)	62 (45)	61 (83)
TOTAL	29(171)	34(128)	40(145)	34 (444)

*Source: AIPO 591K, 1957.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF PERCENT OF ADULT STUDENTS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND THE PERCENT OF THE SAME OCCUPATION IN THE CITY, Six Cities, 1955

City	Occupation														
	Professionals			Craftsmen			Clerical			Semiskilled			Laborers		
	Percent among stud.	Percent among popul.	Percentage Diff.	Percent among stud.	Percent among popul.	Percentage Diff.	Percent among stud.	Percent among popul.	Percentage Diff.	Percent among stud.	Percent among popul.	% Diff.	% Stu.	% pop.	% Diff.
Cleveland	9	4	+5	24	9	+15	15	9	+6	7	15	-8	9	4	+5
Highland Pk	7	7	0	7	9	-2	29	11	+18	6	14	-8	6	2	+4
Oakridge	12	17	-5	9	10	-1	23	10	+13	3	6	-3	4	2	+2
Baltimore	7	5	+2	15	8	+7	15	8	+7	7	11	-4	5	4	+1
Sacramento	13	7	+6	19	7	+12	16	3	+13	12	6	+6	4	3	+1
Vallejo	8	4	+4	22	10	+12	6	6	0	16	5	+1	3	3	0
Arithemtic Total:			+12			+43			+57			-16			+13

* Recomputed from Edward B. Olds, "Adult Students and their Teachers," Adult Education, 5 (1955) p. 212.

TABLE 7

PERCENT GIVING JOB-CONNECTED REASONS FOR TAKING UNIVERSITY EXTENSION COURSES, BY COURSE DIVISIONS, 1957

	Course Division					
Job-connected Reason	Cultural	Business	Engin.	Music.	Education	Poli.Science
Job-related in General	14.0%	47.0%	61.3%	30.4%	26.9%	43.1%
Certificate program	2.5	14.4	0.5	1.7	14.1	23.8
Credential (teaching or other)	1.1	3.5	9.2	0.0	44.1	0.8
Total job-connected Reasons	17.6%	64.9%	71.0%	32.1%	85.1%	67.7%

*Kerrick, op. cit., p. 77. Other reasons are given in the original. Those working for degrees are excluded here, although such a goal may obviously be related to the job.

TABLE 8

PERCENT DESIRING TO TAKE AN ADULT EDUCATION COURSE, BY EDUCATION AND PERCEPTION OF NECESSARY LEVEL OF INCOME, AIPO 591K, 1957

Percent Desiring Adult Education

Education	Needed Income: Less than $50 per week	$50-100 per week	More than $100 per week	Total
Elementary	12 (231)	23 (142)	23 (98)	18 (471)
Some high school	23 (100)	36 (129)	27 (95)	29 (324)
High school graduate	32 (101)	38 (142)	43 (117)	38 (360)
College	39 (33)	56 (57)	56 (59)	52 (149)
Total	21 (465)	35 (470)	36 (369)	30 (1304)

*The question referred to how much income an average family of four needs to "get along" on. Income should be controlled, but this information was not available.

TABLE 9

PERCENT PARTICIPATING IN DIFFERENT FORMS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SELECTED AREAS OF SPRINFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, AMONG THE TOTAL POPULATION IN THE AREA AND AMONG THE LOWER STRATA IN THE AREA, 1941

AREA	Percent Participating in: Forums		Art Exhibits		Concerts	
	Among Population	Among Lower Stratum	Among Population	Among Lower Stratum	Among Population	Among Lower Stratum
B	17%	5%	46%	36%	42%	29%
G	8	6	16	8	6	4
J	6	1	18	13	12	4
M	4	3	10	6	5	2

*Recomputed from Abraham A. Kaplan, "Socio-Economic Circumstances and Adult Participation in Certain Cultural and Educational Activities," (Teacher's College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 889), New York, 1943, p. 57. The survey was of 5000 adults in Springfield, Massachusetts in 14 ecological areas selected according to rentals, percent of foreign born, and percent of Negroes in the areas. The "lower stratum" was defined as those persons without autos (which criterion had the dual consequence of controlling for income and for accessibility of the programs) and with less than a high school education.

TABLE 10

PERCENT DESIRING TO PARTICIPATE AMONG EACH AGE GROUP, BY EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, 1957.

	Age					
Education	20+	30+	40+	50+	60+	Total
Elementary	24% (25)	25% (72)	26% (109)	17% (97)	9% (97)	18% (471)
Some HS	30% (56)	34% (77)	36% (85)	36% (50)	6% (34)	29% (325)
HS Grad	42% (89)	45% (110)	37% (82)	24% (41)	26% (31)	38% (360)
College	58% (31)	70% (54)	56% (27)	21% (24)	-- (8)	52% (150)

*AIPO 591K. Those over 70 years of age are omitted because of too few cases, so that the totals do not quite match.

TABLE 11

PERCENT DESIRING TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, BY SEX, RACE, AND EDUCATION, 1957

Education	MALES White	MALES Nonwhite	FEMALES White	FEMALES Nonwhite	Both races and sexes Total
Elementary	15% (216)	32% (34)	14% (185)	39% (36)	18% (471)
Some High School	24% (117)	33% (21)	31% (170)	52% (17)	29% (325)
High School Graduate	34% (143)	43% (7)	40% (201)	44% (9)	38% (360)
College	42% (69)	100%(6)	56% (70)	80% (5)	52% (150)

*AIPO 591K. The same difference between whites and nonwhites holds among males when only persons in nonfarm occupations not living in rural areas are considered.

TABLE 12

PERCENT ANSWERING "YES" TO THE QUESTION: "HAVE YOU HAD ANY VOCATIONAL OR TECHNICAL TRAINING SINCE YOU LEFT SCHOOL?" BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION, Wisconsin Adult Males in NonFarm Occupations, 1962

Occupation	Per Cent	Total Cases
White Collar	44	(165)
Blue Collar	40	(248)
Education		
Less than high school	38	(193)
High school graduate or more	45	(220)
Total	42	(413)

TABLE 13

PERCENT ENGAGED IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING SINCE THEY LEFT SCHOOL, BY OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION, AMONG PARTICIPANTS
Wisconsin Adult Males in Nonfarm Occupations, 1962

		PERCENT TAKING			
Occupation and Education	(N)	"White collar" training	"Blue collar" artisan or crafts	"Blue collar" operative	Service training
White collar with less than high school	(11)	9%	27	64	0
White collar, high school graduate or more	(58)	62%	19	14	5
Blue collar, with less than high school	(59)	12%	25	56	7
Blue collar, high school graduate or more	(38)	26%	18	50	6
Total	(167)	32%	22	41	5

* White collar training refers to such courses as typing, shorthand, business machine "savings and loan institutes," and the like. Blue collar training as artisan or craftsmen refers to such courses as carpentry, printing or painting. Blue collar training as an operative refers to machine shop courses, "manual training" responses and the like. Service training refers to barber, beauty operator, and home economics courses or institutes. Three persons mentioned that they had had some training but did not indicate what kind; they are not included in the above totals.

TABLE 14

SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT EDUCATION PARTICIPANTS AND NONPARTICIPANTS, BY OCCUPATION, Wisconsin Adult Males not in Farming Occupations, 1962.

	White Collar		Blue Collar	
	Participants	Nonparticipants	Participants	Nonparticipants
Per Cent Yes: Would you rather do some other kind of work than what you are now doing?	19	14	34	27
Per Cent "None": Which clubs and organizations like those on this card do you belong to?	8	18	16	20
Per Cent "Four or more"	22	15	11	9
Per Cent whose first full-time job was at a "white collar" level	47	50	12	12
Per Cent "at least once a week": How often do you usually get together off the job with any of the people you (or your spouse) work with?	18	14	15	18
Per Cent "less than once a year" or "never"	14	20	18	23
Per Cent whose father was in a "white collar" occupation while respondent was growing up	30	36	12	11
Per Cent "working": If you had to choose, would you say that you are in the middle class, the lower class, the upper class, or the working class?	29	35	71	72
Per Cent "middle"	67	59	24	26
Per Cent "Definitely Disagree": Once a leader is selected by democratic vote, none of the followers should question him.	78	68	59	49
Per Cent "Definitely Agree"	1	9	14	19
Per Cent "Definitely Disagree": Happiness goes with doing things that everyone else does, staying in the pattern of one's fellows.	48	47	38	21
Per Cent "Definitely Agree"	8	4	10	13
100% =	(73)	(92)	(101)	(147)

*Participation was determined by a Yes or No answer to: "Have you had any vocational or technical training since you left school?" Armed forces training was scored as No. Professional, managerial and executive, clerical and sales occupations are "white collar"; skilled workers, operatives, service workers and laborers are "blue collar."

TABLE 15

SOCIAL AND ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT EDUCATION PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION, Wisconsin Adult Males not in Farming Occupations, 1962

	Among the Less Well Educated		Among the Better Educated	
	Participants	Nonparticipants	Participants	Nonparticipants
Per Cent Yes: Would you rather do some other kind of work than what you are now doing?	29	17	27	29
Per Cent "None": Which Clubs and organizations like those on this card do you belong to?	19	22	8	18
Per Cent "Four or more"	7	6	26	16
Per Cent whose first full-time job was at a "white collar" level	11	9	37	44
Per Cent "at least once a week": How often do you usually get together off the job with any of the people you (or your spouse) work with?	12	14	19	18
Per Cent "less than once a year" or "never"	27	32	8	12
Per Cent whose father was in a "white collar" occupation while respondent was growing up	10	9	27	32
Per Cent "working": If you had to choose, would you say you are in the middle class, the lower class, the upper class, or the working class?	67	75	43	40
Per Cent "middle"	29	22	52	55
Per Cent "Definitely Disagree": Once a leader is selected by democratic vote, none of the followers should question him.	49	42	80	71
Per Cent "Definitely agree"	18	25	2	5
Per Cent "Definitely Disagree": Happiness goes with doing things that everyone else does, staying in the pattern of one's fellows.	30	16	51	46
Per Cent "Definitely Agree"	18	14	3	5
100% =	(73)	(120)	(101)	(119)

*Participation was determined by a Yes or No answer to: "Have you had any vocational or technical training since you left school?" Armed Forces training was scored as "No." The "better educated" persons were those with a high school diploma or better.

Table 1

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY VARIOUS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSONS, United States, 1957
(Per cent)

1. Sex

Males	10% (684)
Females	9 (772)

2. Occupation

Professional	20 (233)
White collar	15 (179)
Skilled workers	12 (253)
Unskilled	5 (452)

3. Education

None or grammar	2 (488)
Some high school	5 (342)
High school graduation	12 (413)
Some college or graduate	28 (216)

4. Economic position

Lower	6 (544)
Middle	8 (383)
Upper	14 (455)

5. Age

20-30	20 (253)
30-40	11 (355)
40-50	9 (333)
50-60	8 (238)
60-70	2 (174)
70-80	0 (78)
80 over	0 (15)

6. Race

White	10 (1305)
Nonwhite	9 (151)

7. Region of residence

New England	11 (94)
Middle Atlantic	10 (371)
East Central	9 (215)
West Central	5 (177)
South	9 (380)
Mountain	15 (59)
Pacific	15 (160)

8. City size of residence

Farm	6 (229)
Open country, nonfarm	9 (237)
Places under 2,500	9 (55)
2,500-5,000	6 (97)
5-10,000	9 (34)
10-25,000	0 (48)
25-50,000	7 (68)
50-100,000	9 (64)
100-250,000	14 (133)
250-500,000	9 (85)
500-1,000,000	11 (127)
1,000,000 plus	15 (278)
Total	9 (1456)

Source: American Institute of Public Opinion Survey No. 591K, 1957. The question was: "Did you happen to take any adult education courses during the past twelve months?" This question forms the basis for Tables 2 through 8 following also. The total number of respondents was 1504, but some persons did not answer the question.

Although the question: "What was the nature of the course?" was also asked, the information was not transferred to IBM cards. The further question: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education courses?" is the basis for Tables 9 through 16. The question following this was also not punched ("What subject would you like to study?").

Semi-skilled workers were included with unskilled. Totals do not add up because of failure to obtain complete information on all questions. Economic position was judged roughly by the interviewer from style of living and neighborhood.

Table 2

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Occupation	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Professional	5 (20)	9 (33)	12 (83)	34 (97)	20 (233)
White collar	8 (26)	4 (50)	16 (61)	31 (42)	15 (179)
Skilled	4 (74)	2 (57)	18 (94)	36 (28)	12 (253)
Unskilled	1 (180)	5 (130)	8 (119)	9 (23)	5 (452)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	9 (1459)

Source: AIPO 591K. See the footnote to Table 1 for data on the survey and the question. Persons with no education and persons with some years of grammar school through grammar school graduation are included in the "grammar"category. Persons with some college or more are included as "College-educated." These categories are the same for all tables referring to the educational attainments of respondents. Persons out of the labor force are excluded from all tables referring to occupation.

Table 3

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC POSITION, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Economic Position	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Lower	2 (266)	7 (141)	10 (100)	30 (37)	6 (544)
Middle	3 (123)	1 (101)	11 (109)	28 (50)	8 (383)
Upper	5 (79)	6 (89)	15 (178)	28 (109)	14 (455)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	9 (1459)

See Table 1 for sources and description. Economic position was judged by the interviewer.

Table 4

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND SEX, United States, 1957

Sex	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Male	1 (254)	4 (145)	15 (177)	31 (108)	10 (684)
Female	4 (233)	5 (197)	10 (235)	26 (107)	9 (772)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	9 (1459)

Source and discussion: See Tables 1 and 2.

Table 5

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND AGE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Age	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
20-29	4 (27)	8 (61)	16 (106)	46 (59)	20 (253)
30-39	5 (77)	4 (81)	13 (127)	21 (70)	11 (355)
40-49	1 (111)	2 (87)	14 (95)	33 (40)	9 (333)
50-59	3 (106)	9 (55)	11 (46)	16 (31)	8 (238)
60 and over	2 (164)	2 (54)	0 (36)	2 (179)	2 (267)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

See Tables 1 and 2 for sources and discussion.

Table 6

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND RACE, United States, 1957

Race	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
White	3 (414)	4 (298)	12 (393)	29 (200)	10 (1305)
Nonwhite	1 (73)	11 (44)	16 (19)	27 (15)	9 (151)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

Source: See Tables 1 and 2. "Nonwhites" are primarily Negroes.

Table 7

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND REGION OF RESIDENCE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Region	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
East	1 (139)	5 (101)	14 (147)	24 (78)	10 (465)
Midwest	3 (124)	3 (108)	11 (112)	21 (48)	7 (392)
South	2 (167)	6 (97)	4 (73)	49 (43)	9 (380)
West	9 (57)	5 (36)	19 (80)	24 (46)	15 (219)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

Source: See Tables 1 and 2. The New England and Middle Atlantic regions, according to the census classification, comprise the "Eastern" region, the East Central and West Central regions, the "Midwest," and the Rocky Mountain and Pacific regions, the "West."

Table 8

PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND CITY SIZE OF RESIDENCE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

City size	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Farm and under 2,500	3 (220)	5 (124)	10 (127)	28 (50)	7 (521)
2,500-10,000	3 (33)	0 (38)	7 (42)	28 (18)	7 (131)
10,000-100,000	1 (69)	4 (51)	14 (42)	11 (18)	6 (180)
100,000 plus	2 (165)	6 (129)	14 (201)	31 (128)	13 (623)
Total	2 (488)	5 (342)	12 (413)	28 (216)	10 (1459)

Source: See Tables 1 and 2. Places over 50,000 include persons residing in suburban areas around the cities.

Table 9

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION BY VARIOUS DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

1. Sex

Males	31 (681)
Females	37 (765)

2. Occupation

Professional	53 (230)
White Collar	45 (179)
Skilled	37 (251)
Semi and unskilled	32 (449)

3. Education

None or grammar	18 (484)
SOME high school	32 (341)
High school graduate	41 (411)
Some college or grad	62 (210)

4. Economic position

Lower	30 (538)
Middle	33 (381)
Upper	42 (454)

5. Age

20-30	45 (249)
30-40	47 (352)
40-50	39 (331)
50-60	25 (236)
60-70	12 (175)
70-80	4 (78)
80 over	7 (15)

6. Race

White	33 (1299)
Nonwhite	46 (147)

7. Region

New England	26 (93)
Middle Atlantic	36 (365)
East Central	38 (213)
West Central	29 (177)
South	29 (378)
Mountain	46 (59)
Pacific	45 (161)

8. City size of residence

Farm	24 (227)
Open country non farm	35 (236)
Under 2,500	44 (55)
2,500-5,000	31 (97)
5-10,000	29 (34)
10-25,000	26 (47)
25-50,000	22 (68)
50-100,000	27 (63)
100-250,000	40 (133)
250-500,000	31 (85)
500-1,000,000	38 (125)
1,000,000 plus	45 (275)
Total	34 (1446)

Source: See Table 1. The question was: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education course?" and answers are reported here only for those who previously had answered "No" to the question: "Did you happen to take any adult education course during the past twelve months?"

Table 10

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION BY EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Occupation	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Professional	35 (20)	30 (33)	49 (82)	67 (95)	53 (230)
White Collar	22 (27)	22 (50)	57 (60)	69 (42)	45 (179)
Skilled	24 (74)	35 (57)	39 (94)	64 (26)	37 (251)
Semi and unskilled	23 (178)	36 (129)	34 (120)	59 (22)	32 (449)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 11

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC POSITION, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Economic Position	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Lower	21 (262)	31 (140)	43 (100)	56 (36)	30 (538)
Middle	12 (123)	29 (101)	46 (108)	67 (49)	33 (381)
Upper	20 (80)	37 (89)	40 (178)	65 (107)	42 (454)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 12

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND SEX, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Sex	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Male	17 (254)	28 (144)	38 (177)	58 (106)	31 (681)
Female	19 (230)	35 (197)	44 (234)	66 (104)	37 (765)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 13

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS BY EDUCATION AND AGE, United States, 1957

Age	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
20-30	27 (26)	33 (61)	43 (106)	70 (56)	45 (249)
30-40	28 (76)	36 (80)	50 (127)	75 (69)	47 (352)
40-50	25 (110)	38 (87)	41 (94)	70 (40)	39 (331)
50-60	16 (105)	38 (55)	26 (46)	33 (30)	25 (236)
60 and over	7 (165)	6 (54)	25 (36)	8 (13)	9 (268)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 14

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS BY EDUCATION AND RACE, United States, 1957

Race	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
White	15 (413)	30 (298)	41 (392)	60 (196)	33 (1299)
Nonwhite	35 (71)	47 (43)	47 (19)	13 (14)	46 (147)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 15

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND REGION OF RESIDENCE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

Region	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
East	13 (137)	27 (101)	48 (146)	55 (74)	34 (458)
Midwest	22 (125)	33 (107)	39 (102)	63 (46)	34 (390)
South	18 (165)	33 (97)	26 (73)	65 (43)	29 (378)
West	19 (57)	39 (36)	51 (80)	70 (47)	45 (220)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

Table 16

DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN ADULT EDUCATION, AMONG NONPARTICIPANTS, BY EDUCATION AND CITY SIZE OF RESIDENCE, United States, 1957

(Per cent)

City size	Education				
	Grammar	Some high school	High school graduate	College	Total
Farm and up to 2,500	15 (218)	38 (124)	39 (127)	65 (49)	31 (518)
2,500-10,000	15 (33)	16 (38)	38 (42)	72 (18)	31 (131)
10,000-100,000	13 (70)	22 (51)	36 (42)	60 (15)	25 (178)
100,000 plus	24 (163)	34 (128)	45 (200)	61 (127)	41 (618)
Total	18 (484)	32 (341)	41 (411)	62 (210)	34 (1446)

Source: See Tables 1 and 9.

SLEP

Memorandum
December 10, 1965
James W. Robinson

[Univ. Labor Educ'n. Assoc'n.]

TO: ULEA Members

RE: Changes in Directory

The changes indicated below should be made on your list of ULEA members that was mailed earlier this year. If you have additional changes, please notify me. Thank you.

University of California @ Berkeley

William E. Rentfro, Coordinator
Labor Programs

Oliver McMillan, Associate Coordinator
Labor Programs

Sara Behman, Director of Research

Bonnie Cebulski, Principal Clerk

Louise Ray, Office Staff

(Don Vial remains as Chairman; Herbert Perry resigned)

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations

Abraham Nash, Extension Specialist
7 East 43rd Street
New York City 10017

William A. Scoones, Extension Specialist
Cornell University
NYSSILR
Ithaca, New York

University of Wisconsin

E. Keith Dix, Assistant Professor
School for Workers

Hervey Juris, Assistant Professor
School for Workers

Pennsylvania State University

new address: 209 Engineering E Building
814-865-5425

staff added: Peter R. Gregan, Western Representative
300 Main Street
New Kensington, Pennsylvania 15068
412-335-9856

UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

University of California
Berkeley 4, California

Labor Programs
Institute of Industrial Relations
John Hutchinson, Coordinator

University of California
Los Angeles 24, California

Labor Programs
Institute of Industrial Relations
Arthur Carstens, Administrator

Liberal Arts for Labor
Department of Social Sciences
Mary Pryor Heinemann, Coordinator

University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

Labor Education Center
Herbert Perry, Director
John Glynn, Coordinator

Roosevelt University
Chicago 5, Illinois

Labor Education Division
Frank McCallister, Director
Theodore Ruhig, Assistant Director

Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Labor Institute
John H. McDermott, Director

University of Chicago
923 East Sixtieth Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

The Union Leadership Program
Sam Mitchell, Acting Director

University of Illinois
504 East Armory Avenue
Champaign, Illinois

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
Herman Erickson, Professor
A. J. Wann, Associate Professor
Mil Lieberthal, Assistant Professor
Phillips L. Garman, Coordinator of Extension

Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Bureau of Industrial and Labor Services
D. W. Murphy, Director and Assistant Professor of Economics
H. Haines Turner, Staff Associate, Assistant Professor of Economics
Terrence F. Connors, Staff Associate, Lecturer in Education

State University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Bureau of Labor and Management
Jack Flagler, Program Director } min.

Harvard University
Harvard Business School - Sherman 2
Soldiers Field
Boston 63, Massachusetts

Harvard University Trade Union Program
Joseph P. O'Donnell, Executive Director

Michigan State University 355-1855
East Lansing, Michigan

* Labor Program Service 355-5070
* Labor and Industrial Relations Center
Fred K. Hoehler, Jr., Director
Robert Repas, Assistant Professor
Jacqueline Brophy, Instructor

Russel Allen —

University of Michigan-Wayne State University

Division of Labor and Education Service
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
108 Museume Annex
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Hy Kornbluh, Director

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
9th Floor Mackenzie Hall
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan
Bill Goode, Coordinator

Northern Michigan College
Marquette, Michigan

Labor Education
Public Services Division
Jack Myers, Coordinator

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Labor Education Program
Industrial Relations Center
~~Walter Uphoff~~, Head Flagler
Martin W. Duffy, Lecturer in Labor Education Program
Joseph S. Smolen, Lecturer

Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Labor Program
Institute of Management and Labor Relations
Herbert A. Levine, Chairman
George V. Boyle, Associate Extension Specialist
Robert A. Steffen, Extension Associate

Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations
Ralph W. Campbell, Director of Extension
Eleanor Emerson, Professor and Labor Education Specialist
George Brooks, Professor and Extension Teaching Specialist
Ronald Donovan, Associate Professor and Extension Specialist
Eric Polisar, Assistant Professor and Extension Specialist
Maggie Blough, Assistant Professor and Extension Teaching Specialist
Robert E. Doherty, Assistant Professor and Specialist for Public Schools
Antonia H. Nell, Director, Central District

Metropolitan N. Y. District Office
551 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York
Mrs. Lois Gray, Director
Wallace Wohlking, Assistant Director
Herman Bloch, Field Representative
Jerry Rosenberg, Assistant Professor and Extension Teaching Specialist

Capital District
11 North Pearl Street
Albany 7, New York
William Toomey, Director

Western District
17 Court Street
Buffalo 2, New York
Raymond Wedlake, Director
Richard Pivetz, Extension Specialist

Ohio State University
65 South Oval Drive
Columbus 10, Ohio

Labor Education and Research Center
S. C. Kelley, Jr., Director
153 E. Kanawha
Columbus, Ohio (on leave)

(cont.)

John T. Grupenhoff, Assistant Director
Norman Keig, Assistant Director
Eugene Hagburg, Coordinator of Labor Education Centers
5634 Bradford Drive
Hilliard, Ohio
Frederick Zeller, Coordinator of Union Leadership Programs
Harry R. Blaine, Coordinator of International Union Non-Resident Programs

Pennsylvania State University
Sparks Building
University Park, Pennsylvania

Department of Labor Education
Joseph G. Rayback, Head and Professor of American History
Helmut J. Golatz, Associate Professor of Industrial Relations
Charles Steinberg, Assistant Professor of Labor Education and Research Director
Albert J. Humza, Eastern Representative, 504 North Second St., Allentown, Pa.
Charles J. Slanicka, Instructor in Labor Education and Western Representative

Inter-American University of Puerto Rico
San German, Puerto Rico

Labor Relations Study Center
William Knowles, Director

University of Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Labor Relations Institute
Fred Nazario, Director
Mrs. Adelaide Barela, Coordinator of Workers' Education Programs and Instructor
Miles E. Galvin, Technical Training Program for Labor Educators
Carlos Roca Rosselli, Program Officer and Instructor
Victor Luis Garcia, Program Officer
Rafael A. Navarro, Program Officer

University of Rhode Island
Promenade and Gaspee Street
Providence 8, Rhode Island

Workers Education Program
Division of University Extension
Frederick G. Dunn, Supervisor

West Virginia University
Morgantown, West Virginia

Labor Education Service
Stanley M. Hostler, Head
Joan G. Kilpatrick, Labor Education Specialist

University of Wisconsin
Room 3014, Randall Stadium
Madison, Wisconsin

School for Workers
Robert Ozanne, Director
~~Jack Berbash, Professor~~
~~Anthony Luchek, Professor~~,
~~600 W. Kilbourn Avenue~~
~~Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin~~
Norris Tibbetts, Assistant Professor
Irving Brotslaw, Instructor
George Hagglund, Instructor
Emory Via, Lecturer

Jim Stern
Jan's
Dix

Wright Junior College

Peter R. Senn
1121 Hinman
Evanston, Illinois

The University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Canada

University Extension and Adult Education
Timothy Ryan

600 W. Kilbourn

3258 N. Sheffield Ave
332-2990

Do we have a more recent list in our directories?
Hang on to this in any case — See attached

UNION - UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATORS

Rutgers - The State University

April 30 - May 1, 1962

Lawrence J. Ahern
Acting Director
Research & Education
International Chemical Workers Union
1659 West Market Street
Akron 13, Ohio

Russell Allen
Education Director
Industrial Union Department
AFL-CIO Building
815 Sixteenth Street NW.
Washington 6, D. C.

George Boyle
Associate Extension Specialist
Labor Program
Institute of Management & Labor Relations
Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Stuart P. Brock
Staff Education Representative
AFL - CIO
815 Sixteenth Street NW.
Washington 6, D. C.

Arthur Carstens
Labor Program Administrator
University of California
Los Angeles 24, California

Christian R. A. Cole
Visitor
Extra Mural Department
Sierra Leone, U. C.

George Daitsman
Assistant Director of Research & Education
International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America
2347 Vine Street
Cincinnati 19, Ohio

Ronald Donovan
Associate Professor
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Eleanor Emmerson
Field Director, Professor
Industrial and Labor Relations Center
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

John Glynn
Coordinator, Labor Program
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

Helmut J. Golatz
Program Director
Department of Labor Education
Penn State University
Sparks Building
University Park, Pennsylvania

Lois Gray
Metropolitan Director
New York School of Industrial Labor Rel.
Cornell University
551 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Ruth W. Greenberg
Education Director
Connecticut State Labor Council
1890 Dixwell Avenue
Hamden 18, Connecticut

Michael Gross
Education Associate
International Association of Machinists
1300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

George Guensey
Assistant Education Director, AFL - CIO
AFL - CIO Building
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Paul Hampel
Education Field Representative
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
2800 North Sheridan Road
Chicago 14, Illinois

Mary Pryor Heinemann
Coordinator, Liberal Arts for Labor
U.C.L.A.
Ithaca, New York

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Director of Labor Progress Service
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Carroll Hutten
Education Director
United Auto Workers, AFL - CIO
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

LeRoy W. Johnson
Program Director
United Packinghouse Workers of America
608 South Dearborn Street
Chicago 5, Illinois

Marc Karson
Education Director
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Joan G. Kilpatrick
Labor Education Specialist
West Virginia University
301 Professional Building
Charleston, West Virginia

Connie Kopelov
Associate Education Director
Amalgamated Clothing Workers
15 Union Square
New York 3, New York

Hy Kornbluh, Director
Labor Education & Services
Institute of Labor & Industrial Relations
University of Michigan
108 Museums Avenue
Ann Arba, Michigan

Francis E. Lavigne
Director of Education and Research
Massachusetts State Labor Council
44 School Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Herbert A. Levine
Chairman, Labor Program
Institute of Management & Labor Relations
Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Mil Lieberthal
Assistant Professor of Labor &
Industrial Relations
University of Illinois
704 South Sixth Street
Champaign, Illinois

Frank McCallister
Director of Labor Education Division
Roosevelt University
Chicago 37, Illinois

Joseph Mire
Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
Room 31
Riddell Street
1730 K Street
Washington, D. C.

Antonia H. Nell
New York State School of Industrial
and Labor Relations
Ithaca, New York

James E. Noe
Director of Research and Education
International Brotherhood of Electrical
Workers, AFL - CIO
1200 15th Street N.W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Herbert A. Perry
Director of Labor Education
Labor Education Center
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut

Eric Polisar
Assistant Professor
Institute of Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Otto Pragan
Education Department, AFL - CIO
AFl - CIO Building
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Ralph R. Reuter
Assistant Education Director
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York 19, New York

G. S. Reuter, Jr.
Research Director
American Federation of Teachers
28 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicago 4, Illinois

Lawrence Rogin
Education Director, AFL - CIO
AFL - CIO Building 815
815 Sixteenth Street NW.
Washington 6, D.C.

Ben Segal
Education Director
Electrical, Radio and Machine
Workers International Union
1126 Sixteenth Street, NW.
Washington 6, D.C.

Ben B. Seligman
Director of Education and Research
Retail Clerks International Association
Connecticut Avenue & DeSales Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Robert Steffen
Extension Associate, Labor Program
Institute of Management & Labor Relations
Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Don Stevens
Education Director
Michigan AFL - CIO
716 Lothrop Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

H. Haines Turner
Staff Associate
Indiana University
Bureau of Industrial & Labor Services
Bloomington, Indianna

Emory F. Via
Lecturer - Labor Education
School for Workers
University of Wisbonsin
Room 3014, Randell Stadium
Madison, Wisconsin

James E. Wolfe
Director of Research and Education
International Union of Brewery Workers
2347 Vine Street
Cincinnati, 19, Ohio

Holgate Young
Education Associate
International Association of Machinists
1300 Connecticut Avenue, NW.
Washington 1, D.C.

SLEP

PROJECT APPLICATION

Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965

To be submitted to:

The Administrator, Title I
417 Extension Bldg.
Madison, Wis. 53706

Submit eighteen (18) copies

Distribution:	
Technical Review Panel	13
State General Review	2
Regional Review	1
Administrative Office	2

CONTENTS

I. Project Summary and Administrative Information

II. Budget

III. Certifications

IV. Project Detail

University Extension
The University of Wisconsin

(Leave Blank)
Project No.

PROPOSAL FOR SUPPORT OF
COMMUNITY SERVICE PROJECT
Under
Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965

I. _____

Give Name, Department and Official Title of PROJECT DIRECTOR.

_____

Name or Title of Project (10 words or less):

_____

Name and Address of Applicant:

_____

Summary of Proposed Project--(200 words or less):

Date_____ Signature of Project Director_____

TITLE I
Higher Education Act
Project

Leave Blank
Date rec'd.
Application No.
Date Ack'd.

Leave Blank
Action
Action Date
Grant No.

A. Amount of Federal Funds Requested (for the grant period shown in item B)

_____

Total cost of project

_____

B. Duration of Grant Period (12 months or less)

___ ___ ___ through
Mo. Day Year

___ ___ ___
Mo. Day Year

C. Type of Proposal (Check one box only)

☐ New Proposal

☐ Continuation of Grant Number _____

D. Estimated Duration of Project after First Grant Period

_____

E. Estimated Total Cost of the Project beyond the First Grant Period $_____

F. Project Director

Name_____

Mail Address of Project_____

_____

Tel. No._____

G. Applicant Agency or Department

Name_____

Mail Address_____

_____

_____

H. Financial Officer (who will be responsible for financial records)

Name_____

Title_____

Mail Address_____

_____

Tel. No. _____

I. Designation of Payee (Check will be drawn as follows)

J. Official Authorized to Sign Proposal for agency

Name_____

Title_____

K. Personal Signatures (in ink)

(1) Project Director (Same as "F" above)_____Date_____

(2) Authorized Official (Same as "J" above)_____Date_____

BUDGET

II. Use this form to itemize the expenses of the project in the grant period

from _____ to _____
Mo. Day Year Mo. Day Year

(Same as period shown on page 1, item B)

The total amount requested in item i of column (2) must be the same as shown on page 1, item A.

(Eligible costs are identified in section 173.27 (b)(1) of the federal regulations)

a. Personnel List all positions.	(1) Indicate percentage of time devoted to project and rate of compensation	(2) Title I funds requested (Omit cents)	(3) Grantee Share (Omit cents) (Total must equal 25%)
	Total Personnel		

b. Trainees (Itemize):		
(1) Subsistence		
(2) Travel		
Total		

c. Specialized Program Equipment (Rental only)		
(Itemize): (See Sec. 173.27(b)(iv)		
Total		

d. Consumable Supplies (Itemize by major		
types):		
Total		

e. Travel (staff, consultant, etc.) (Itemize):		
Total		

f. Miscellaneous Expenses (Itemize):		
Total		

g. Totals--Direct Costs (Sum of categories		
a through f):		

h. Indirect Costs (for definition see		
sec. 173.27(b)(2) of federal regulations):		

i. Totals (Sum of categories g and h)		*

*must equal 25 percent of total project cost

Total Project Cost: [ ]

If income will be produced by the project, what will be the source(s) and amount(s)?

What will be the source of matching funds?

Will program income be mixed with other institutional funds so as to lose its identity? _____Yes _____No

Will program income be expended directly on the program? _____Yes _____No

How does the proposed fee structure or charges relate to your institutional practice in similar efforts?

III. Certification of institutional and program eligibility and fiscal responsibility:

_____
NAME OF INSTITUTION

(Business schools or vocational-technical schools are concerned only with numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5).

1. Admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate;
2. Is legally authorized within Wisconsin to provide a program of education beyond secondary education;
3. Provides an educational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree or not less than a two-year program which is acceptable for full credit toward such a degree;
4. Is a public or other non-profit institution;
5. Is A. accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association:_____; or
   name of agency or association

   B. credits of the institution are accepted on transfer by not less than three institutions which are so accredited, for credit on the same basis as if transferred from an institution so accredited. The institutions accepting credits and their accrediting agency or association are:

Institution	Agency or Association
1.	
2.	
3.	

_____ also certifies that:
name of institution

6. The proposed program, activity, or service is not otherwise available;
7. The conduct of the program or performance of the activity or service is consistent with the institution's over-all educational program and is appropriate to the effective utilization of the institution's special resources and competencies of its faculty;
8. Courses involved are extension or continuing education courses and are fully acceptable toward a college degree or are of college level;
9. The institution will be responsible for covering any costs incurred by the institution in carrying out its program that are later disallowed by federal auditors;
10. The proposed program does not involve sectarian instruction nor religious worship nor is it provided by a school or department of divinity;
11. The salaries and fringe benefits to be paid to personnel employed on this project conform to the institution's regular salary practices and policies;
12. The institutional funds used as matching for this project will be in addition to the amount expended on extension and continuing education by the institution during the year ending June 30, 1965.

_____
(Signature of Authorized Official
(Same as J on Page 2)

PROGRAM DETAIL

IV. Please read all the questions before answering any one, so as to avoid duplicating information. If more space is required than is provided, you may attach extra pages, but please try to avoid doing so. All questions should be answered as fully as possible.

1. Describe the community problem(s) to which the project is addressed, taking into account factors of geographical incidence, population affected, duration or problem complexity. Discuss the special relevance to urban and suburban problems.

2. Identify research findings or other authoritative information that support your intention to work on this particular problem.

3. (a) What are the related problems;

(b) how will they be affected by what you propose to do?

4. What are the goals of this project in terms of contributions to the solution of the problem(s) concerned?

5. Describe in some detail the educational content and processes involved in the project, listing the steps to be followed and the time schedule involved. (This is a work plan.)

6. Describe the evaluative procedures you will employ, data you will gather, and analyses you will make in order to determine the extent to which the objectives of the program have been achieved.

7. Describe the institution's special resources or competence in this problem area. Show what provision is made for the use of these special resources in the project.

8. How does the program relate to the over-all educational program of the institution?

9. How will this project increase the capacity of the institution to provide community service programs in the future?

10. If the project has significant innovative features, describe.

11. Describe cooperative efforts with other institutions of higher education. If no cooperative efforts are involved, give reasons.

12. Describe cooperative efforts with state and local governments and agencies.

13. Describe how the results of the program are to be disseminated in order to multiply the effect of the program. Take note of methods, frequency, and audience.

14. Please provide the names and a resumé of the qualifications (experience, training, and/or publications) of key personnel already identified for the project (may attach extra sheets).

SLEP

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

DIRECTORY OF PERSONNEL AND FIELD OFFICES

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina

* 1965 *

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Report for January - June, 1966

Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Education Project

Most of the work of the Labor Project falls into three broad categories: labor education, consultation and liasion, and employment problems. This report will attempt to summarize the activities which have taken place in each of these areas without detailing the on-going process of administration, preparation, informal materials development, and the interaction with the continuing programs of the Council.

Labor Education.

The Project's involvement in education activities has varied from participations of one day to one month in duration, and from an intense exploration of civil rights problems confronting Southern unions to a rather tangential handling of such problems as they relate to the day-to-day concerns of a union.

In January the Director spent one month heading the National Institute of Labor Education's Southern Union Staff Institute. This Institute was held at the University of Georgia in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. It was a useful and intensive educational experience providing tool courses, courses in social and economic understanding, and a fairly concentrated dose of subjects related to racial relations and civil rights.

The Virginia AFL-CIO conducted a week end education conference in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Education Department. The Director of the Labor Project taught four classes and made one general presentation to the entire group. The Tri-State School, sponsored by the state AFL-CIOs in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in cooperation with the national AFL-CIO Education Department, provided another opportunity for teaching a class and holding a general session on the changing South.

The Labor Project participated in two conferences sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. One of these was held in Atlanta for the Union's regional organizing staff and the other at Daytona Beach for local union leadership from throughout the region.

Two further week end institutes were worked out cooperatively with the Labor Project and the Education Department of the United Steelworkers of America and their District 36-G (Gulf Coast) Education Coordinator. One conference was held in Tampa, Florida, and the other in New Orleans. In each case the Project provided approximately one-half of the instruction.

The Director also taught in a one week summer school for members of the United Rubber Workers of America who held a regional program at the Blue Ridge Assembly grounds at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

The Project participated in a one day regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta.

The Director has taken several opportunities to explore with institutions of higher learning the possibility of their developing some continuing interest in the area of labor education. This activity has been confined primarily to two states to date. Two Georgia institutions have been approached through members of the faculty and administration who were interested in such possibilities.

These moves have been made in consultation with appropriate persons within the labor movement. This effort must be recognized as little more than an attempt to stimulate a beginning interest. Potentially it is a useful way to expand labor education opportunities within the region.

Consultation and Liasion.

On a number of items which might be included under this heading the Labor Project has worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Such items include jointly assisting with a conference sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee held in Durham on "Students and Labor," in settling problems which had arisen between a local civil rights group and a union engaged in an organizing campaign, and in assessing the impact of the primary election on the Alabama labor movement in regards to racial relations.

During the period of this report the Labor Project has had an opportunity to work with several Councils on Human Relations on a variety of problems. This activity has included work with state councils in Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, and local Councils in Atlanta and Palm Beach. Somewhat similar work has been done in cooperation with the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., Operation Breadbasket, and the American Friends Service Committee.

The Director spoke to a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference in Atlanta, to an American Friends Service Committee staff and advisory group, to the Daytona Beach Forum, and to the orientation conference for "Operation Speed-Up" sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The Director was asked to serve on the Task Force on Economic Security for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." This entailed several Task Force meetings in Washington and ultimately meant that the Director was involved as the spokesman for a panel appearing before four workshops at the White House Conference itself.

A few days were profitably spent in mediating between the union staff involved in organizing migrant laborers and an agency with which SRC has frequently cooperated, over difference that had arisen regarding approaches to migrant labor problems. This was an interesting and informative interlude. The outcome at this point seems to be a healthy one.

A few days were spent in Detroit attending conferences of the University Labor Education Association, the AFL-CIO Labor Educators, and Local 189 (Workers Education Local) of the American Federation of Teachers. This time was largely devoted to promotion and contact work and has led to further programs.

A regional conference sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor in cooperation with SRC and a few other agencies involved the Labor Project directly. This conference was aimed at reaching civil rights and other groups who have contact with disadvantaged persons. It was an effort on the Department's part to bridge the gap between their program proposals and policies and actually reaching the people who should be affected by those programs.

Employment Problems.

Although the Labor Project is not specifically committed to working in the area of employment discrimination, it is difficult, and unwise, to side-step these problems altogether. During the past few months we have participated in a national apprenticeship study (our part was limited to the metropolitan Atlanta area) and have worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in exploring and promoting the idea of an apprenticeship information center. Similarly, with the Civil Rights Department, we have been able to give some assistance in a study which they are doing cooperatively with other organizations regarding discriminatory practices in employment services. Both of our programs have worked cooperatively with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations in their interest to report the difficulties encountered in getting reliable information about apprenticeship and other training programs in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

From time to time employment requests come to the Council and are channeled through the Labor Project. These range from individuals seeking employment to companies seeking individuals in a variety of classifications. In some cases we are able to handle such requests fairly directly, but usually they are referred to other agencies such as the Urban League, Operation Breadbasket, or one of the vocational schools. The Labor Project has involved the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office in discussions with persons working with the Vine City Council in Atlanta regarding employment and training opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

The Director was asked to participate in a training program of Post Office Department personnel staff from throughout the region to discuss the problems of minority groups as they relate to employment both outside and inside the federal service.

The Project has been concerned with developing some of the background materials and locating outside staff for an unemployment study. Unfortunately, this project has not been brought to fulfillment.

In Conclusion.

It is envisioned that the main emphases of the Labor Project's work will continue to be in the three areas outlined above. Increasingly, the formal program will involve labor education activities. Some of these will be developed at the Labor Project's initiative and others will continue to be those developed by the labor movement with the Project being simply a participant. The liasion and consultation work will continue and is a natural outgrowth of the Project's contact with unions and governmental and private agencies. Our concern with employment opportunities will not diminish but is likely to find expression largely in stimulating interest in public policy and in making referrals to those groups most actively involved in this work. At this point it seems fair to say that the activities of the Labor Project continue to grow and the prospects for the immediate future are good that its services will not only be needed but sought after.

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Education Project

Ford Foundation

THE FORD FOUNDATION

SLEP

Action For Equal Opportunity

by McGEORGE BUNDY

SLEP

6 September 1966

Mr. Norris Tibbetts
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Norris:

Would you please send two copies of the current descriptive pamphlet of the School for Workers to Henry Lake, whose address follows: Education Director, Kentucky State AFL-CIO, 706 East Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky 40202. Thanks.

Sincerely,

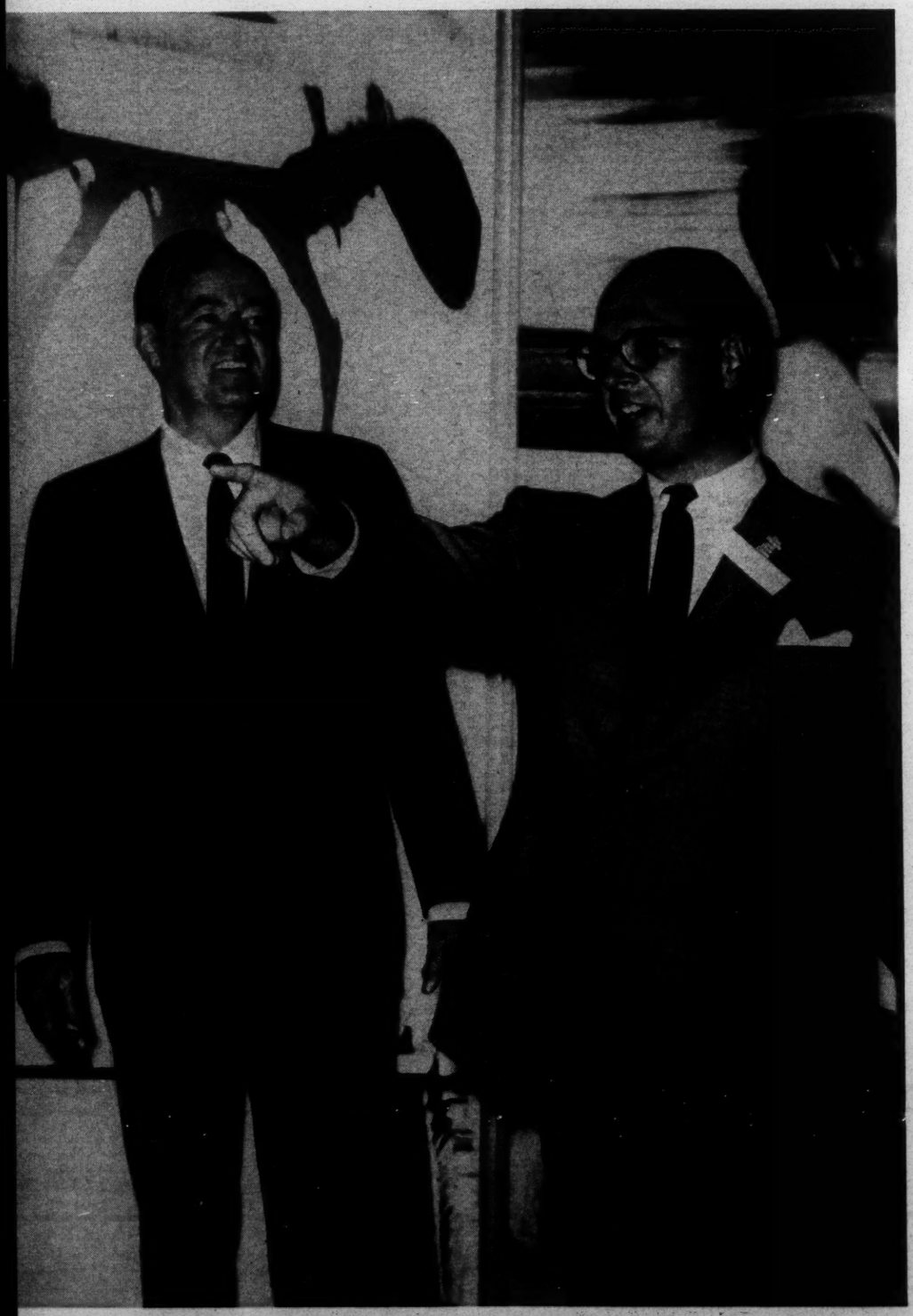
Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

SLEP

The city's own pressure group

An influential group called Urban America aims to be the champion of broad city interests—and also to give practical aid in solving urban problems



Stephen R. Currier, president of Urban America, Inc., shows Vice-President Humphrey around exhibit area at group's recent conference in Washington.

A gala reception at the White House, an elegantly catered dinner set up under brightly striped tents on Washington's Mall, hundreds of prominent guests milling about—such goings-on could easily be a wealthy debutante's coming-out party.

In a sense, Urban America, Inc.'s lavishly mounted conference held in Washington recently on "Our People and Their Cities" was just that.

First, it marked the debut of an expensively refurbished, nonprofit organization that aims to be the country's strongest pressure group for cities. Well financed, with influential backing that includes a strong business contingent, Urban America is expanding its services to private builders and redevelopers in several dozen cities. At the same time, it is seeking new ways to translate its sometimes lofty goals into practical programs that will improve urban living. Already, it has formed three new projects—Centers for Information, Urban Design, and Urban Policy—that it hopes will contribute significantly toward solving city problems.

Second, the conference marked the first public role for Urban America's president and principal financial supporter, Stephen R. Currier, who, despite his active career and familiar surname (his family tree includes the Currier of Currier & Ives), is little known, even to most businessmen.

The man. Currier, an enormously wealthy, 36-year-old businessman and philanthropist, is married to a granddaughter of Andrew Mellon. Through his family's Taconic Foundation, Inc., in New York, he has spent much money and energy on alleviating social problems, especially racial troubles in the South.

Currier generally shuns publicity. But at Urban America's Washington affair, attended by some 800 businessmen, planners, and public officials, he took a highly visible part. His wealth and informed commitment constitute an important asset for Urban America, Inc., which, in its present form, is largely his crea-

Markets briefs

BW

Market falls sharply as Motorola and Du Pont earnings reports discourage investors

The stock market sashayed spiritlessly for three sessions this week before finally choosing a direction—down. Moderate selling nipped a rally Tuesday, then drove the Dow-Jones industrial average down 13.14 points the next day, putting the midweek market at 780.95. That was 33 points off the top of its rally two weeks ago, but still 13 points above the year's low.

Investors were worried mainly about corporate profits. Two earnings outlooks in particular sparked the decline, and selling spread to other issues like a virus. **Motorola, Inc., reported 1966 earnings would be between $5.50 and $6 a share—"a body blow to the growth issues,"** E. F. Hutton's Robert H. Stovall termed it; Wall Street had previously estimated the color-TV maker's profits would be as high as $9. **Meanwhile, word was circulating around the Street that Du Pont's earnings may be less than last year's $8.63,** which cast a pall on blue chips. Motorola fell 27 points (to 111), Du Pont 14 points (to 152¼), in two days.

Though many Wall Streeters look for an interim rally before Election Day, most of them are still bearish for the long term. **A wave of tax-loss selling should come before yearend, and the fear is that profits may be hurt sharply by a possible hike in corporate taxes and by 1967's anticipated mammoth round of wage negotiations.** "I've never known a time," says Ralph Rotnem of Harris, Upham & Co., "when there was such a difference of opinion among analysts about earnings."

Dealers see bond market peaking out as investors snap up high-yield issues

"The money must have been coming out of the mattress." That's the way one major bond dealer described investor reception of this week's heavy calendar of new bond offerings.

Heading the list was a **$100-million Southern Bell Telephone, AAA-rated issue with a yield of 5.95%.** It was quickly sold out. Also offered was a $45-million issue of AA-rated Kimberly-Clark bonds with a yield of 5.90%, and $45-million of A-rated General Telephone of California bonds with a yield of 6%.

The enthusiasm for the new issues quickly spilled over into the secondary market, pushing up prices of recently offered bonds. Said the president of one prestigious investment banking firm: "I don't think we'll see interest rates going much higher."

Analysts see easing of short-term rates as temporary device to aid the Treasury

Short-term interest rates turned down this week, **but many analysts warned that the easing may be only temporary.** They suggested that the Federal Reserve had relaxed tight credit a bit to give the Treasury a breather from the record high rates it has been paying lately to borrow funds at its weekly bill auctions.

The Fed's efforts paid off. At Monday's auction, **rates on both the three- and six-month bills fell from a week earlier**—the first decline in five weeks. The average yield on the new three-month issue, for instance, slipped to 5.503% Monday from a record 5.586% Sept. 19.

It was too early this week for bankers to assess the impact of the new savings rate limitations [BW Sep.24 '66,p58], but one thing seemed clear: Smaller banks that had been using high interest to attract new funds **would have to scramble harder for savings dollars.**

This week, Long Island-based Meadow Brook National and Franklin National banks, which had been paying 5½% on savings certificates, came up with an angle to get around the 5% top set by the Fed. The banks announced **they would begin compounding interest on their 5% savings certificates daily** so that, in effect, savers would earn 5⅛% on an annual basis.

Acquisition of two companies puts J.C. Penney in the insurance business

Buying an insurance policy these days is about as easy as stopping in at your nearby department store. J. C. Penney Co. announced this week that it is **going into the accident and health insurance business by acquiring two companies** from Los Angeles-based Beneficial Standard Life Insurance Co. for $6.6-million. Penny will join arch rivals Sears, Roebuck & Co. and Montgomery Ward & Co. among general retailers in the insurance business.

Meanwhile, in Boston, General Electric won permission from the Massachusetts Insurance Dept. to **offer its employees all types of personal casualty insurance by setting up a new insurance company that will be related to GE.** The move is being vigorously contested by independent insurance agencies in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York.

Longer maturities, lower downpayments are only hopeful signs from mortgage market

Much to the dismay of both potential and current homeowners, the upward pattern of mortgage rates shows no sign of a change. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board reported this week that although mortgage lenders were being a bit more liberal on their maturities and loan-to-price ratios, they continued to push up not only lending rates, but initial fees and charges, too.

The agency reported that in August **the rates on new-home mortgages rose 6 basis points to 6.18%. Mortgage loans on existing homes were fetching 6.35%, 11 basis points higher than a month earlier.** On new home loans, though, lenders were giving 25.4 year maturities—up from 24.2 years—and were asking only 26% down compared with 27.9% a month earlier.

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tion. Currier wants to build active support for Urban America, especially among businessmen. And he has firm ideas about how the group's influence should be used.

For one thing, he thinks business must assume a much larger role than it has in coping with the problems of cities. "We have never concentrated business knowhow on our cities—on the total problem," he insists. "Business organizations have to invest the same amount of money in research on cities that they do researching the business they do in cities."

Project development. Currier is also concerned about specific programs as well as broad policies. To run Urban America, he hired William L. Slayton, former Webb & Knapp vice-president, from his bruising job as federal urban renewal administrator.

Working with a $1.3-million annual budget, he and Slayton are building a staff of some 50 professionals in Washington, to develop worthwhile projects. The Urban Policy Center, Urban America's "think tank," for example, will seek to come to grips with basic urban problems. One project, Currier notes, will be "to cost out existing proposals for dealing with various city problems. We talk about $10-billion here and $25-billion there, but nobody really knows what they're talking about."

At present, Slayton is enlarging some existing programs that require cooperation with private builders. Urban America's Local Development Services Div., for example, has been given funds for the first time to provide "seed money" loans to nonprofit groups that want to build low-income housing.

The division, with a grant from the Ford Foundation, has long furnished technical aid to such groups. And it assisted in building housing in such places as Oakland, Calif., St. Paul, Minn., Phoenix, Ariz., and Omaha, Neb. The new money should make its aid more effective.

Independent. Currier feels firmly that Urban America should not be a tool for any one group, including the Housing & Urban Development Dept. "We want to create some sort of private entity that can set standards against which proposals can be measured," he explains. "HUD has a tremendous housekeeping job that restricts its possibilities for evolving new ideas. Our role is to stretch muscles."

This could involve a bit of prodding. "Some institution must have the freedom to stick in its oar," Currier feels. "Of course, this can be annoying to those in office." On the other hand, Currier believes Urban America could be a "stalking horse for HUD," mobilizing support for programs the department might not find it expedient to espouse openly.

Pro and con. Such views as these could help dispel some criticism and doubts about Urban America that circulate mostly within the housing and construction industry. Opinion is often expressed that the group is dominated by visionary "do-gooders," that the hard-headed business influence is being disregarded.

Currier and Slayton strongly reject this idea. Currier calls business support "essential—the rock on which we're founded. The job of rebuilding cities is the task of the business community."

So far, certainly, Urban America has not lost its business view. Its board chairman is Andrew Heiskell, of Time, Inc., who came in when Urban America took over publication of Architectural Forum magazine. The board includes Alfred S. Mills, president of the New York Bank for Savings, Albert M. Cole, president of Reynolds Metals Development Corp., and Ferd Kramer, president of Draper & Kramer, Inc., Chicago real estate and mortgage bankers. Mills points out that some 200 companies are giving money, including General Electric, Gulf Oil, Du Pont, three major aluminum producers, and Sears, Roebuck.

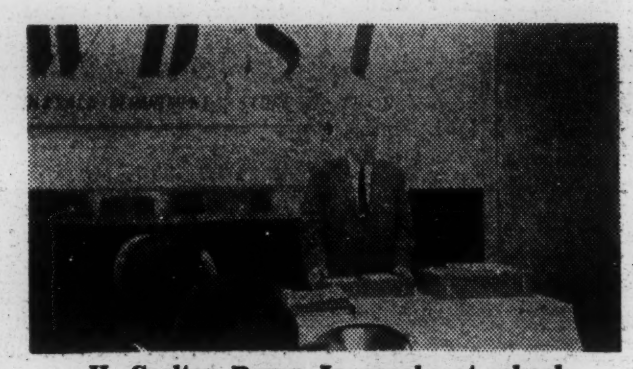
Below the board level, business is strongly represented in Urban America by the National Action Council, composed of some 100 business executives around the country. Slayton plans to expand this council as a "major business force to react to and discuss the kind of proposals we'll come up with."

More focus needed. What they will come up with raises other doubts.

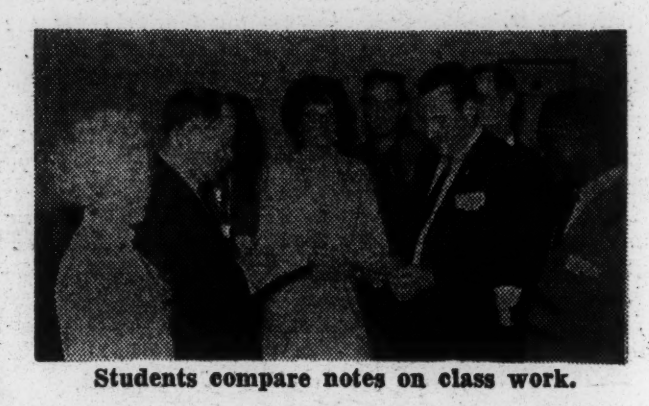
An economist close to the organization's initial planning admits, "Urban America has to be given much sharper focus than it has now." Other critics are much harsher. "They're well-intentioned and have lots of money," says a housing man, "but they're not organized to come to grips with problems that could be solved in the marketplace." A staffer at Housing & Urban Development scorns the group as "dabblers—pie-in-the-sky theorists."

Businessmen connected with Urban America disagree. Alfred Mills comments, "There's a determination to have Urban America produce practical results." Like others, Mills cites Slayton's business background, his reputation for realism. "Slayton is a practical man and is trying to build up an organization of practical people." **End**

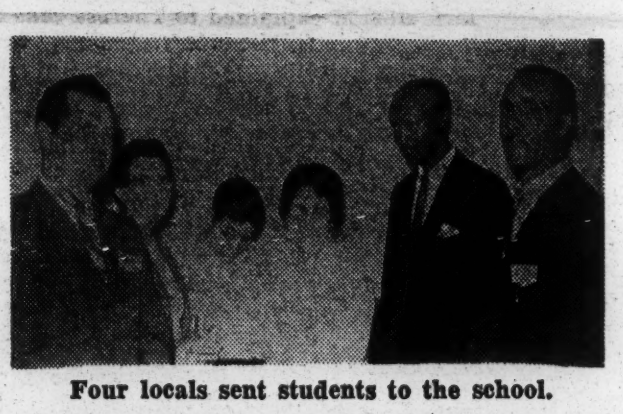
'Back to School' for Alabama RWDSUers



H. Carlton Bryan Jr. speaks at school.



Students compare notes on class work.



Four locals sent students to the school.

Margaret Robbins (right) presents diploma.

Two students present grievance to classmates.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.

FORTY-FIVE members of four Birmingham locals—261, 436, 441 and 615—took part in the Alabama RWDSU Council's steward leadership training school Friday, March 17, and Saturday, March 18, the first school that the Council has conducted in several years.

Welcoming the students was the Council's state director, C. T. Daniel, who said that the school was needed because of changing grievance-handling problems that now face the 5,000 RWDSU members in the state.

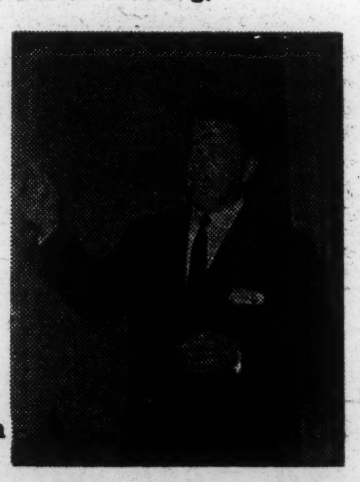
John Wright, vice-president of Bakery Workers Local 441, gave the invocation.

The instructor at the school was Jim Battles of the Trades and Industrial Education Dept. of the University of Alabama, a former union representative. Focusing on grievance procedure, Battles discussed the structure of a grievance, how the union committee should prepare it and what information the committeemen need, how the grievance should be presented to management and, if necessary, to the arbitrator.

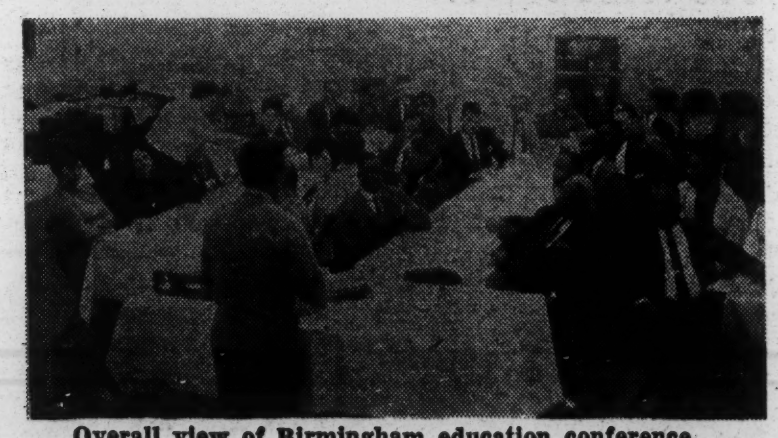
Other guest speakers at the school were Hansel J. Hunter of the U.S. Dept. of Labor's Wage and Hour Administration, who addressed the students on the Federal Government's minimum wage regulations, and H. Carlton Bryan Jr., of the Nat'l Labor Relations Board, who spoke on the rights of workers under Federal law.

Margaret Robbins, a member of the Council's staff, served as coordinator of the school.

The Council plans to hold three other schools, also concerned primarily with grievance handling, in the next month. One school is planned for April 15 and 16 in Montgomery, with Rep. Lester Bettice assisting; a second, for members in Selma, Marion, Greensboro and Demopolis, is scheduled for April 22 and 23 in Demopolis, with Council Org. Henry Jenkins assisting; and the third will be held in Gadsden May 13 and 14, with Int'l Rep. J.H. Foster assisting.



Jim Battles was instructor on grievance procedures.



Overall view of Birmingham education conference.

record READERS TAKE THE FLOOR

Social Security for 'Those Who Paid' Only

To the Editor:

My friends and I object to people 72 years old who never paid anything into Social Security being paid $50 a month from the fund. Social Security is not a dole, and these people should be paid from welfare funds. Any extra monies should be used for increases in Social Security for those who paid into it.

MRS. J. P. McMAHON
Flushing, N. Y.

'Surprised' Board Backs Adam Clayton Powell

To the Editor:

I am quite surprised by the resolution which the RWDSU Executive Board passed concerning Adam Clayton Powell. I believe that this resolution is not in the best interests of the nation or the labor movement. It is just this type of shortsightedness which serves to strengthen the hand of those opposed to organized labor.

It seems that the only qualifications which one needs for public office is to be "a good Joe" and "pro-labor." Honesty, integrity and a realization that "a public office is a public trust" seem to have gone out of style. I firmly believe that a man's character is just as important as his voting record. Thievery, forgery, deceit and a scofflaw attitude should have no part in our government.

It is very true that people have the right to be represented. That is why another election for this vacant seat is being held. If he has adequately represented the people and he truly represents their attitude for the laws, both governmental and moral, God help America!

KEITH JONES
Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Finds 'Record' Articles 'Very Informative'

To the Editor:

I find some of the articles in the RWDSU Record very informative and interesting for training leaders for community work. We train a group of about 30 people daily.

Please place our East Harlem antipoverty agency on your mailing list.

AZAEL QUINONES
Training Dept., Massive Economic Neighborhood Development (MEND)
New York City

Quotes Marine Gen'l Opposing Viet War

To the Editor:

Simon Oestreicher is perfectly right that I concluded a long time ago that our war in Vietnam is immoral.

Retired Marine Corps Gen'l Shoup, as quoted in the Feb. 21 New York Post, said it better than I can: "We should keep our dirty, bloody dollar-crooked fingers out of the business of these nations in southeast Asia."

LOUIS DINNERSTEIN
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Article on Medicare Of 'Great Importance'

To the Record:

I wish to send a word of praise and sincere appreciation to the RWDSU Record. Your complete coverage of Social Security medical and health soverage, "The Leaky Umbrella," was of great importance to senior citizens. It was really splendid.

Best of luck to everyone connected with your very interesting paper.

MRS. J. F. O'NEILL
Bayside, N. Y.

Demands Medicare With 'No Buts'

To the Editor:

I wish I could command the proper words to congratulate you and express myself as I would like, but I believe that "Medicare: The Leaky Umbrella" in The Record speaks for itself.

I would like to suggest that a copy of "The Leaky Umbrella" be sent to every AFL-CIO local and union member, every congressman, senator and cabinet member and the President and Vice-President of this country. (I will gladly pay my share of the cost.)

We want a foolproof and leakproof umbrella. We demand what we were assured of, with no "buts" about it.

MICHAEL AXELROD
Bronx, N.Y.

Unions

(a Prose Poem)

There is something to be said
for labor—organized, that is.
Whether one be an apple picker,
a farm hand, or in the vast
encompassments of steel a molder
of automobiles, a seller of goods,
a shaper of things, to be
organized is to have a touch
of the glorious. Every time
a toiler joins a union, a small
star is added to the dim heavens.
Suddenly he is a human being,
as distinguished from a beast
of burden. He has stature. He
has dignity. He suddenly can be
honest. He can say what hurts
him. He can speak the truth.
He is a bird out of a cage—
his spirit can sing the songs
of freedom instead of imprisonment.
To listen is wise; but it is
beautiful to be able to speak back.
A piece of bread earned under modes
of duress is a necessity; gained
in conditions of freedom, it is
sweeter than honey, richer than
the Maytime world. A breath of vigor
is begun with a union! . . .
Unions have rules. Members may
not do whatever they please—
they may not behave harmfully
toward one another: their freedom
is Responsibility—Responsibility
to All: the most beautiful Freedom a
human being can aspire to. The more
unions there are in a country, the
richer, the stronger, the more
splendid the country is. They
rival the cities that shine in
the sun. They are the mighty
hills, clear water that runs. A
blessing on them, the unions,
their members, each and every one!

ALFRED SCHENCK
New York City

Circa 1967

They speak of peace and drop their bombs
to shrivel the mutinous silence.
They utter platitudes like psalms,
adorning the facts with shabby pretense
Hot breath of vengeance lights the fire
slithering like a snake in quick pursuit.
The stench of death rises from the pyre,
filling the pores of a land lying mute.
Now overlaid with mosaics of blood,
the earth yields its dead in final tribute
to victors blazing trails of mud
through a country unclaimed in raging dispute.
Man is the vintage when death has its season
and crusaders, who stare from empty sockets,
nail truth to the cross, pillory reason,
until history writes their names in dockets.

MARY ENGELBERG
North Bergen, N. J.

The Well

Come! Come! Drink Deep! said the Water Sprite,
then take your pen, you shall write!
From this well my book of verse did spring,
but first my soul I had to bring.
From this well the lines were born,
but then, my heart I had to pawn.
From this well the rhymes began to live,
then my eyes I had to give.
Now the heavens cry in my plight,
Sans soul, sans heart, sans sight!

REUBEN COLON
Bronx, N. Y.

Walk With Me

Walk with me down life's path
Of trial and beauty.
Love me, for I have need of
An abundance of love.
Need me as flowers need
Tears of angels to drench them forth.
Talk to me, for then in your eyes,
I'll see as birds in the air,
The merging of fluttering hearts.
Caress me tenderly for the awakening
Of life in its April force.
Lead me along unfoldment's abundant
And flourishing course.

ROSALIE WILSON
New York City

Twiggy Child-Woman?

Through a leak
In the Twiggy mystique
It's being rumored,
Albeit good-humored,
That the Cockney queen
Of London's mod scene,
Long-legged leader
Of the hoi polloi,
Could be a skinny
Twelve-year-old boy!

Type Casting

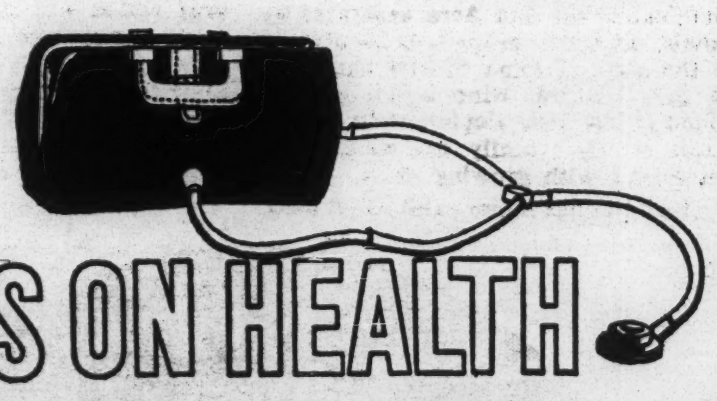
My son came home,
His face aglow!
"Mom, I'm in a pageant,
A live Christmas show!"
"What part will my boy play?"
I asked my small fry.
He looked up at me
With stars in his eyes
And said, "I'm gonna be
One of the three wise guys!"

SYLVIE MANDEL-BLIT
Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Breathing Problem

There is no quick solution
For solving air pollution.
The wheels of industry must turn.
Dirty fuel is cheap to burn.
No self-protecting legislature
Would vote to send us back to nature.
Even birdies in the trees
Are suffering from lung disease.
What then is the proper medicine—
Apart from suing Con Edison?
Some time before my earthly song is sung,
I'll go and buy myself an aqualung.

MARSHALL DURIN
Brooklyn, N. Y.



HINTS ON HEALTH

Do We Need Vitamin Pills?

Do you get enough riboflavin every day? What about Vitamin B-12? Are you getting the "minimum daily requirements" for good nutrition?

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration calls the concept of minimum daily requirements "outmoded." Why? The FDA explains that most people get all the vitamins and minerals they need through food.

Most people do not need vitamin or mineral supplements, the FDA says. Those who do should find out from their doctors what extra vitamins they need.

The FDA points out that all of the vitamins and minerals generally recognized as essential in human nutrition are present in everyday foods —meat, fish and eggs; enriched bread and cereal grain; fruits and vegetables; and dairy products.

Even modern processing and storage of food does not affect its nutritional value, the FDA points out, though vitamin and mineral promoters often try to convince older people that they need food supplements for good nutrition.

The FDA points to the case of Vitasafe, vitamin-mineral capsules, taken off the market in 1965.

In taking the legal action, the FDA contended that Vitasafe made false and misleading "scare statements" about the prevalance of vitamin deficiencies in the United States and the need for diet supplements.

The FDA is trying to get across the message that the American food supply is the best in the world and that it is usually a waste of money to invest in vitamin pills. In particular, the FDA warns against the belief that dietary supplements are "cure-alls" for a variety of ills.

The FDA has proposed new regulations that would require vitamin bottles to carry a label stating that there is no scientific basis for recommending routine use of diet supplements.

CALLING ALL READERS

This is your page. The Record welcomes your letters and poems on any subject of general interest. Please confine your letters to a reasonable length so that we may print as many as possible. If you've got something on your mind, put it on paper—and mail it today to The Editor, RWDSU Record, 132 West 43rd Street, New York 10036, N.Y.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst

LABOR RELATIONS AND RESEARCH CENTER
Draper Hall

Area Code 413
545-2893 or 545-2884

SLEP

May 9, 1967

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Confirming our conversation in Detroit, I would like to recommend for employment with the Southern Regional Council Labor Program on an internship basis, Mr. Richard A. Shortt, who is completing the first year of the Master of Science in Labor Studies program here at the University.

Mr. Shortt is a graduate of the University of Michigan where he majored in economics. While at Michigan he was active in assisting in the organization of members of the university in the AFSCME as well as being active in other student affairs in the social field i.e., civil rights, international affairs, etc. He has also done field work with Local #1199 in organizing non-professional hospital employees in New York City.

While at the University, he has been one of the very best students in the labor relations program and has indicated a dedication (not fanaticism) which permits me to give him our highest recommendation.

Because of the fact that his wife (in her own way a very dedicated person) is expecting a baby in three weeks he would be available commencing June 26, for the remainder of the summer. With respect to salary, we would expect him to receive enough to support himself and his wife plus a round trip ticket for transportation from Amherst to his base of operations.

I believe he is the ideal type of person to work in the South with unions, confident that his basic intelligence, good sense and dedication are what we are looking for.

We would appreciate knowing what you could do in order to provide this internship for Mr. Shortt. It was good to see you in Detroit.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harvey L. Friedman, Ass't Director
Labor Relations and Research Center

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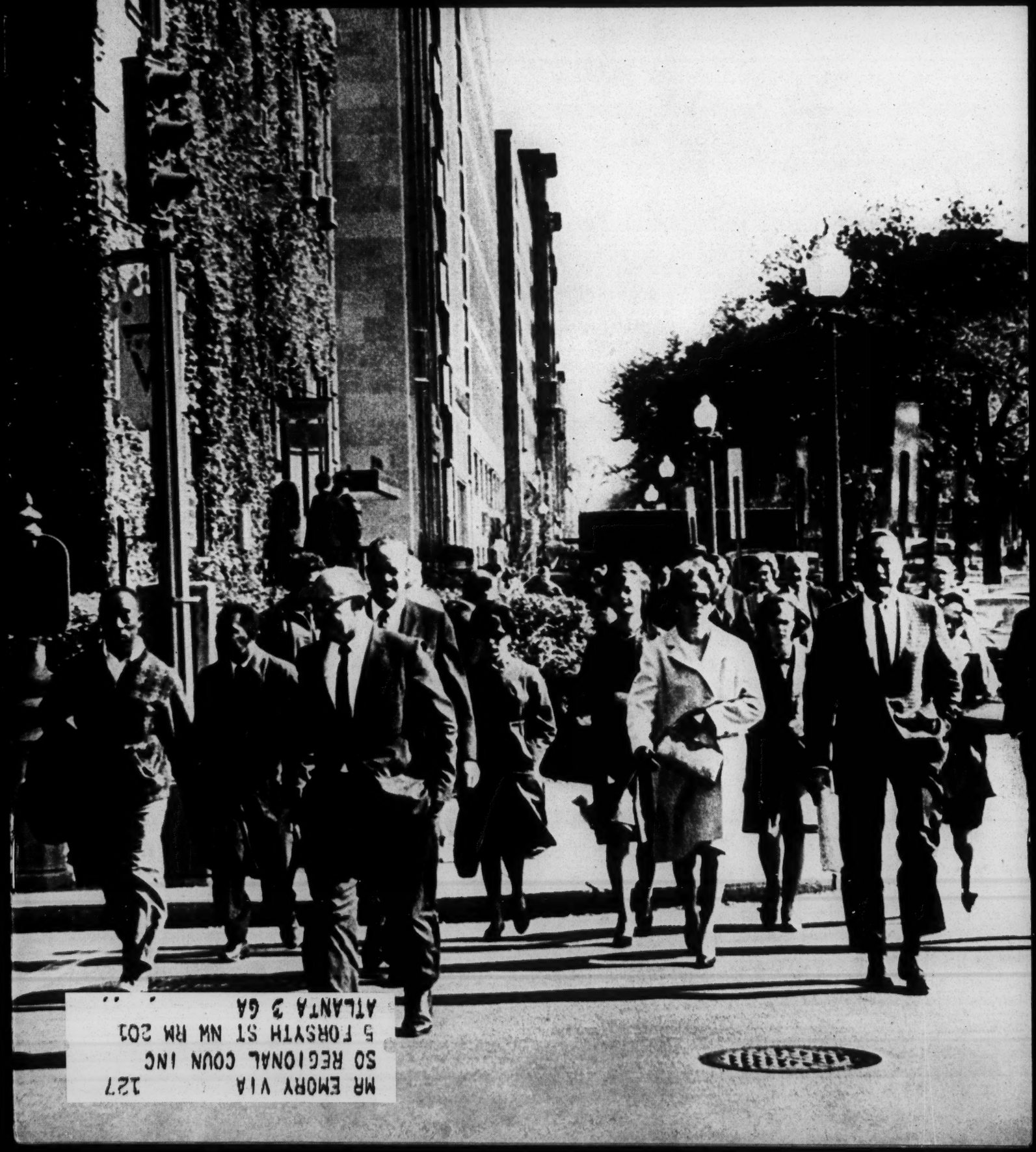
JULY 1967

The American Federationist



MR EMORY VIA 127
SO REGIONAL COUN INC
5 FORSYTH ST NW RM 203
ATLANTA 3 GA

Lab Ed — Labor

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Readings on Labor Education

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Research Section
Institute of Management and Labor Relations
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Rutgers • The State University
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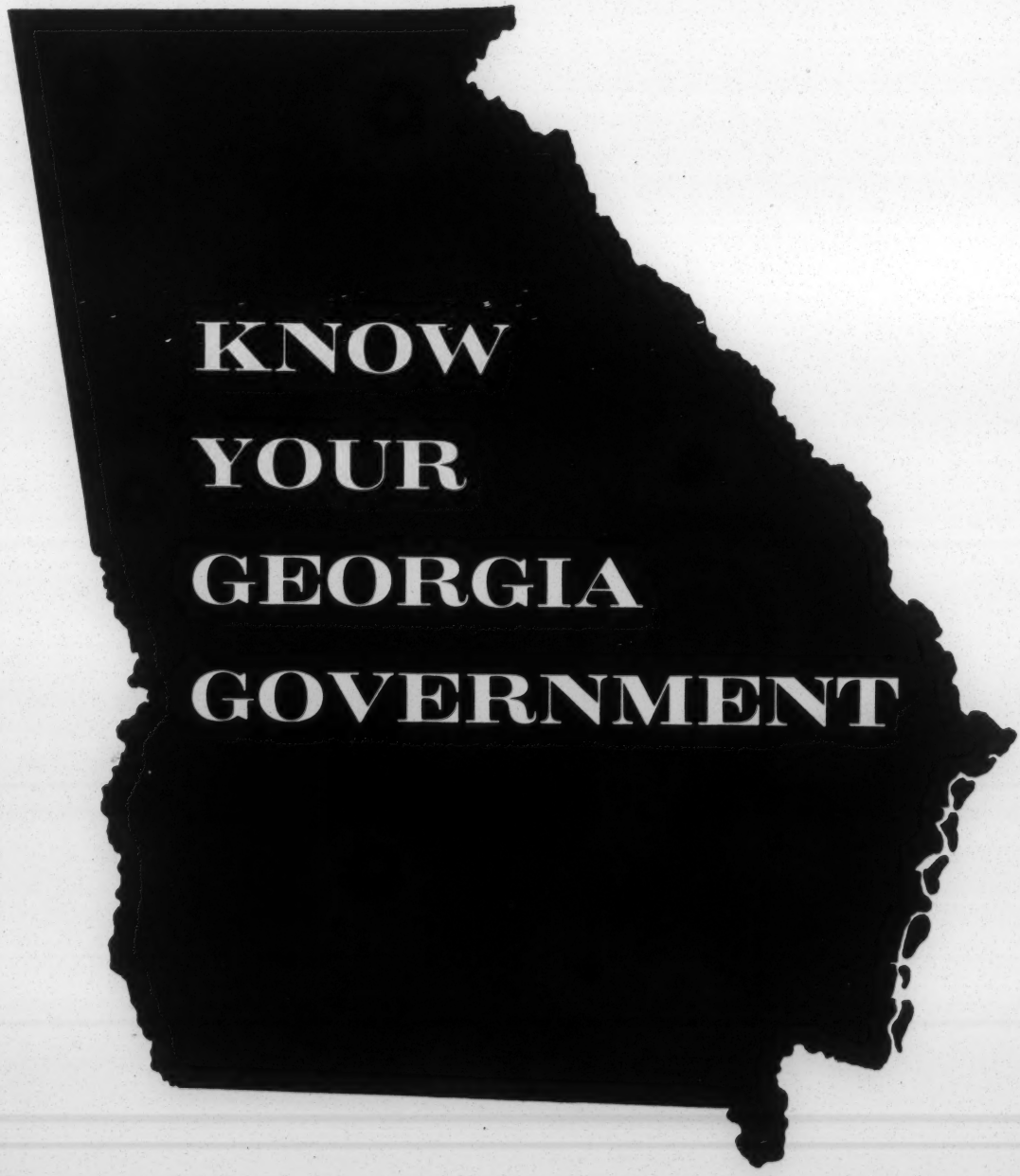

KNOW YOUR GEORGIA GOVERNMENT

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

KNOW YOUR GEORGIA GOVERNMENT

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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I. Introduction

It's a great feeling to be a voter. Having a vote means you have power —power to help decide who is going to run your city, your county and your state. Whom you elect determines the sort of government, good or bad, you will have.

This booklet explains, as briefly as possible, how our government works. Thousands of people have been voting in this state for years and years, and they still don't know how their government works. So we hope you'll want to share your information with your neighbors and friends.

In Georgia, we have three kinds of government: city, county and state. Of course, everybody comes under the state government. It has more power than the other two.

But not everybody lives in a city under a city government. If you live on a farm or in a home outside the city's borders, or in a town too small to have its own government, your local affairs will be run by the county government.

II. Cities

Six out of ten people in Georgia live in cities. We have two kinds of city government in Georgia:

1. A mayor serving with a city council or board of aldermen. This is the most common and best-known form of city government. The mayor is elected by all the voters in the city. Sometimes the aldermen or councilmen are each elected from their own home district. Often, however, they are elected by the whole city.

2. A city manager government. The people elect commissioners (or councilmen), and the commissioners hire a city manager. The commissioners make the decisions and the city manager carries them out and also runs the everyday business of the city. The commissioners can fire the city manager any time they don't like what he is doing.

But no matter what the type of government, all Georgia cities are limited in their powers. The state Legislature gives permission for a place to form a city. As we'll see later, the state has much of the say about important things.

Here are some things that city governments can do:

- Appoint heads of departments like chief of police, fire chief, director of water supply department, director of sanitation department and so on.
- Pass local laws about city affairs—local traffic ordinances, building codes, sanitary codes, zoning rules, sewer and street maintenance.
- Regulate and run city services and properties like parks, pools, libraries, jails, airports, auditoriums and so on.
- Decide which city employees will be hired and how much they will be paid.
- Set up police courts to try people for breaking city ordinances and traffic laws.

In a few cities, the city government operates its own schools. But in most Georgia communities, education comes under the county government. And all schools are at least partly run and partly paid for—indeed, largely paid for—by the state.

Where does the money come from to pay for city government? We'll talk about this later when we look into taxes.

III. Counties

Georgia has 159 counties. The Georgia Legislature decides how counties shall be governed. The State Constitution says that all counties must be run alike, but some exceptions have been made for the big counties such as Fulton, DeKalb and Chatham.

Most counties are run by a county board of commissioners. There can be as many as eight commissioners or as few as one. Most counties have three.

These commissioners can do the following:

- Hire and fire county employees.
- Keep up county roads and public buildings.
- Name (with state okay) the people who run the county welfare system.
- Run county jails and work camps.
- Set county tax rates.

The commissioners, however, do not hire sheriffs. Unlike city police chiefs who are appointed to their jobs, sheriffs are elected by the voters in each county. Their salaries and those of their deputies are paid for out of county funds. In addition, a few counties hire a police force to work alongside the sheriff's office.

Besides the sheriff, several other important county officials—such as the tax commissioner and the coroner—are elected by the voters.

IV. State

Our state government is divided into three parts:

- The executive branch, which means the governor, the officials appointed by him, and the various elected department heads.

- The legislative branch, which means our state Legislature—called the General Assembly. This is the body which passes our state laws.

- The judicial branch, which means our courts of law, including the Supreme Court of Georgia which has the power to decide whether or not the laws passed by the General Assembly are in line with the State Constitution.

Georgia's form of state government is similar to that of the United States government. In Washington there is an executive branch headed by the President, a legislative branch which is the United States Congress, and a judicial branch headed by the United States Supreme Court.

The reason for this division of powers is that no one branch should become so strong that it runs the country—or the state—by itself. With these three branches of government, one branch can check and balance the power of the others.

Let's look now at each of these branches.

V. Governor and Executive Branch

The governor of Georgia holds the highest political office in the state. He has power to appoint people to important jobs. With the okay of the Senate, he can appoint members of:

- The State Board of Education (it oversees the public schools).

- The Board of Regents, which appoints a director called the chancellor (it supervises the state-owned colleges).

- The Board of Corrections (which runs the prisons and decides what prisoners are to be assigned to which prisons).

- The Board of Pardons and Paroles (which decides when prisoners shall be released from jail).

- The Board of Industry and Trade (to bring new business to Georgia).

He also can appoint heads of state departments without anybody's consent. Among these important jobs are:

- The director of the Family and Children Services Department (Welfare Department), which runs welfare services in Georgia.

- The supervisor of purchases. This department buys all the printing and office supplies for the state, and rents or buys all the services and property the state needs.

- The revenue commissioner. He collects the state taxes which are discussed in a later chapter.

- Director of the Department of Parks, which operates all state-owned park land.

In addition, the governor is commander of the state militia, and the State Patrol is directly under his control. The State Patrol is a state police force that is used mostly for catching traffic offenders on state roads. But the governor can have the State Patrol take over law enforcement in a county or town if a local sheriff or police chief is not doing his job.

Because the governor can make so many appointments, his power in his political party is very great. Generally he is the state leader of his party. People are willing to work for the party if they know they stand a chance of getting good jobs and power if their candidate wins.

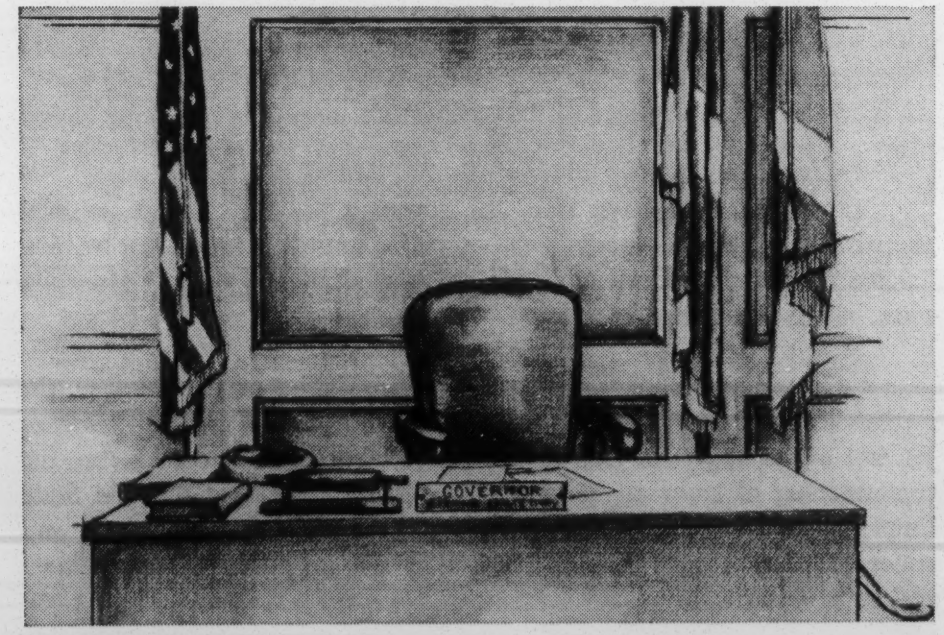
But the power of the governor only begins with his power to appoint people to jobs. He also helps make laws with the following *legislative* powers:

- He can call a special session of the Legislature. If he has some matter he wants the legislators to take up that they didn't do when the regular session was going on, he can call them back to act on it. A special session is limited to ten weeks, but it can be less.

- He can end the regular session of the Legislature. If the two houses of the Legislature—the Senate and the House of Representatives—cannot agree on when to adjourn, the governor can set the time.

- He submits the state budget to the Legislature. He tells the legislators how much money he thinks the state has to spend, and what he thinks they ought to spend it on.

- He recommends bills to the Legislature. At the beginning of each legislative session, the governor makes a speech, telling the legislators



what condition the state is in and what bills he thinks are needed. He can also send special messages on particular bills to the Legislature. Then, various legislators introduce the bills that the governor wants. Of course, a bill that everybody knows the governor is backing gets much more serious attention than one that is backed by just one or two legislators.

• He can *veto* a bill. Veto means "I forbid." Even after the Legislature passes a bill, the governor can veto, or forbid, it. Then, if the legislators still want it, they must pass it again. But this time, two-thirds of the members must vote for it—not just a simple majority.

In the *judicial* branch, the governor has the power to:

• Hold up a death sentence until the Pardons and Paroles Board reviews the case.

• Appoint judges to vacancies in the Supreme Court of Georgia, the Georgia Court of Appeals and the state Superior Courts until the next regular election.

• Tell the attorney general to bring law suits in the state's name. He may also ask the attorney general to give him a ruling on whether or not some action or some law is unconstitutional. The attorney general's ruling normally is followed until somebody questions it in court.

* * *

Although, as we have seen, the governor has the right to appoint many officials, not everybody in the executive branch is appointed by him. Twelve executive department heads are elected by the voters. Here are some of the most important ones:

• Commissioner of Labor. This office is important because the commissioner of labor runs the State Employment Service. If all Negroes get sent out to apply for jobs as janitors or laborers and nothing else, the commissioner of labor ought to hear about it. Remember that the State Employment Service is entirely paid for by the federal government, and under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is not supposed to discriminate against anybody.

• Attorney General. He is the lawyer for the state in all cases in the Supreme Court where the death penalty is involved and in many other kinds of cases, too. He can start an investigation when he hears that a state employee is dishonest or is doing something seriously wrong. He represents the state in court actions. And as we said before, he gives opinions on whether certain official actions are permissible.

• Superintendent of Schools. As already explained, the governor appoints the Board of Education. But the superintendent of schools is elected by the voters. Since the superintendent's job is full-time and the board's is not, the everyday direction of the public schools is left to the superintendent. He and the board together make the rules for running the schools, decide what shall be studied, and decide what books and materials the schools will use. The superintendent and the board also have the power to stop giving state money to a school district which does not follow standards of health, safety and the proper number of teachers, as well as other rules. Although they have this right, they hardly ever use it.

• Comptroller General. The comptroller general has many duties. He keeps records of the money appropriated to state departments. Also, he regulates insurance companies. He is the state fire safety commissioner, which means that he is in charge of fire prevention laws. And he also handles the laws for small-loan companies. If you think a small-loan company is a "loan shark"—that is, charging interest that is too high or making unfair charges—tell the comptroller general's office about it. The same goes for complaints about insurance.

• Secretary of State. The secretary of state supervises state elections and is in charge of certain chartering and licensing functions of the state.

Another important elected official is the lieutenant governor. The lieutenant governor replaces the governor if the governor dies or resigns. But the lieutenant governor's main job is to preside over the State Senate when the Legislature is in session.

VI. Legislature

The Legislature—the General Assembly—makes the laws we live under in Georgia. There are two houses in the Legislature: a House of Representatives and a smaller Senate. Both houses must pass a bill before it can become a law.

The laws these men pass must not violate the Constitution of the State of Georgia and of the United States. When a citizen feels that a law violates the State Constitution, he may sue in the state courts to have it declared unconstitutional. If he feels that a law or a part of the Georgia State Constitution violates the United States Constitution, he may sue in a federal court.

For instance, a suit in federal court changed the way we elect our Legislature. It used to be that every county, no matter how small in population, had at least one representative. A big county, even if it had 100 times as many people in it as a small one, had only three representatives. This meant that the vote of a person living in a county with very few people counted for much more than the vote of a person living in a city.

A group of Georgians felt that each person's vote, no matter where he lived, should count the same as each other person's vote. They sued in federal court to get equal representation for all citizens. The court agreed with them and ruled that every legislator must represent the same number of people. This idea is called "one man, one vote." Under the federal court's ruling, the state was divided up into new House districts and new Senate districts. This division, called *reapportionment,* gives city people their fair share of representatives.

VII. How Laws Are Made

Even though you are not a legislator, you—as a voter—can play a part in enacting good laws in Georgia. Let's take a look at a bill that was introduced last year into the Senate and follow its progress to see what part the legislators played and what part the citizens played in its outcome.

As our example, we shall use the bill to cut down the number of crimes which can be punished by the death penalty.

During the 1965 General Assembly, a resolution was adopted creating a special Senate committee to study the death penalty. This committee was appointed because more and more people in Georgia want to do away with the death penalty, and they told their legislators about this. Much of the feeling for getting rid of the death penalty comes from Negro groups, who know that Negroes are sentenced to death in Georgia more than four times as often as whites.

The reapportioned Legislature meant that for the first time there were two Negro senators, and they made the wishes of their voters known. So voters played an important part in having the special committee created.

When a special committee is created by the Senate, the lieutenant governor, who is the chief officer of the Senate, appoints the members to serve on it. In the House, committee members are appointed by the speaker of the House. In this case, the lieutenant governor appointed ten senators.

The special committee decided to study the death penalty by getting in touch with all the other states and finding out whether those dropping it had more crime or less, and any other facts the other states could tell them.

As a second and more important step, it held public hearings in Athens, Rome, Albany, Macon, Savannah and Atlanta. At these hearings, people for and against the death penalty got up and told how they felt and why.

If you hear or read in the paper that a public hearing on a bill that interests you is going to be held, you can write to the chairman of that committee and ask for a chance to speak. But keep in mind that it means

much more if you are speaking for a whole group of people, such as a church or club or civic improvement association.

After the hearings, the special Senate committee wrote a report. As happens many times, all the members did not agree. Six of them felt that the death penalty should be kept; four felt it should not be. So the report had a section where the six—the majority—stated their opinion, and the four—the minority—stated theirs. Then they all got together and agreed on a bill which would reduce the number of crimes which can be punished by the death penalty.

The steps that a bill goes through are:

1. The bill is introduced into the Senate (or into the House; either way the procedure is the same) and only the title telling what the bill is about is read.

2. The bill is referred to a committee dealing with that subject.

3. Then public hearings may be held, such as the ones about the death penalty. But there is no law that says public hearings *must* be held. So if you think a particular bill ought to have public hearings, you should write to your legislator and ask him to see that they are held.

4. After a bill goes to committee, one of several things can happen to it:

- It can be sent back to the Senate (or House) floor to be passed, just as it is.
- It can be sent to the Senate (or House) floor to pass, but with some changes.
- It can be sent out with no recommendation, either to pass it or not to pass it.
- It can be sent out with a recommendation that it do not pass.
- It can be held in the committee so that no debate will take place in the Senate (or House). By holding a bill this way, the committee can kill it.

5. When the bill comes to the floor, the whole bill is read. Then the legislators debate it, make changes in it, if necessary, and finally vote on it. To pass the Senate (or House), a bill must have the votes of a majority of the members.

6. If the bill is passed in the Senate (or House), it then goes to the House (or Senate) for the same routine. Of course, if it is defeated, that is the end of it for that session of the Legislature. Any changes made by either house must be approved by the other house.

7. If the bill is passed by both houses, it goes to the governor for his signature. We have seen that he can either sign it into law or veto it.

In the case of the bill to reduce the number of crimes which could be punished by death, it was passed by both houses and signed into law by the governor.

In future sessions, bills to abolish the death penalty probably will come up again. For even though a bill may be defeated in one session, there is nothing to prevent it being introduced in the next session and the next.

VIII. The State Constitution

The constitutions of some states are short, because they are meant to be used as a guide to the people and the legislators for general policy. But Georgia's Constitution goes into great detail about a lot of different matters.

As a result, many laws cannot be passed because they do not agree with some part of the State Constitution. A constitutional amendment was necessary, for example, before action could be taken on a school lunch program, or special treatment for juvenile delinquents, or consolidating school districts.

Any legislator may bring up an amendment to the Constitution. If it is approved by two-thirds of the members of the House and the Senate, it is placed on the ballot at election time for the voters to pass on. In the 1966 election, voters had to pass on 20 statewide amendments, plus local amendments.

Some amendments affect only the people of one county, not everybody. These are voted on only by the people in the county or counties involved. These are the local amendments we mentioned above.

As a result of all the restrictions in the Constitution, it has had to be amended almost 400 times since 1945.

IX. Courts

Georgia has three kinds of courts: inferior or lower courts, superior courts, and appellate courts. Let's take them one by one.

1. *Inferior Courts* (lower courts)

These are courts which try small civil (non-criminal) cases and misdemeanors. A misdemeanor is a small crime like being drunk and disorderly. There are several kinds of inferior or lower courts, and the kind of court depends in part on the community. There are:

- Justices of the Peace. Georgia has 1,600 justices of the peace, most elected from rural areas. They can try civil cases where up to $200 is involved. They cannot try any criminal cases, but they can issue a warrant for a suspect's arrest. They can also question the suspect and hold him for a criminal court. Justices of the peace don't have to be lawyers or have any legal training.

- Police Courts. Most cities no longer have justices of the peace. In part they have been replaced by police courts, which are most often run by a judge or official with some kind of legal training. These courts can try traffic offenses and persons accused of breaking city laws.

- City and County Courts. These courts can rule on civil cases like contracts and suits for damages. They can also try misdemeanors.

- Courts of the Ordinary. Every county has an ordinary. Part of his job is to be in charge of issuing marriage licenses, pistol-carrying permits and other licenses. He also is in charge of county elections. The other part of his job is to be a judge and rule on wills, estates, guardianships and insanity hearings. The ordinary can also try misdemeanors and traffic cases in counties where there are no city or county courts.

- Small Claims Courts. These courts are new. They only handle civil cases up to $500. The idea is that people can come into them without having a lawyer and the judge will settle the quarrel between them.

2. *Superior Courts*

Superior Courts try civil cases involving more money than those in lower courts, and certain special kinds of civil cases such as land title cases and divorces.

They can try criminal cases where felonies are charged. A felony is a more serious crime than a misdemeanor, ranging from robbery to murder, or any crime where the defendant might be sent to the state prison or given the death penalty.

Superior courts also have *appellate* powers. This means that if you feel the decision of a lower court such as justice of the peace or police court is wrong in your case, you may take the case (appeal it) to a Superior Court, and it has the power to overrule the lower court.

Superior Court judges are elected. Almost all of them serve four-year terms.

- Juvenile Courts. Every county over 50,000 in Georgia has to have a juvenile court, and those with less people can have one if grand juries in those counties recommend it. Here are two important things to think about in our juvenile court set-up:

Many people have the idea that a juvenile must be tried in a juvenile court in a county where there is one. This is not true. A Superior Court judge can take the child out of the hands of the juvenile court and try him as though he were a grown-up. The judge can send him to a regular prison, not a juvenile home. The Georgia Supreme Court has said that a Superior Court judge may do this.

Juvenile court judges are appointed by the Superior Court judge in that district, and they do not conduct their courts in the regular way. They try to be informal, and do away with all the rules which might stop them from understanding what is best for the child. By relaxing the rules to help the child, the court often takes away his right to have a lawyer and to question witnesses, and to defend himself. However, the U. S. Supreme Court recently has said that a child has a right to have a lawyer in juvenile court, although this does not mean that the trial has to be carried out under adult rules.

3. *Appellate Courts*

If you feel that the decisions of the lower courts are wrong in your case, you may take the case to a higher, or appellate court. One appellate court is the Georgia Court of Appeals. The highest appellate court is the Georgia Supreme Court. Both of these courts hear appeals from all over the state.

X. Jury System

If you are being tried for overtime parking, or breaking some city law, you don't usually ask for a jury trial, although it is your right to have one. If you do, your case might be held for the Superior Court, since not all lower courts have juries. Those lower courts which do have juries have six-man juries. Superior Courts have 12-man juries.

How is a juror picked? The judge or judges of the Superior Court appoint a jury commission for each county in that area. Members of this jury commission serve six years. They make up a list of jurors from the voter registration list. Whenever a jury is called for, the names are taken from this list. A special list is taken from this larger list to be members of the grand jury. We'll talk now about the difference between a grand jury and a trial jury (petit jury).

- The grand jury is composed of from 18 to 36 people. The grand jurors have two jobs:

They hear evidence against a defendant charged with a felony and decide whether it is enough to hold him for a trial. They listen to the policeman who arrested him and the witnesses against him. They don't decide whether the defendant is guilty, just whether it is reasonable to think he might possibly be guilty. If they feel that there is enough evidence against him to bring him to trial, they *indict* him. This is also called *returning a true bill.* If they feel there isn't enough evidence against him, they return a *no bill,* and the defendant is let go.

The grand jurors also look into public matters. They can investigate the honesty of public officials, make recommendations about county roads, education, public morals, political events, needed laws, and a whole lot of other things. Their opinions—called *presentments*—are not laws and do not have to be obeyed. But they sometimes get a lot of public attention.

- The trial jury (petit jury) decides questions in the trial itself. It listens to the facts and decides the case. All twelve people on a jury must agree on the decision or verdict.

- The Solicitor General. The lawyer who *prosecutes* (tries) the criminal case for the state, both before the grand jury and the trial jury, is called the solicitor general. He is elected for four years, and there is one solicitor general for each Superior Court district.

XI. Education

Here are some facts to remember about Georgia's educational system:

• All public schools are under the State Board of Education and the state superintendent of schools.

• Every county is a school district. Therefore, we have 159 school districts, plus 36 more independent school districts set up for some of the cities. This means that a small county with not many school children in it has to have a grammar school and a high school in it whether it has enough pupils or not. An amendment to the Constitution voted in 1966 permits two or more counties to combine their school systems if they want to. This is called *school consolidation.*

• Schools are paid for by the county or city, plus the state, plus the federal government. Out of every ten dollars the state spends, six are spent on education. On the other hand, the counties put up a relatively small amount. The federal government gives increasingly large amounts of money—for school lunches, special educational programs, and anti-poverty programs. Federal money can be taken away from a school district that refuses to stop segregating its pupils.

• Despite all the local, state and federal funds provided for Georgia's public schools, the amount of money being spent on each child is a good deal less than is spent in most states.

• Our teachers are paid less than the national average salary for teachers. Many have less training than they should.

It's pretty plain that there is much to be done to improve education in Georgia. That is why it is so important to take part in local school board elections. Just as important as voting in school board elections is having people who care about education go to school board meetings. If school board members know that the voters are watching them, they are much more likely to do a good job.

XII. Welfare

The Welfare Department—now called the Department of Family and Children Services—gives the following services:

- Hospital care to the old, the blind and the disabled.
- Money to support needy old and disabled people.
- Relief money to families with small children who have no one to support them.
- Homes for children who have gotten into trouble with the law or who have been abandoned.
- Help to unmarried mothers.
- Adoption services and foster homes.
- Licensing of maternity homes, adoption agencies and day-care centers and nurseries.

Most of the money for these welfare services—seven dollars out of every ten—comes from the federal government, which gives it to the state to spend.

The State Department of Family and Children Services has the power to supervise how welfare is run. But actually, the everyday running of welfare is left in the hands of county welfare departments.

XIII. Highways

Every time you buy a gallon of gas, you pay a state gasoline tax. All of this money, under the Georgia Constitution, must be spent on highways and roads. This means that there is a great deal of money to spend for this purpose.

The State Highway Department decides where state roads shall be built. Then the department gets a road contractor to build it. The road contractor is picked among several who bid on the job, and the one who puts in the lowest bid gets the contract. Or, the individual county makes a contract with the Highway Department to build a road, and it often goes out and hires its own road contractor.

The State Highway Board has 10 members—one from each congressional district. The Highway Board members are elected by the members of the Legislature in each congressional district.

XIV. Taxes

The money to run our city, county and state governments comes from taxes. Every time you buy something—food, gasoline, a pack of cigarets, or something to wear—you are paying taxes. There are also taxes on owning property and earning money. Often you are paying taxes without even realizing it.

Most of the state's money comes from sales taxes. There is a general sales tax of three cents per dollar on almost everything you buy in Georgia. Then there are special taxes on such items as gasoline, cigarets, beer and whisky. The state government gets a relatively small amount of money from such things as corporation and personal income taxes, although the income tax is a major source of revenue for the federal government.

The major source of income for cities and counties is the property tax. This tax is supposed to be levied on an equal basis on your house, your land, your car and everything you own. If you feel that the valuation on your house or land or other property is unfair, the agency to see is your local board of tax assessors.

Cities also take in fairly large sums of money from such things as business licenses, water bills, and street and sewer assessments.

XV. Conclusion

Most of the officials we have been talking about in this booklet are elected. That means that you have a chance to vote on whether or not they hold office.

A governor, for example, is elected every four years. Most of the sheriffs, judges, county commissioners, and others, state and local, also are elected every four years. There are a few—for example, U. S. representatives—who run every two years. And U. S. senators are elected every six years.

This means some sort of election is held in the summer and fall of every even-numbered year. And other elections, such as those for mayors and city councilmen, often come in between. Then there are bond issues for borrowing money and elections on policy matters (which are called *referendums).*

So there are many, many elections. You should make it your business to vote in every one of them.

How do you find out about these elections? You keep your eyes and ears open. You stay interested in your government. You try to find out as much as you can—from newspapers, from radio, from television, and from people you know and trust—about when elections are held and who is running. Stay informed about issues, problems and needs.

This booklet doesn't tell you all you need to know about government. No booklet can do that.

When all is said and done, it is up to you to find out as much as you can about what is going on. It is up to you to let representatives and other officeholders know how you feel. It is up to you to register and vote.

This is the job of a citizen, and we are all citizens.

Jerry F. Vio (A)

SLEP

WHO PARTICIPATES IN ADULT EDUCATION? FINDINGS FROM NATIONAL SURVEYS

Robert R. Alford

The Oakland study of participants and nonparticipants in adult education may be set within a broader perspective by a comparison with the results of several surveys asking appropriate questions of adults across the nation . The possible influence upon participation of social status, age, one's sex or race, where one lives--in the sense of a town or city, or region of the United States--will be of principal concern, not because other factors may not be even more important, but because of the limitations of the original surveys, which were not designed to allow for elaborate analysis of the factors making for participation in adult education.

One additional caution must be made explicit: because of the "rarity" of participation in adult education--between 8 and 14 percent of the population is active at a given time--it cannot be assumed that the factors which will cause a given person to participate have really been located. Merely finding, for example, that better-educated persons are more likely to participate in adult education than persons with less education does not tell us much about the complex motivations which may induce one skilled worker to take a Great Books course and another to stay at home and watch Gunsmoke. The discussion of the data to follow does not

presume to infer why people participate, but merely claims to have located a few of those factors differentiating participants from nonparticipants.

The principal data to be examined are drawn from an American Institute of Public Opinion (the Gallup poll) survey taken in 1957 and comprising a sample of 1504 persons across the nation. Of these persons, 1456 answered a question: "Did you happen to take any adult education courses during the past twelve months?" Fourteen hundred and forty six persons answered a subsequent question: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education courses?" The proportions of persons with various social characteristics who participate or who desire to participate in adult education are presented in Tables 1 through 16, and the findings are summarized in the following pages.

The Gallup organization does not use a true "probability" sample of the American population, but rather a "quota" sample, which gives the interviewers discretion to pick respondents according to a quota of males and females, manual workers and white-collar workers, young and old. An unknown amount of bias creeps into any quota sample, and it is impossible to compute sampling error. Therefore, we cannot know how much credibility to place in any given percentage point difference in the following tables. No particular percentage can be regarded as a correct description of the actual proportion of the subgroup participating. All that can be hoped is that the relationships found between subgroups are not in

the wrong direction, and that something can be said about the relative magnitude of the differences in participation rates between age, sex, occupational or the other subgroups examined.

Because the concern here is with factors affecting participation in adult education which are general and not dependent upon particular time-place conditions, the results are phrased in the present tense, which avoids the implication that they apply only to 1957. There is no reason--particularly in the light of the results of the other national studies--to assume otherwise.

Some of these characteristics are the same as those reported in the analysis of the Oakland Locater survey (See Part II: Participation in Adult Education Activity in Oakland, California, Section II, the Ecology of Adult Education Participation) in the NORC study of Volunteers for Learning, and in a 1963 Gallup survey which was made available too late for extensive analysis. Parallel findings or contradictions will be discussed later. At this point, the findings of the 1957 study will be summarized.

The relation of eight different demographic characteristics of Americans to their propensity to participate in adult education courses, as shown by the 1957 Gallup survey, is shown in Table 1. Clearly, the question asked suffers from all of the deficiencies of a single measure of "adult education" discussed in the Oakland Report already referred to above (Part II: Section I: The Meaning and Variety of Adult Education Participation). It is, however, the principal purpose of the larger Oakland study to refine and distinguish

various types, functions and meanings of adult education, and this review of national studies is intended to place that detailed study of one Western city into a broader, if admittedly inadequate, context. One concern of this analysis, for example, will be to see whether the location of the Oakland study has itself exaggerated or underestimated the absolute level of participation in adult education; whether larger cities, and cities in the Western region of the United States, exhibit different patterns than do smaller cities or rural areas in other regions of this country.

The most striking finding of Table 1 is that attained education is the most important factor determining whether or not a person is likely to participate in adult education--as measured by the simple question: "Did you happen to take any adult education courses during the past twelve months?" Statistically speaking, the percentage point difference between those with no education or grammar school and those with some college or more in participation levels is greater (26 points) than for any other variable considered. Age is second in importance (20 percentage points separate the young from the old), and occupation third (15 points separate unskilled workers from professionals), and then economic position (8 points). About 10 percent of all persons answered "yes" to the question, but 28 percent of those with some college or more education indicated that they had participated in adult education in the last twelve months, as contrasted with only two percent of those with no education or only a grammar school education.

There were no differences between men and women, or between whites and nonwhites, in their level of participation. The "frontier" regions--the Mountain and Pacific states--exhibited slightly higher levels of participation than the other regions of the United States, and larger cities--those over 100,000 population--generally possessed populations participating to a slightly greater extent than did the populations of smaller cities.

Thus, without taking into account the possible interaction of these factors, it is clear that socio-economic factors--primarily education--and age are the most important demographic characteristics of persons affecting the likelihood that they will participate in adult education. Such a summary statement raises more questions than it answers, however. Are the effects of occupational status and economic position due entirely to the prior effect of education, or do they independently induce participation? Is the effect of age, similarly, due entirely to the fact that younger persons are better educated than older persons, and therefore is a spurious consequence of this association? Or, are age and education independent factors? If they are independent, is the effect of age changing? That is, if the older, better-educated persons are as likely to participate as the younger, better-educated persons, but if older less well educated persons are <u>not</u> as likely to participate as younger less well educated persons, then we may be able to infer that getting older has a deterring effect only when people lack education, and possibly we may conclude that the effect of aging has changed in an era of expanding mass education.

Further questions also may be answered from these data: are the levels of participation found in larger cities and in the West due to the higher average level of education in such areas? There may also be rather complicated patterns of interaction between the factors. It is possible, for example, that better-educated professionals are more likely to participate in adult education than less-educated professionals, because the latter have attained a high position without education and do not have an orientation toward liberal education, but that better-educated workers are <u>less</u> likely to participate than less-educated workers, because they feel that their education has done them no good. On the other hand, education in and of itself may override any other factors which predispose individuals to participate in adult education.

The way in which these questions can be answered is by controlling for the effects of education, and then examining the relationship between participation and the seven other demographic characteristics. This will allow us to see whether the effect of education is the same in all regions and city groupings, among racial groupings, sexes, occupations, and age groups, and may allow some statement of the varying conditions under which education has its predominant effect. Tables 2 through 8 show these results.

The relation between education, occupation, and participation is shown in Table 2. In general, education makes more difference for participation than does occupation, but not in all cases.

Among the unskilled, there is a low level of participation regardless of their education. There are few college-educated persons among the unskilled workers, of course, but their level of participation is very slightly more than that of the unskilled with little or no education. Except for the unskilled, the educational differential is greatest between the college educated and those with anything less than college. Those with some high school, regardless of their occupation, are no more likely than persons with no education or only grammar school to participate.

Occupation makes no consistent difference at all when education is controlled. (It must be noted, of course, that the occupational categories are extremely crude; systematic differences might appear if more detailed classifications were possible.) In effect, education wipes out any relation between occupation and participation.

Table 3 shows the relation between economic position and participation, controlling for education. The original relation between economic position and participation was not strong, and, as with occupation, it practically disappears when education is controlled. The only social class factor that has an independent effect is thus the educational attainment of the person. Education thus specifies the effect of social class because of the high level of association of occupation, economic position and education with each other.

The effect of sex upon participation among persons with different levels of education is shown in Table 4. It will be recalled that there was originally no relation between sex and participation. In general, there remains no relationship worth discussing at length, but better-educated men seem slightly more likely to participate than women with the same education.

Table 5 shows the relation between age, education and participation. Age was almost as important as education in its initial effects, as Table 1 showed, and it remains important. Age reinforces the effect of education, it does not negate its effects, and the effects of one factor are not due to those of the other. Nearly half of the persons under 30 years of age who have a college education have been participants in adult education. There is little difference between age groups otherwise when education is controlled. Age thus has an effect primarily upon younger persons. The older, college educated are not as different in their level of participation from older, less well educated persons as are younger persons who differ in their educational attainments.

When whites and nonwhites are compared among different educational groups, as in Table 6, it is clear that the original lack of a relation between race and participation remains. Regardless of education, there is no difference between whites and nonwhites in their participation in adult education.

Table 7 shows the relation between region and participation, controlling for education. (Certain regions shown separately in

Table 1 are combined here because of lack of cases.) The picture is mixed, and the slightly greater participation in the Western region is not maintained consistently among all education groups, and in fact the college educated in the West are less likely than the average of all college-educated persons to participate. There is no difference among those with some high school, but seven percentage points advantage among those Western residents with either grammar school education or a high school diploma. The effect of education is far greater than that of region, as would be expected, and it cannot be concluded from these data that there is any systematic effect of the region of residence upon participation. "Universalistic" factors such as education have a more consistent and a greater effect than such "particularistic" factors as where one lives.

Generally, the same holds true for the size of city in which one lives, as Table 8 shows, although the pattern is a little more consistent in favor of the original finding that residents of cities with over 100,000 population were more likely to participate than residents of smaller cities. (Certain size groupings were combined.) Except for those with none or only grammar school education, persons with more education--from some high school through college--living in larger cities are still slightly more likely to participate than are persons with similar educational attainments living in smaller cities. Again, the differences are so small in comparison with those due to education that it must be concluded

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that this additional "particularistic" factor has little or no effect upon participation.

To summarize the findings of Tables 1 through 8, age and education have the only independent effect of any of these eight demographic characteristics upon participation. These findings may be expanded by considering another question asked these same respondents: "Would you like to take any (other) adult education courses?" It would be an important additional piece of information about predispositions to participate in adult education if the same factors were important in predicting the likelihood of someone desiring to take an adult education course as in predicting actual participation. On the other hand, we may find significant discrepancies which may serve to locate potential recruits to adult education who do not in fact participate very much at the present time, or participate less than their expressed desire to do so might indicate.

The mode of analysis of this question is parallel to that followed for the question on actual participation. All persons who had previously answered "Yes" to the question on participation in the last 12 months were excluded from the analysis completely. Then the relation of desire to participate to each of the eight demographic characteristics--for nonparticipants only--was examined. These results are shown in Table 9. Since education again was found to be the most important initial factor, not unexpectedly, it again was controlled, and Tables 10 through 16 show the relation of the

eight other demographic characteristics to desire to participate in adult education, controlling for educational attainment of the respondent.

In general, Table 9 shows that the effects of the various demographic characteristics are the same as those found in Table 1, with two differences. The effects are greater, and two new factors appear to have some importance in affecting desire to participate. Where a factor affects such desire, it has much more effect than it did upon actual participation. The range of percentage point differences between people of different educational attainments, for example, is 44, as compared to 26 percent in Table 1. The range for age is 41 as compared to 20, 21 as compared to 15 for occupation, 12 as compared to 8 for economic position. About one-third of the entire sample of nonparticipants indicated that they would like to take an adult education course, and this figure rose to fully 62 percent of the college educated, and even reached 18 percent for those with none or only grammar school education (the corresponding latter figure was 2 percent for actual participation, it will be recalled).

Two new factors--sex and race--appear to have an effect upon desire to take adult education courses. At least from this initial tabulation, without regard for the possible effect of education, women are more likely to want to take such a course than men, and nonwhites more than whites. It may be significant that in both cases there is in fact no such excessive participation in fact.

Both women and nonwhites are discriminated against in jobs and in the public positions which they are able to hold in our society, and this lack of opportunity may have its outlet in expressed desires to either improve their occupations through vocational courses, or improve their minds through liberal adult education, since in actual practice they are not permitted to hold the positions they might aspire to. Whether adult education is seen as a means for advancement, or is seen as a substitute for actual participation in the world, these discrepancies between participation and desire for women and nonwhites offer an opportunity for speculation.

The original regional and city differences found in Table 1 are again found in Table 9. The populations of the Mountain and Pacific regions are slightly more likely to desire to participate than are residents of other regions, and in general persons in cities over 100,000 population than persons in smaller cities. Whether these differences are reduced or disappear when education is controlled remains to be seen.

Whether the effects of the other socioeconomic factors--occupation and economic position--again are due to the effect of education is shown by Tables 10 and 11. Both occupation and education have an independent effect upon desire to participate in adult education, as Table 10 shows. Education does not have a consistent effect, when occupation is controlled, nor does occupation when education is controlled, but the general effect of both is clearly visible. At the lower ends of either stratification hierarchy, the

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other factor does not substantially affect desire to participate. If a person has either a grammar school education or is an unskilled worker, being high in the other scale does not significantly increase his desire to participate in adult education. The actual level remains about 20 to 35 percent of any of these groups, with the single exception of the college-educated, unskilled workers. The most striking effect is that of having had some college or more--people with this level of education are considerably more likely than any other people, regardless of their occupation, to want to have more education. Having had a high level of education only whets people's appetites for more, apparently. Not only does college education increase actual participation, but, even among nonparticipants, the better educated are far more likely than any other persons to <u>want</u> more education. The effect of the other socioeconomic factor, economic position, is entirely due to the effect of education, as Table 11 shows.

Table 12 shows the effect of sex upon desire to participate, controlling for education. The original relation, favoring women, still remains, although it is not great. Among persons with varying levels of education, women are consistently more likely than men to want to take an adult education course.

The effect of age, portrayed in Table 13, is again complex when considered in connection with the effect of education. Again, as with the question on actual past participation, there is an interaction between the two factors. Among the college educated,

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there is a high level of desire to participate (over 70 percent) as age increases until age 50 is reached, then desire drops sharply. Also, the younger, poorly educated persons are more desirous of participating than are the older poorly educated, as might be expected, but there is very little age difference, again until age 50 is reached. Those poorly educated persons under 30 are no more likely to want to take adult education courses than are persons with similar education between 30 and 50 years of age.

The relation between race and desire to take adult education, which appeared in Table 9, is consistently found again even when persons with equivalent levels of education are compared (Table 14). In fact, for all except high school graduates, the difference is increased. Thirteen of the 14 college-educated nonwhites in the sample expressed a desire to take adult education, possibly a tribute to the effect which they felt that increased education had upon their life-chances.

Turning to the regional and urban differences, as shown in Tables 15 and 16, generally the overall differences favoring the West and cities over 100,000 remain, although they are reduced when education is controlled. The higher level of desire to take adult education courses in the Western states, manifest in persons of all educational levels, may reflect the high degree of occupational and geographical mobility of this region, and therefore higher aspirations for educational and vocational advancement. The same pattern, with one exception, is found in cities over 100,000 population.

Among the college educated, there are no systematic city differences, but the less educated are more likely to want to participate in adult education if they live in larger cities. Again, this may reflect the opportunities for mobility and the greater connection of education with the chances for leading lives with a higher cultural and economic level.

In combination, these last two factors indicate that probably larger Western cities, such as Oakland, would exhibit generally higher levels of desire to participate in adult education than would smaller or nonWestern cities. The potential for recruitment to adult education is thereby undoubtedly slightly greater in such cities as Oakland, although again the class factor of education is far more significant than sheer place of residence.

In summary, education has again been shown to be by far the most decisive factor predisposing nonparticipants to express a desire to take adult education courses, overriding all other demographic characteristics of persons which have been examined. Women and nonwhites appear to differ significantly from men and whites in their desire to participate, since their advantage remained even when education was controlled. Other socioeconomic factors besides education had little consistent effect. Age remained important, but those between 20 and 50 did not differ in their desire to participate. Western and larger cities exhibited a slightly greater degree of expressed desire.

Probably the most significant finding of this comparison of the demographic characteristics associated with participation,

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first, and then desire to participate among nonparticipants, is that the same factors which produce participation also produce a desire to participate among nonparticipants. Only sex and race differed sharply in the patterns found when comparable tabulations were presented.

It remains now briefly to compare these findings with those of the 1962 Locater study of Oakland, the NORC 1962 study, and the Gallup study of 1963, to see whether there are any contradictions between the findings which cannot be explained either by a different time, or location of the sample. Given no substantial change of American social structure or values within this relatively brief time period, there should be no differences found in the general types of characteristics of persons which influence their participation in adult education.

A comparison of these results with those of the Locater analysis (reported in Part II: Participation in Adult Education Activity in Oakland, California) shows no important discrepancies. The overall proportion participating in Oakland was 12 percent, slightly more than the national average. The national survey, however, also found, as has been shown in Table 1, that the larger cities and Western states had slightly higher participation rates than smaller cities and nonWestern states, although these findings were shown to be inconsistent when education was controlled.

The associations of various socioeconomic characteristics with participation also were found to be parallel. In both, education

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accounted, by and large, for whatever original relation was found between either occupational status or economic position and participation. In both studies, age was found to be independently related to participation, even when education was controlled. With regard to race, a more detailed tabulation of participation by race, education, and age simultaneously was possible in the Locater study, with some interesting results to which the reader is referred. In the national 1957 study, no connection between race and participation was found, even when education was controlled.

Thus, the relation of a number of demographic characteristics to participation in adult education was found to be the same in both the Oakland study and the national study conducted in 1957.

The 1962 NORC study, reported by John W. C. Johnstone as Volunteers for Learning (published by the National Opinion Research Center, Chicago, in 1963), contains a series of tabulations parallel to those presented in this appendix, with somewhat the same purposes. There is no need to go into great detail here, because the results are practically identical. The overall proportion of participants is somewhat higher than that found by the 1957 Gallup study (15 as compared to 10 percent), but the patterns of association of demographic characteristics with participation are the same, despite somewhat greater proportions participating in almost every subgroup examined by Mr. Johnstone.

The NORC study found, not unexpectedly, that "the most powerful factor by far is one's educational attainment" (p. 113). The effects

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of both occupation and income were effectively cancelled when education was controlled. Similarly, age had an independent effect, even when educational attainment was examined separately. In all educational categories, participation dropped off in older age groups, however. The effect of education was somewhat greater than was the effect of age (p. 116), again parallel to the results reported here. No consistent sex differences were found when age and education were both controlled.

The NORC study found, and these are the two factors on which different results were reported, that the effect of region and city size remained even when education was controlled, and these effects, although in the same direction as those reported here, were somewhat greater in magnitude. Residents of Western states and of larger cities, particularly suburbs of such larger cities, were considerably more likely to participate than residents of nonWestern states, or small cities and rural areas.

As far as race is concerned, an original difference found favoring nonwhites disappeared when education was controlled.

We may now turn to a comparison of the 1957 Gallup results, reported in detail in these tabulations, and the 1963 Gallup survey. The overall proportion participating was 13 percent, a result more in line with the 1962 NORC result than the 1957 figure of 10 percent. It is possible that the actual proportions of persons participating in some form of adult education has actually been increasing in the last few years. The results for the 1963

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survey will not be presented in tabular form, but will merely be summarized insofar as they confirm or contradict the 1957 findings. The effect of one additional factor--religion--can also be seen from this survey.

The general findings in the 1963 survey are much like that of the 1957 survey, and are more similar to that study than to the NORC study. Age, sex, and status characteristics fall into very much the same patterns as all three, but the regional and city size differences are inconclusive, when education is controlled, and do not exhibit quite the clear pattern of differences favoring larger cities and the Western region that the NORC study found.

The percentage point difference between the poorest-educated persons and the best educated was 29 percent, in their level of participation, ranging from 4 to 33 percent. No distinct occupational or income differences remained when education was controlled.

No difference was discovered between Protestants and Catholics, holding education constant. Jews were considerably more likely to indicate that they were participants than either of the two major religious groups, when persons of comparable education were compared. (There were only 47 Jews altogether, but all of them had at least a high school education.)

The effect of age was again independent of the effect of education, particularly for those with high school education or more. Younger persons with that much education were considerably more likely to participate than older persons with relatively less

education. Sex differences were small and inconsistent when education was controlled, as were race differences.

Regional and urban differences were also small when education was controlled, although again the total level of participation was slightly higher in the West and in larger cities. The regional effect was much more clearly maintained than the city size effect when comparable education groups were examined, since the Western states were higher than all other regions than the East, and were tied with that region for first place among the college educated (37 percent). No such clear pattern was found among places of different sizes.

In sum, it can be said, on the basis of examination of three national studies and one study of a Western city, that the finding is established beyond question that the single characteristic of persons which is most likely to cause them to take an adult education course (or to want to take such a course, from our perusal of the 1957 data on this point) is the amount of education that they already have. Any variation or added reinforcement of this basic factor is very small when contrasted to the overwhelming importance of prior education. Regardless of where you live, whether in the South or the North, whether in a small town or in a big city, whether you are a man or a woman, white or Negro, a professional or a skilled worker, a person with an extremely high income or an extremely low one, your education determines the likelihood that you will participate in some form of adult education. If you are young, in addition, then you are more likely to participate, regardless of your education, but age is also a secondary factor.

~~US Labor Dept.~~
SLBP

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

SLEP

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UNDERSTANDING OF UNION LEADERS

PROPOSAL FOR AN INSTITUTE

Purpose of Institute.

The purpose of the Institute is to provide an educational program for a selected group of union leaders which will increase their understanding of current economic and social changes. Primary emphasis will be placed on how such changes relate to unions. Special attention will be given to race relations as a part of the changing scene in American life. Based on past experience, we believe that such training can make union leaders more effective within their organizations and in their communities. Both of these things, in turn, will contribute toward more effective unions.

Possible Subjects.

The subjects which might be included in an Institute are quite varied. Although any one Institute would focus on only two or three subjects, the topics may be selected from the following suggestions (other topics are quite possible):

- Perspectives on the South of 1966
- Economic Problems of the South
- The Impact of Reapportionment on State Politics
- The Civil Rights Movement -- in the Nation and in the State
- Case Studies in Southern Union Civil Rights Problems
- Understanding the Local Community
- The Union's Role in Poverty Programs
- Labor Problems
- The Civil Rights Law -- What It Says and How It is being Interpreted
- Developments in the Field of Civil Rights
- Southern Labor History
- Changing Southern Voting Patterns

Negro-Union Political Coalitions
Labor's Role in Politics

Alternate Approaches.

Two different approaches as to the selection of subjects for an Institute are offered. In each case thought should be given as to which approach better suits the needs of the unions in the area where the conference will be held. The first approach places primary emphasis on civil rights and related matters. It would be understood that the interests of the group were such that they would welcome an opportunity to concentrate on these kinds of problems as they relate to unions and their community. In general, this approach would be used in situations where unions are more advanced in their dealings with such problems and/or where they have accepted that it is important for them to meet race relations problems more directly or to find constructive ways of improving community relations and their relations with Negro organizations.

The second approach would put the main emphasis on general union courses such as union administration, labor problems, or labor's role in politics. Such materials that deal with civil rights would be introduced in the natural context of such courses. In other words, the leaders participating in such a program would find out how these problems relate to their on-going interests as unionists.

Actually, there is a third approach which might well emerge here, and that is some combination of the two outlined above.

An argument that has a good deal of merit is to use the second, or more general, approach. Unions must be interested in a whole range of problems in the modern world. Many unionists now recognize the relation between broader economic and social issues to collective bargaining. There

is no doubt that Southern economic and social problems are affected by racial relations and by new views and actions related to civil rights. Given this kind of situation can local union leaders gain greater understanding of race relations developments by considering them as they relate to other matters of interest to unions? In any case, the approach and particular subjects can be worked out cooperatively between the Labor Program and the sponsoring union group.

Faculty and Staff Assistance.

The Southern Regional Council's Labor Program will assist fully in arranging for an appropriate faculty for the Institute. Staff assistance will also be available for planning and promotion.

The faculty will be drawn from qualified experts from the Council, universities, public agencies, civil rights groups, and the labor movement. Such faculty will be a matter of mutual agreement between the sponsoring group and the Labor Program. The faculty proposed by the Labor Program will, in the main, be persons who understand and accept the labor movement, know the fields in which they are asked to teach, and who are able to teach union leaders.

The Labor Program will cooperate fully with AFL-CIO departments and will work especially closely with the Departments of Civil Rights and Education.

Financing.

In general there will be no charge for the planning and administrative services provided by the Labor Program. In some cases, especially in a first program, very substantial financial assistance can be given in securing an appropriate faculty. Certain mailing costs, costs of rooms, housing (where required), transportation of delegates (where required),

and lost time (if needed) would be born by the sponsoring unions or participating individuals. In general this will mean that programs of high quality and interest can be sponsored at a minimum cost.

Size and Location of Institute.

The Institutes are not intended to reach a large number of persons so much as to reach a selected group of leaders who can profit from a serious education program. In general it would be good to have from twenty to thirty persons attending an Institute. Under special circumstances a smaller or larger group will be considered.

The location of the Institute should conform to the best judgment of the union leadership as to convenience and interest.

It would be possible to have a conference in each of several areas. In this event careful thought should be given to using a different approach appropriate to the particular section of the state.

About the Southern Regional Council's Labor Program.

The Labor Program was established in September, 1965. It is under the direction of Emory F. Via who is on leave from the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. The program was set up in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education in Washington, D. C. Both the NILE and the SRC receive financial support from the AFL-CIO.

An advisory committee to the Labor Program is being established which is composed of the labor-related members of the SRC Board plus a representative each from the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and the National Institute

of Labor Education. These members are:

Labor-connected SRC Board members:

William Becker, President, Arkansas AFL-CIO

Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO

Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO

Paul Christopher, Director, Region VIII, AFL-CIO

James Youngdahl, Labor Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

National Institute of Labor Education member:

Joseph Mire, Director, NILE.

AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department member:

E. T. Kehrer, Director, Southern Office.

For Further Information Contact:

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Telephone: (404) 522-8764.

LABOR HISTORY, AND LABOR AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

School for Workers
University Extension Division
The University of Wisconsin

July 24 to 30, 1966

Text: THE STRUGGLE TO UNITE, A Brief History of the American Labor Movement, The University of Wisconsin Extension Division, 1965.

1. Labor Before the Civil War

In the years between the Declaration of Independence and the Civil War, the American industrial system began to take shape. The Industrial Revolution and the emergence of the factory system resulted in a change from an agricultural to a manufacturing society, in which the transition from small scale enterprise to the corporate system of business organization was to shape the quality of life for millions of American workers.

Reading assignment:

pp. 1 to 8

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

a) What does the term "industrial revolution" mean?

b) Of what significance was the "industrial revolution" to working people? e.g., how did it affect the lives of individual workers?

c) In brief, what did the courts have to say about unions in the 1805 case involving the shoemakers' union?

What was the significance of this decision, as far as workers were concerned?

Why do you suppose the court decided for the employer in this, and in similar cases?

d) Who were the "economic reformers?" What were they protesting against, and what were their objectives?

e) Why was the use of child labor so common in the 1800's?

2. The Civil War to World War I (1864 to 1918)

For the most part, this was a period of restless striving on the part of working people. Confronted by the realities of the industrial revolution and the factory system, they attempted to establish organizations which would promote their interests in the face of the many hardships they were forced to endure. Generally, the efforts to form effective unions were thwarted by a combination of circumstances, which included a lack of any favorable legislation, a hostile political climate, anti-union propaganda, and collusion between the courts, the legislatures and law enforcement agencies to prevent effective organization from occurring. There were a few bright spots, and many heroic deeds, but for most workers, life was characterized by low wages and poverty, long hours of work, unsafe and unsanitary working conditions and the general disregard by employers of matters relating to human dignity in the shop.

Reading assignment

pp. 9 to 22

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

a) Why did violence often accompany labor's efforts to organize during this period?

b) What factors caused mine workers to be particularly persistent in their efforts to form trade unions?

c) In many ways, the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) were similar.

i. What were the basic objectives of these organizations?

ii. Why did they fail to achieve these objectives?

d) Which of the following clauses best describes the meaning of the term "yellow dog" contract?

- [ ] all workers in an organized shop had to join the union in order to hold their jobs
- [ ] as a condition of employment, union members would receive lower wages than nonunion workers
- [ ] a worker agreed, as a condition of employment, not to join a union
- [ ] as a condition of employment, workers would join a union only if the employer consented

e) What was the basic objective of the AFL unions?

f) How did the structure and philosophy of the AFL differ from that of the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World?

g) What explains the fact that union membership increased during World War I?

h) Listed below are the names of several persons and events which are prominent in American labor history. Select the letter corresponding to the phrase in the right-hand column which best identifies each of these persons and events.

___ Samuel Gompers	(A) famous labor attorney
___ Eugene V. Debs	(B) motto of the Knights of Labor
___ Triangle Shirtwaist Co.	(C) first president of the AFL
___ the injunction	(D) site of tragic fire involving garment workers in New York City
___ Joe Hill	(E) Socialist labor leader, and president of the American Railway Union
___ Clarence Darrow	(F) IWW song writer
___ "an injury to one is an injury to all"	(G) legal device used to repress union activity

3. The Open Shop Era: 1920 to 1933

The upsurge in union membership which occurred during World War I was temporary in duration. Following the "return to normalcy" during the 1920's, employers struck back at unions with an arsenal of weapons which included company unionism, paternalism, injunctions, the open shop and a variety of tactics designed to convince workers that there was no need to form and join unions. As a result, most workers shared little, if at all, in the prosperity which generally characterized the 1920's. For unions which managed to survive, including the ILGWU, it was a period of great struggle; for the most part, the unions which managed to "hang on" enjoyed a very precarious existence.

Reading assignment

pp. 23 to 25

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

a) What do each of the following terms mean?

___ the open shop

___ paternalism

___ welfare capitalism

___ scientific management

___ technological unemployment

b) Why was the federal government generally hostile towards unions and union organization during the 1920's?

c) Why did the policies followed by employers and by the federal government contribute to the depression of the 1930's?

4. The Great Upsurge: 1932 to 1947

Reading Assignment: PP. 26-37.

The years 1929 to 1933 witnessed the greatest economic depression ever experienced by this country. By 1932, almost a third of the total work force was unemployed, and those with jobs were working short hours for reduced wages. Out of the depths of the depression and the general despair which accompanied it emerged several important developments. First, the New Deal administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt enacted many important pieces of social legislation, including the Wagner Act of 1935, which guaranteed to workers the right to form and join unions and to engage in collective bargaining.

Within the union movement, great organizational gains occurred. Following a bitter policy dispute within the AFL, the CIO was formed. It was dedicated to the organization of industrial workers on an industrial basis-one large union for each major industry. Within a brief span of time, millions of previously unorganized workers flocked into unions such as the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers, the United Steel Workers, etc. In many instances, unions achieved recognition only after bitter, protracted strikes. In the auto industry, for example, General Motors recognized the UAW only after a long sit-down strike; and in the steel industry, the organization of so-called "Little Steel" was preceded by the bloody Memorial Day Massacre of 1937.

The depression wreaked great havoc among those affected by it; but on the positive side, it was accompanied by the passage of vital social legislation, and by the growth of a powerful, dynamic labor movement in the United States.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

a) What factors, in addition to the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935, contributed to the rapid growth of the trade union movement during the 1930's and the early 1940's?

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

b) What was the basic issue which caused the break between the AFL and the CIO? How was it finally resolved?

c) Why did the automobile workers have to resort to the sit-down strike in order to achieve recognition from General Motors?

How do you think the courts would rule with respect to the legality of a sitdown strike in 1966?

d) Listed below are several names and events prominent in American labor history, particularly with respect to the 1930's. Match the name or event in the left-hand column with the descriptive phrase in the right-hand column which is most appropriate.

___ Wagner Act	(A) first president of the CIO
___ John L. Lewis	(B) deaths of 10 strikers in connection with the organization of South Chicago steel mill
___ sitdown strikes	
___ Harry Bennett	(C) architect of Henry Ford's labor relations policies
___ Memorial Day, 1937	
	(D) gave workers the right to form and join unions
	(E) tactic used by automobile workers in connection with strike against General Motors

5. Labor and the National Economy

Reading assignment: pp. 38 to 45

Since the end of World War II, organized labor has made considerable progress, particularly at the bargaining table. In terms of size, the trade union movement now numbers about 17 million members. In most branches of manufacturing industry, in contract construction, in the coal mines and in the transportation industry, there is a substantial degree of union organization.

Bargaining gains include both substantial boosts in hourly and yearly pay levels and dramatic innovations in fringe benefit provisions. Such things as pension plans, group insurance plans, vacations with pay, paid holidays, severance pay, supplementary unemployment benefit plans, etc. are commonplace. The typical union agreement contains many provisions to protect the worker against arbitrary discharge and discipline, and seniority has replaced favoritism as the means by which decisions relating to promotion, layoff and related matters are made.

In general, the typical union member enjoys a far greater degree of job security in 1966 than he did 30 (or even 10) years ago. And as the productivity and wealth of the American economy continues to increase, vigorous bargaining combined with an alert rank-and-file can contribute to further increases in job security and material well-being.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Indicate whether each of the statements listed below is true (T) or false (F). Be prepared to defend your answer.

a) Wage rates have increased substantially over the last 20 years, but the "cost of living" has increased by about the same amount	T	F
b) Most workers were covered by private pension plans by the end of World War II	T	F
c) It is likely wages and fringe benefits would have improved about as rapidly as they did, even in the absence of trade unions	T	F
d) Many types of fringe benefits, such as pension and health insurance plans, have been established as the direct result of collective bargaining	T	F
e) Nonunion workers have benefited from the collective bargaining process	T	F

2. From our discussion so far, and on the basis of the assigned readings, list below what you consider to be some of the major trade union accomplishments:

   a)

   b)

   c)

   d)

   e)

3. Do you think that the typical employer is more or less opposed to unionism and collective bargaining than he was 20 years ago?

   What do you think accounts for this change?

The impact of the trade union movement upon the national economy has already been referred to in rather general terms. Most importantly, the development of effective bargaining procedures, and subsequent wage and fringe benefit gains achieved through bargaining, have been a stimulus to the entire economy. The worker who secures through bargaining a fair share of what he helps to probuce contributes tremendously to the stability of the national economy.

The success of the American economic system is largely due to mass production and mass purchasing power. We are able to produce and sell millions of automobiles, television sets, washing machines, houses, etc. for two reasons: first, we have the raw materials and technical know-how which makes possible efficient production and distribution systems; second; the average consumer, who most typically is a wage earner, is able to buy back the things the American economic system is able to produce. Largely, this is due to the fact that wage rates have increased, thus enabling the typical worker to buy more; in addition, job security has resulted in the typical wage earner's ability to enter into long-term committments, such as the purchase of a home.

There are many anti-union attitudes, and many anti-union employers. But in the main, these are self-defeating attitudes. A good example occurs in the South, where the extent of union organization is less than in other regions of the country. Because of the prevailing anti-union attitude, wages remain low, and many areas of the South enjoy lower-than average economic standards.

Labor's legislative role

Not all of the gains which workers have experienced in the past 10 or 20 years have been the result of collictive bargaining. To some extent, at least, improved living standards can be attributed to legislation, particularly to laws such as Social Security, Unemployment Compensation, Workmen's Compensation, Minimum Wages, Medicare, etc.

In a sense, the legislative process is very much like collective bargaining. Laws are passed by elected representatives who are very much aware of conflicting pressures. If the pressures stem mainly from the conservative side of the political spectrum, the laws that are passed (or which fail to get passed) will reflect the conservative philosophy. If, on the other hand, the pressure is generated from the other side of the political spectrum, and legislators are elected with backing from those who favor progressive legislation, the chances are good that progressive laws will be enacted.

Organized labor has been, and will continue to be a vocal champion of legislation which will tend to improve the quality of American life. Since other liberal groups in our society are not as well organized as the labor movement is, the continuity of our progressive traditions largely depends upon continuous political activity on the part of trade unionists. Having decided that many important problems are not likely to be solved through collective bargaining alone, labor has worked for a number of important legislative causes, among which are the following:

- adequate unemployment compensation benefits

- minimum wages and maximum hours
- an improved social security system, which now includes medical care for the aged
- equal rights in employment, housing, education, public accomodations, voting, etc.
- adequate housing for low and middle income groups
- aid to education at the elementary, secondary and college levels

The list could be expanded almost indefinitely. But in general, legislation supported by organized labor falls into two broad categories: (a) the type which guarantees and protects individual rights and the dignity of the individual, and (b) the type which offers economic protection to persons not otherwise able to protect themselves.

Because of this interest and activity, both at the bargaining table and in the legislative halls, the average worker has shared in this country's economic progress. There is no indication that the progress would have occurred in the absence of vigorous union activity; nor is there any guarantee that such progress will occur in the future. In large measure, the extent to which the average worker can expect to enjoy steady economic progress depends on the extent to which the union to which he belongs can continue to function actively and effectively.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is your reaction to the following statements?

a) the union's primary interest should be wages, hours and working conditions; politics should be left to the politicians_____

_____

_____

b) the social legislation we have discussed has not been of very great benefit to the typical worker___

_____

_____

c) the average union member isn't much interested in political issues; therefore, the union can't be very effective in the political arena_____

_____

_____

d) if the union supports candidates who are not acceptable to every member of the union, it will cause internal dissension; there fore, it's better to remain neutral on political issues and candidates_____

_____

_____

2. We have been talking about national economic progress, and the extent to which the average worker has shared in this progress.

a) What evidence do we have of this progress?

b) Has the average worker shared equitably in this progress?

3. Some people argue that union-negotiated wage increases are the primary cause of price increases. With respect to this argument, how would you respond to the following questions?

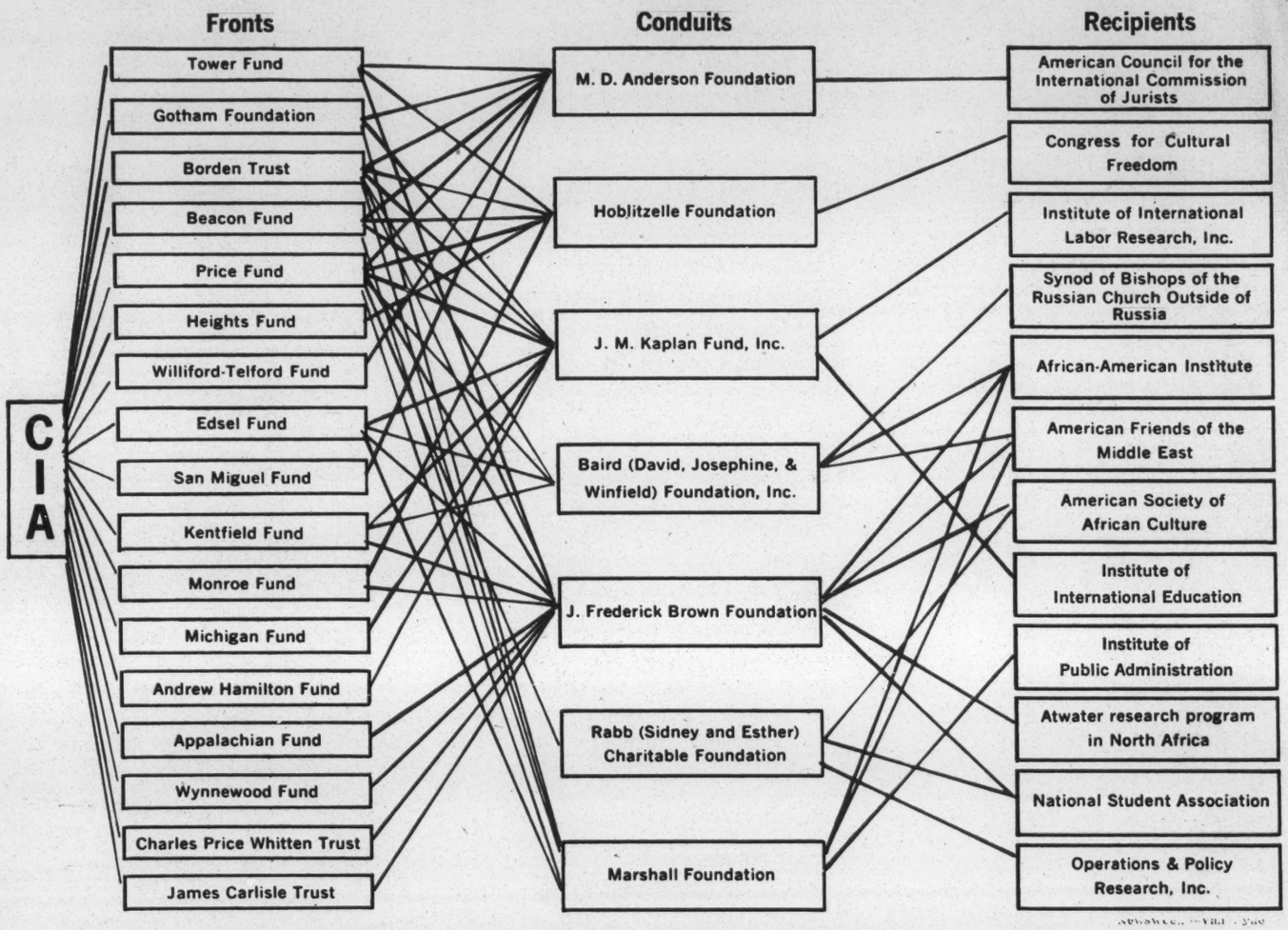
   a) Would the average worker be better off if the union to which he belongs was less insistent upon negotiating annual wage increases?

   b) What is a "proper" level of wages? Can this level be determined by some method other than collective bargaining?

   c) Is there any valid reason why workers should not insist upon obtaining a higher standard of living through negotiated wage increases?

SLEP

THE PASS-THROUGH: HOW THE CIA BANKROLLED PRIVATE PROJECTS



Baedeker: A sampling of how the CIA helped fund some of its pet philanthropies during the past decade

conservatives, who were irked because so much of the money was going to missionaries of the liberal left. The Administration felt compelled at once to defend the CIA as having merely followed orders dating to Harry Truman's day—and to pass the word that at least some of the pipelines would be turned off.

Dummy Fronts: The technique, in retrospect, seemed surprisingly simple—and surprisingly vulnerable to disclosure. The CIA's pet tactic was a three-layer "pass-through" operation for getting money from its own coffers into the hands of certain favored philanthropies, some of them knowing, some apparently not.

First, the agency set up perhaps a score of "primary organizations"—dummy foundations whose assets seemed to consist mainly of nondescript names (like Price, Gotham or Beacon), mailing addresses and mysteriously self-replenishing bank accounts. Typically, these fronts show up neither in standard foundation directories nor in the files of the Internal Revenue Service (where one assistant commissioner is usually wired into the operation). Nor are they easily found. The Edsel Fund's last known address was San Francisco—but it maintains not even a post-office box there. The trail to the Price Fund leads to a Manhattan law office—and a tight-lipped attorney who will not even identify himself. A Dallas answering service takes calls for the Kentfield Fund; an operator there thought its patron was an otherwise unknown philanthropist named Dana Kentfield, then apologized for not checking further: "Some of our records were rained on. They melted together."

For the "pass-through," the CIA adopted some 30 of the 15,000 authentic foundations currently operating in the U.S. and made them conduits to the recipient groups. A few (the J.M. Kaplan Fund and three David G. Baird family foundations) had been under Federal scrutiny for mixing business with philanthropy—troubles that vanished once they took up with the CIA. Others linked at least indirectly to the network included such first-family foundations as New York multi-millionaire John Hay Whitney's Trust for Charitable Purposes. Most simply answered a call to patriotic duty. "We were approached about three years ago by a representative from the CIA," said William P. Hobby Jr., president of The Houston Post and trustee of the Hobby Foundation. "We were told that, if we cooperated, we would receive certain funds from the CIA. Then we'd receive a letter, say from Organization XYZ, asking for funds. We granted the funds, of course." And with no questions asked: "We believed that they [the CIA] knew what they were doing."

What the CIA was doing, of course, was secretly underwriting a miscellany of American organizations abroad, sometimes as cover for intelligence-gathering, more often to mount a social-democratic counterforce to Communist propaganda.

Disparate Groups: The list that began with NSA grew last week with the addition of such disparate groups as the retail clerks union and the World Confederation of Organizations of Teachers. The Kaplan Fund, founded by the former president of Welch Grape Juice, passed $1 million in CIA money to an institute headed improbably (and unwittingly) by old Socialist Norman Thomas, to run schools for left-democratic political leaders in Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. An intermediary

called Christianform passed funds to Cuban exile propagandists for Free Cuba Radio. Several CIA conduits piped money to such groups as the American Friends of the Middle East and the African-American Institute for educational programs. The Friends denied all, while African-American's president, Waldemar Nielsen, insisted that, by 1962, his outfit stopped taking grants from "what we now know as fronts for CIA funds."

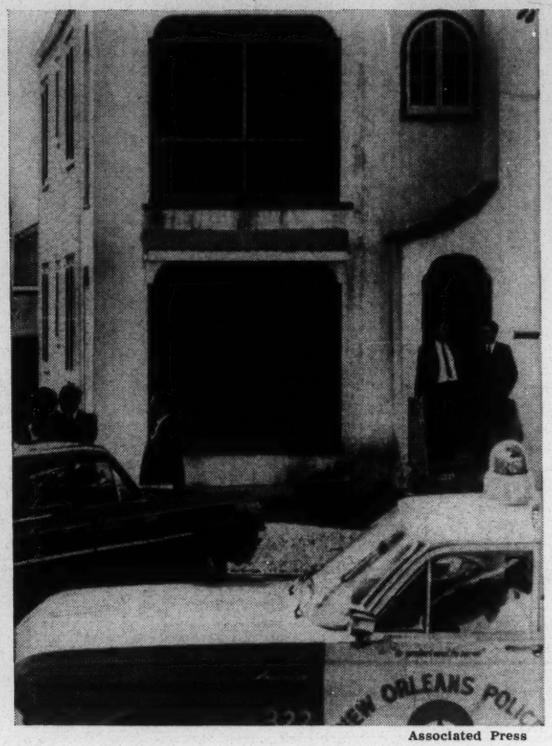
Only rare evidence was turned up that the CIA's "dirty tricks" wing used any of the recipients as covers for espionage. The closest to it was a tale of how the CIA infiltrated the international arm of the State, County and Municipal Employes union from 1959 to 1964, bankrolling it with up to $60,000 a year —and using it to organize strikes that helped topple British Guiana's Marxist Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan.

Covert Subsidies: Coming right on the heels of the NSA scandal, the week's embellishments only underscored the urgency of reviewing and reforming the government's use of covert subsidies for private groups. Speaking for the Administration committee named by Lyndon Johnson to study the problem, Under Secretary of State Nicholas deB. Katzenbach was at pains to say in an interim report that the CIA was only executing policy decisions approved by four Presidents and screened "throughout" by high-level State and Pentagon officials. New York's Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who rode herd on intelligence operations for his brother after the Bay of Pigs, confirmed as much and added: "We must not forget that we are not dealing with a dream world but with a very tough adversary."

Yet the liberal dissent reached even into Mr. Johnson's official family. "I am not at all happy about what the CIA has been doing," Hubert Humphrey announced in a speech at Stanford University. And Katzenbach's report—endorsed by Mr. Johnson—failed to note that a 1960 review committee under the Eisenhower Administration had urged in vain that the operation be phased out. Said one Senate Democrat: "They should have adjusted this government support, made it more sophisticated. But when things succeed, you tend to leave them alone. It should have been phased up—not out, but up to a higher level. Instead, it became automatic, ritualized."

Share the Tab: Worse still, it became public. With the operation thus in splinters, CIA chief Richard Helms went before Richard Russell's Senate CIA watchdog committee last week and said—so Russell hinted later—that subsidies to a number of the private organizations would be cut off. The Presidential inquiry seemed to satisfy Congressional appetites for an investigation—at least until Mr. Johnson's team delivers its report early in March. But that left precious little time to conjure up an alternative means of support for worthwhile private programs. Some topsiders talked wistfully of getting legitimate foundations to pick up a bigger share of the tab —or of persuading Congress to fund the programs openly. One intelligence report was that Mr. Johnson's committee might propose a quasi-private group like the British Council, which is heavily banked by the government but run by private citizens. But Congress might well oppose that too—and pass the propaganda bucks right back to the CIA.

Suspect Ferrie: A suicide?



Associated Press

District Attorney Garrison (above) and the apartment where Ferrie died

ASSASSINATION:

Carnival in New Orleans

David William Ferrie was an exotic. His appearance was outlandish, his background bizarre, and for a time last week even his death was ambiguous.

A bushy red wig and penciled eyebrows adorned Ferrie's hairless head; self-taught expertise in a dozen wildly varying subjects made up his experience. At 48, he had at one time or another functioned legitimately as an airline pilot, a high-school English teacher, a Catholic seminarian, a private detective, a building inspector, a public speaker for anti-Castro organizations. Illegitimately he had posed as an expert in hypnotism, an Air Force officer, a psychologist, a Tulane professor, a medical expert. He had been dismissed as a seminary student (for emotional instability), as an Eastern Air Lines pilot (for homosexuality) and as a suspect in the assassination of John F. Kennedy (for lack of evidence).

But to ambitious, investigation-happy New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison, Ferrie was "one of history's most important individuals" and the key figure in his own belated investigation of the death of the President. It was a probe which the flamboyant 6-foot 6-inch, 225-pound district attorney began last fall when he was swept along in the wave of doubt over the Warren commission's finding that Lee Harvey Oswald alone killed John F. Kennedy. It was Oswald's well-documented sojourn in New Orleans prior to the assassination and his alleged connections with Cuban refugees there that intrigued Garrison.

And David William Ferrie became the centerpiece of his inquiry. Ferrie had been questioned by the FBI shortly after Dallas. He had extensive Cuban refugee connections, and as a flier (he operated an on-again, off-again charter service) he could have qualified as a "getaway pilot" for a possible conspiracy. What's more, he had made a trip to Texas the day of the assassination.

'Picked Clean': But the investigators failed to incriminate Ferrie. "We picked him clean. You won't find anything there," says one FBI man. The Warren commission hearings failed to show that he ever knew Oswald or any other major figure in the tragedy. Further, investigators found that his plane was unable to fly at the time, and his trip was to Houston and Galveston, not Dallas.

Garrison's own investigation perked along, arousing little interest, until a New Orleans paper broke the story. That

AFL-CIO SEMINAR ON TEACHING TECHNIQUES

March 12 - 17, 1967

Wisconsin Center, University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Sunday, March 12

6:00 P.M.	Dinner Meeting, Wisconsin Center - Welcome from The School for Workers; Norris Tibbetts - Welcome from AFL-CIO and review of program; Otto Pragan

Monday, March 13

8:30 - 10:00	How Union Members Learn - Room 325 - Russ Allen
10:00 - 10:20	Coffee Break
10:20 - 12:00	Review of Teaching Techniques - Room 325 - Otto Pragan
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 5:00	Workshops A. Grievance Handling - Room 312 - Russ Allen B. Social Security - Room 314 - Elizabeth Raushenbush C. Labor History - Room 211 - Irving Brotslaw
7:30 - 9:00	Use of films - Room 325 - Stuart Brock

Tuesday, March 14

8:30 - 10:00	Use of The Discussion Method - Room 325 - Millard Clements
10:00 - 10:20	Coffee break
10:20 - 5:00	Practice Teaching A. Grievance Handling - Room 312 - Russ Allen B. Social Security - Room 314 - Bill Elkuss C. Labor History - Room 211 - Virginia Hart
7:30 - 9:00	Use of films - Room 325 - Stuart Brock

Wednesday, March 15

8:30 - 10:00	How People Communicate - Room 325-- Gale Wolf
10:00 - 10:20	Coffee break
10:20 - 12:00	How to Plan an Education Program - Room 325 - Norris Tibbetts
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 5:00	Workshops A. The Role of the Shop Steward - Room 312 - Mary Elkuss B. Poverty Legislation - Room 314 - Ray Munts C. Technological Developments and Collective Bargaining - - Otto Pragan Room 211
6:00	Social Hour and Dinner - Cuba Club, 3416 University Avenue

Thursday, March 16

8:30 - 10:00	How to Develop a Union Education Program - Room 325 - Dick Humphreys
10:00 - 10:20	Coffee break
10:20 - 5:00	Practice teaching A. The Role of the Shop Steward - Room 312 - Owen Tapper B. Poverty Legislation - Room 314 - Stuart Brock C. Technological Developments and Collective Bargaining - - Hervey Juris Room 211
7:30 - 9:00	How to Handle Difficult Problems in an Education Session - Room 325

Friday, March 17

8:30 - 10:00	Various Uses of Workers Education - Room 325 - Frank McAllister
10:00 - 10:20	Coffee Break
10:20 - 12:00	Evaluation Procedures - Panel; Otto Pragan, Chairman
12:30	Closing Lunch, Madison Inn - Jack Barbash, Speaker

AFL-CIO SEMINAR ON TEACHING TECHNIQUES

March 12 - 17, 1967

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Madison, Wisconsin

LABOR HISTORY AS A TOOL IN TEACHING

AFL-CIO Seminar on Teaching Techniques

School for Workers
The University of Wisconsin Extension

March 13, 1967

I. Why use labor history in union education programs?

a. Not always appropriate or of interest to group, e.g., if the labor educator is dealing with a technical subject, such as job evaluation, not much point in introducing labor history as an addenda to program

b. The person teaching labor history must have a feeling for the subject, for the movement it relates to, as well as some proficiency in the subject matter

c. Generally, it is a subject which ought to be taught well, or not at all; a dry presentation, minus audio-visual aids, etc., is likely to be an effective sleep-producing technique

d. Assuming that above conditions have been met, the teaching of labor history is, or should be, an extremely important part of a union education program:

1) Most workers are not likely to have much familiarity with labor history

We have learned that most U.S. high school graduates have had very little exposure to labor history in any formal sense, and what they have had is likely to have been bad (e.g., emphasizing the negative aspects of labor history, leaving the impression that unions and violence are synonomous, and that all of the violence associated with organizing, etc. was fomented by unions)

2) It is possible that union representatives can function effectively without knowing much about labor history; but it is also true that a really dedicated trade unionist will be someone with knowledge of historical factors relating to the development of the labor movement with which he is associated

3) The purpose of labor education in general is not necessarily related to inculcating ideas relative to "the class struggle;" but part of the job description of an effective trade union leader is understanding some of the underlying differences between labor and management:

- why employers resisted, and still resist, labor organization

- factors which prevented union organization

- the struggles which workers underwent in their efforts to form effective unions, and the many sacrifices which these efforts entailed

- the results of union organization and collective bargaining in terms of changing the nature and quality of life for the average worker.

II. Can labor history be taught effectively?

a. We think it can, as the various programs we have conducted in the area of labor history seem to indicate

b. Most workers, and particularly those who tend to be strong trade unionists, are interested in the subject; but the success of such programs depends on a number of factors:

- skillful teaching: imaginative, exciting

- relatively little stress on esoteric theory of labor union development; stress instead upon important aspects of labor history

- emphasis upon, and skillful description of great struggles and events in labor history (e.g., with respect to American trade union history, events such as the Pullman Strike, the Haymarket riot, the great Railroad strikes of 1877, the Ludlow massacre, organization of Lawrence Textile Workers, Battle of the Overpass, the Flint sit-down strike, etc.)

c. The use of audio-visual aids can be very helpful; these include

- films (which are relevant to the topic being discussed, which are well done, and which are not overly long or propagandistic in nature; this does not preclude the use of films such as "The Inheritance," which is exceptionally professional in tone, in execution, etc.)

- the use of films should be accompanied with appropriate introductions of the topic around which the film is developed, discussion questionnaires relating to the film, etc.

- the film should be an auxiliary teaching tool, rather than a substitute for effective teaching of a subject such as labor history

d. Records, tapes, etc. are also useful

- we often try to familiarize our students with some of the "songs of social protest," such as those which were developed by the IWW, the CIO, etc.; again, these should be accompanied by an explanation of their origins, their significance, etc.

- when you refer to individuals who have played a significant role in labor history, records and tapes of their speeches, or brief excerpts for their speeches, can be very useful

III. Should assigned readings be used?

a) If appropriate books, pamphlets, etc. are available, they should be used

- the reading material should be made available to people in the class; if time is available, reading assignments can be done during the class

- if the reading assignment is interesting, and is reasonable in length, the chances are good that the students will read it; assigning a library project is not likely to produce satisfactory results, particularly if the group is not familiar with libraries, or does not have ready access to a library

- examples of materials relating to the subject being discussed are very helpful (organizing leaflets, union publications, company propaganda used against the union, etc. are very useful ways to emphasize the subject being discussed)

- group visits to libraries, where historical materials are available (e.g., the John R. Commons labor reference center at the Wisconsin Historical Association Library) can be very helpful

b) Questionnaires and discussion guides relating to the subject matter being discussed, to the reading assignment, etc., similarly, can be very helpful (see "Labor History, and Labor and the National Economy," a discussion outline designed for use in a five-hour course in labor history for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, July, 1966)

IV. What kind of teaching techniques are appropriate?

a) Generally speaking, the lecture method, as such, is not effective or appropriate (this applies to most aspects of labor education, but particularly in the case of labor history)

b) The use of a course outline, audio-visual aids, assigned readings in conjunction with a carefully structured questionnaire are more likely to be effective

c) Primary emphasis should be upon the discussion method; all of the techniques listed above are designed to encourage discussion of topics relating to labor history; e.g.,

- why did a certain kind of labor movement develop during a particular time period?

- what were the reasons why management resisted trade union organization at a particular company, during a particular period of time, in a certain industry, etc?

- what were some of the characteristics of certain labor leaders, e.g., their backgrounds, ideology, training, etc.?

V. A summary of objectives in teaching labor history

a) We are not interested in having the students memorize a battery of dates, names, etc.; but they should be aware of, and familiar with some of the most important events, figures and developments relating to labor history

b) A major reason for teaching labor history is to produce, on the part of the student, a certain amount of identification with the labor movement he is a part of - with its history, its ideology, its struggles to become an effective institution.

c) In order to be effective, the teaching must appeal to emotions as well as to the intellect; a purely intellectual approach to the subject is likely to fall flat on its face

d) The student must be given lots of opportunity to participate..... to ask questions, make comments, describe events he is familiar with, to describe books or articles he has read, etc.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

A brief outline

In today's session, we will examine and discuss the American labor movement as an emerging social and economic force. We will be talking about people, dates and events, but more importantly, we will examine the American labor movement as the product of social, economic and political factors peculiar to this country.

a. Characteristics of an emerging society

- emphasis on agriculture and self-employment
- an expanding frontier, and the always-present hope for "escape from the wage system"
- a shortage of skilled craftsmen
- the handicraft system, and production on a small-scale

Government of the Local Union:

--The membership meeting (election of local union officers and delegates to the international union convention, to city and state central bodies, etc.; authorization to spend money, formulation of bargaining demands, etc. usually conducted by the membership meeting)

--The committee system of accomplishing designated functions (education, bargaining, political action, etc.)

--Executive board makes routine decisions and carries on business of local union between general membership meetings.

4. State and Local Bodies. These are the counterpart of the AFL-CIO at the local and state levels. The power and influence of the state or city central body varies considerably between cities and states.

Functions of the State or City Cental Bodies:

--Legislation (geared to state and local problems)

--Organizing (usually in the form of extending help to affiliated unions)

--Political action and lobbying

--Education

--Specialized staff functions (research, education, industrial engineering, etc.)

II. HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

The rest of the course will be devoted to an examination and discussion of the development of the American labor movement. We will be talking about people, dates and events, but this will not be a "history course" in the usual sense; rather, we will be looking at the phases of the development of the labor movement, and the social, economic and political forces which shaped the successes and failures of the union movement in this country.

a. An Emerging Society.

--Emphasis on agriculture and self-employment

--An expanding frontier, and hope for "escape"

--A shortage of skilled craftsmen

--The handicraft system, and small scale production

b. A Rapidly Changing Economic System: The Industrial Revolution

--Development of power-driven machinery

--Re-organization of production and marketing; the factory system, depersonalization of the work place

--Separation of labor from ownership of tools of production, and development of the corporation as means of carrying on business and production

--Large scale immigration, partly in response to economic opportunities

c. Early Attempts at Union Organization. As early as 1794, the Journeymen Cordwainers (shoemakers) organized into a union, conducted strikes and picketed the masters' shops in attempt to raise wages and improve their working conditions. Most of the early unions were really fraternal, self-help kinds of organizations.

The industrial revolution accentuated workers' problems, and made them more aware of their employee status, although the frontier still remained as a real alternative to employment in the shop.

1805: The Conspiracy Doctrine. The shoemakers struck for higher wages, but were found guilty by the courts of having engaged in a "conspiracy to raise wages". The court ruled that:

> "A combination of workmen to raise wages may be considered in a two-fold point of view: one is to benefit themselves and the other is to injure those who do not join the society. The rule of law condemns both".

From 1805 on, workers sought to correct the social and economic injustice they encountered in two ways:

a. Through political reform movements)
b. Through trade union action)

Many early labor leaders were active in politics and in union affairs

The Objectives:

--Universal male franchise (no property qualifications)

--Free, universal public education

--Abolition of imprisonment for debtors

--Mechanics' lien laws

--Revision of the militia system (which usually meant that "workers trained and the wealthy paid fines")

--Direct election of all public officials

--Complete separation of church and state

--Regulation of the monopolies - particularly the banks

--Land reform - to make the public lands freely available to those who would settle and work on the land

In general, the "reformers" sought to create a desirable society by changing the nature of the system; they favored the abolition of the wage system, and the creation of consumer cooperatives, where cooperation would replace competition. The reformers doubted whether real reform could be achieved within the framework of a capitalist system, and whether trade unions could achieve any real success.

Their programs seem less strange if examined within the framework of the society in which their ideas developed:

i. Many social abuses

ii. The hostility of the courts and employers towards unions

Most union organization which occurred in this early period was restricted to skilled craftsmen, who seemed more willing to accept the fact that their status as wage earners was permanent.....as contrasted to the typical factory worker, who thought mainly of escape from the confines of the factory town. And many of them did escape.....to the west and the frontier.

1842: Commonwealth vs. Hunt: An important legal landmark in labor history. The issue was the closed shop.....and the refusal of the Boston bootmakers to work with non-members. Justice Shaw, speaking for the Massachusetts Supreme Court, ruled:

> "Agreement for a common action to achieve a lawful objective was not necessarily a criminal conspiracy....the legality of such an association will depend upon the means to be used for its accomplishment."

For generations, the issue of what constituted legal means in labor disputes was to provide a serious problem for the emerging unions which attempted to use traditional trade union weapons, such as strikes, picketing, boycotts, etc.

NATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT

In general, the reform movements failed to accomplish their objectives, in spite of good intentions. In the 1850's a number of national unions were formed among typographers, stone cutters, hat finishers, cigar makers, iron molders, etc. But most of them failed to survive the panic of 1857. What was lacking in the early attempts to form unions was real progress towards national organization.

Two significant developments in the 1860's with regard to national organization:

1. 1868 - Knights of St. Crispin formed; an organization of shoemakers which, at its peak, claimed 50,000 members (1870); it was the forerunner of modern, industrial unions. After a series of unsuccessful strikes in 1873, the union was broken, thus ending the first important effort to establish national bargaining within the shoe industry.

2. The National Labor Union, formed in 1866. It was a loose federation of city central bodies, local unions, national unions and social reform organizations, whose objective included:

   -- 8-hour day

   -- Producers and consumers cooperatives

   -- Currency and banking reform

   -- Abolition of convict labor

   -- Restriction upon immigration

   -- Formation of a Department of Labor

   -- Organization of all who worked for a living

   The first president of the NLU was William H. Sylvis, leader of the Molders Union, who turned to the NLU after his own union was broken by employer opposition. Sylvis died in 1869 at the age of 41; the demise of the NLU occurred soon afterwards, after an attempt to support a third-party candidate for the presidency failed.

THE 1870's: INDUSTRIAL CRISIS AND THE WORKERS' RESPONSE

The 1870's were characterized by depression, industrial unrest, low wages, long hours, wide-spread unemployment - the response to which was spontaneous - but often disorganized or poorly organized worker protests, strikes, boycotts, etc.

-The Molly McGuires, an organization which developed in the soft coal mines; resorted to violence and conducted its operations in secret. Later, 24 Mollys were convicted, and 10 of them were hung.....and the movement ended.

--The Great Railroad Strikes, which began in 1877, spread throughout the major U. S. railroads; the strikes were simultaneously protests against the arrogance of railroad management and the generally dismal position in which the American worker found himself during this period.

--The panic of 1873, and massive unemployment

--Refusal of employers to deal with unions

--Long hours, combined with subsistence level of wages (On the B & O Railroad for example, the strike was precipitated by a cut in wage rates for first class firemen to $1.58 PER DAY)

Further attempts to form National Labor Federations:

1. The Grand Order of the Knights of Labor. The Knights were founded - in 1869 - by a group of workers who looked towards the establishment of a "commonwealth of labor", and a cooperative society. It coined a motto, "An Injury to one is an injury to all", and tried to achieve:

   --One big union, embracing all who made their living from honest labor

   --Organization of unskilled and minority groups, as well as the distinct craft groups

   --The unity of all labor, in place of individual unions

   The Knights emphasized political reform, cooperatives, etc., but achieved its greatest success by the conduct of several important strikes, particularly the one in 1885 against Jay Gould and the Wabash Railroad

2. The American Federation of Labor. The AFL was officially founded in 1886, as successor to the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. In contrast to other attempts to form national labor federations, the AFL emphasized trade union, as contrasted to political action, in order to achieve its objectives:

   --Organization along craft lines

   --Collective bargaining as the primary means of obtaining immediate objectives

   --Wage and job consciousness, instead of class consciousness

   --Administrative efficiency

   --Strict autonomy of the international union, and adherence to carefully defined jurisdictional lines

   --Strikes only as a last resort (orderly, carefully controlled and adequately financed)

--Standardization of wages, hours and working conditions (to take wages out of competition)

--Emphasis upon economic instead of political objectives

--Non partisanship in politics....."reward your friends.....and punish your enemies.....through the vote"

The growth of the AFL was slow at first; its membership amounted to 250,000 six years after it was formed. But it managed to survive in a hostile climate, while other union movements had withered and died in the face of adversity.

Significant events in American Labor History:

1. Haymarket Riot, Chicago, 1886. General strike in support of 8-hour day, involving 190,000 workers (40,000 in Chicago alone), May 1, 1886. On May 4, a meeting was called to protest killing of 6 workers in an earlier demonstration. Police raided the meeting, and a bomb was thrown, killing 7 policemen. Raids were carried out against all known radicals and radical groups. Seven of the anarchists were sentenced to die, and the strike was generally unsuccessful.

2. Homestead Strike, July 6, 1892. Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers struck the Homestead Works of Carnegie Steel Company. Pitched battle occurred between strikers and Pinkerton agents. Strike finally broken by 8,000 state militiamen.

3. Pullman Strike, 1894. The American Railway Union, led by Eugene V. Debs, struck against the paternalistic Pullman Company, which provoked many acts of violence to justify use of federal troops and the issuance of anti-strike injunction. Many union leaders, including Debs, were arrested for violating the injunction; the strike.....and the union.....were smashed.

4. Strike by Coal Miners, 1902. Led by John Mitchell, 150,000 anthracite coal miners struck against low pay, long hours, inadequate safety regulations. The union won some concessions, but not recognition.

Employer Counter-attacks against Organized Labor:

By 1904, total union membership had grown to 2 million, but employers began a concerted campaign to weaken the unions. Among the techniques used were:

--The yellow dog contract

--Labor spies

--The black list

--Strikebreakers

--Anti-union injunctions

--Refusal to bargain with established unions

Some Dark Days for Organized Labor and Workers' Rights:

March 25, 1911 - Triangle Fire in New York City; 146 girls burned to death in garment loft.

Sept. 13, 1913 - Bloody Ludlow. Strike by western miners against the Colorado Iron & Fuel Company. Company refused to meet union demands; miners housed themselves and their families in tent colonies. On April 14, 1914, militia attacked the tent colony with machine gun fire.

> "After several rounds of indiscriminate machine gun fire, the tents in which the workers' families were living were soaked in oil and put to the torch. Women and children huddled in pits to escape the raging flames, and in one of them, eleven children and two women were later found burned or suffocated to death."
>
> Foster Rhea Dulles, Labor in America, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960. p. 196.

--Danbury Hatters Case. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law applied to labor boycott of products made by D.E. Loewe & Co.; workers' homes and bank accounts attacked.

LEFT WING CHALLENGES

The Industrial Workers of the World (1905-1917)

The IWW was radical in concept and in origin; it was formed, basically, by the Western Federation of Miners, who wanted a wider amalgamation of socialist-minded unions of the aggressive, industrial type. Its membership included western miners, lumberjacks, migratory harvest hands and unorganized industrial workers.....the repressed and dispossed of the earth. The IWW era was one of the most flambouyant, militant, chaotic and dramatic episodes in American labor history. Their "free speech fights," their songs (some of which we still sing) and their espousal of radical causes won for the "Wobblies" support and hatred.

Their Objectives:

--One big union of all wage earners

--Replacement of capitalist society by a "producers' commonwealth"

Their Tactics:

--Strikes, sabotage and violence

--Direct action at the point of production

--Avoidance of the entanglements of trade agreements

Their Successes:

--It demonstrated that industrial workers could be organized

--It won a great victory in the Lawrence, Massachusetts textile strike in 1912

Their Failures:

--It did not (and probably could not) convince American workers that labor's historic mission was to do away with capitalism

--It failed to develop administrative machinery to cope with day-to-day problems

--It convinced the more conservative elements in American society that radicalism and trade unionism were identical, and that both should be repressed

In the end, the IWW was beaten by legal repression; it was outlawed in many states which passed criminal syndicalism laws; during World War I, many of its leaders were arrested and sent to jail for long terms.....largely because of the IWW's opposition to U.S. participation in the war.

WORLD WAR I AND THE OPEN SHOP ERA

World War I

During World War I, organized labor except for the IWW supported the war effort, and in return received certain concessions from the Wilson administration.

--Enforcement of trade union standards in all government contracts

--Labor representation on all appropriate government agencies

--Labor was promised the right to organize and to bargain collectively, and union shop agreements were to remain in effect

By 1919, the membership of the organized labor movement reached 4.1 million; but in the aftermath of the armistice, the "red scare", an unsuccessful steel strike and the "return to normalcy," the size and effectiveness of the labor movement declined swiftly.

The Open Shop Era, 1920-1933:

Listed below are some of the factors which contributed to the decline of the labor movement during the 1920's:

--Company unionism

--Scientific management

--Paternalism.....the "American Plan"

--Welfare capitalism

--The open shop philosophy

--A hostile legislative and judicial climate; Attorney General Daugherty, in obtaining a sweeping injunction against railroad shop strike, made the following statement:

> "So long and to the extent that I can speak for the Government of the U. S.; I will use the power of the Government within my control to prevent the labor unions of the country from destroying the open shop."

During the period of the 1920's, union strength declined, productivity increased, real wages increased slightly (mostly as the result of lower prices), but the distribution of income became more uneven. The unions struggled to survive in an unfriendly environment. To further complicate matters for the trade union movement, it had to fight communist opposition and infiltration.

--First, the Trade Union Education League, which dedicated itself to boring from within; it created turmoil with the ILGWU, precipitating a 28-week long strike in 1926 which almost destroyed the union, and

--Then, the Trade Union Unity League, which tried to achieve the same objectives by means of dual unionism.

THE DEPRESSION, AND A NEW DEAL FOR LABOR

Following the crash of 1929, business conditions and unemployment rapidly worsened. By 1930, 7 million workers were unemployed. The country rejected President Hoover's prophecy that "prosperity was around the corner", and elected FDR. Congress passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932; it declared that "labor should have full freedom of association without interference from employers", outlawed the yellow dog contract and limited the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

The New Deal era witnessed rapid economic, social and legislative change, much of which affected workers and their unions:

<u>Legislative Developments</u>

--Collective bargaining laws (Section 7a of the NIRA, which was declared unconstitutional in 1935, and the Wagner Act, passed in 1935, and upheld by the courts in 1937)

--Social welfare legislation (Old Age and Survivors' Insurance, Fair Labor Standards Act, Walsh Healy, Davis Bacon)

--Public Works (Works Project Administration, Public Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps)

--Business regulation and related laws (Federal Housing Authority, Rural Electrification Administration, Tennessee Valley Authority, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Securities and Exchange Commission, Agricultural Adjustment Act, etc.)

Developments within the House of Labor

--Rejection by AFL, at 1935 Convention, of minority report favoring policy of industrial organization

--Formation of Committee for Industrial Organization, within AFL, followed by expulsion of CIO from AFL in 1936

--Formation of Congress of Industrial Organizations by 10 expelled AFL unions; John L. Lewis, first CIO president, succed by Phillip Murray in 1940, after Lewis' unsuccessful support of Wilkie against FDR

Organizing Drives and growth of the Trade Union Movement

--Steel (drive begun in 1936; recognition achieved at U.S. Steel on March 2, 1937); but "Little Steel" refused to go along ; 10 Republic Steel Workers killed by police on May 30, 1937 in "Memorial Day Massacre"

--Autos (UAW recognized by General Motors on February 11, 1937, after 44-day "sit-in" strike; recognition followed soon afterwards at Chrysler, but Ford held out until 1941)

--Rubber (Series of strikes, including sit-down strike against Goodyear in 1936, followed by complete organization of the Akron rubber industry)

By 1937, union membership stood at between 6 and 7 million, of which 4 million were in the AFL unions. The federations grew separately, in spite of efforts to heal the breach in the house of labor. In spite of lingering unemployment (9.5 million workers were unemployed as late as 1939) organized labor made great strides on the organizing front.

LABOR AND WORLD WAR II

During World War II organized labor adopted, and for the most part observed, a "no strike" pledge. Only 1/10 of 1 percent of all available working time was lost during World War II because of strikes.....and most of these were "quickie", unauthorized stoppages.

Other Developments During World War II

--Formation of War Labor Board to handle dispute cases

--Strike ban successfully defied by Lewis and coal miners on several occasions

--Smith-Connally Act (1943) restricted right to strike, and prohibited union contributions to political campaign funds

--Negotiation of fringe benefits (began largely in response to wage freeze, which limited increases to 15 percent over 1941 base)

--CIO "PAC" formed in 1944.....unions become more concerned with politics

--By the end of the war, membership of trade unions exceeded 14 million:

6.8 million in the AFL

6.0 million in the CIO

The remainder in independent railroad brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and in other non-affiliated unions

Problems Faced by Organized Labor at End of War

--Increasing anti-union sentiment in Congress

--Internal union problems (jurisdictional disputes, continued separation between AFL and CIO, threat of communism and racketeering)

--Inflation, combined with the fear of unemployment and depression

--Problems of conversion from a war to a peace-time economy

--Great demand for consumer durable goods, and public hostility towards unions which interferred with production of much-wanted products

LABOR IN THE POST WORLD WAR II PERIOD

In the immediate post-war period, the union movement faced a number of critical problems, many of which were directly related to the war and the restrictions which the war had imposed on the normal collective bargaining activities of unions.

In general, the problems stemmed from a shift from a war to a civilian type of economy.....inflation, fear of joblessness, a long-suppressed desire for better wages and working conditions.....the emergence of a strong anti-labor coalition in the Congress.....and the communist infiltration of some important unions. Some of the most important developments in the post-war period affecting the labor movement are listed below:

--Numerous strikes for higher wages and fringe benefits

--Passage of Taft-Hartley law in 1947

--Expulsion of 10 international unions from the CIO (1949-1950) because of alleged communist domination

--New approaches to collective bargaining (health and welfare and pension plans, cost-of-living escalator clauses, supplementary unemployment benefits, severance pay, longer vacations and paid holidays)

--Death of William Green, President of AFL and Phillip Murray, President of CIO in 1953; they were succeeded by George Meany and Walter Reuther respectively

--Merger of AFL and CIO.....into AFL-CIO.....in 1955

Post-war Problems

- automation and technological displacement

- slowdown in the rate of union growth, as the result of shift from blue collar to white collar employment

- revelations by McClellan Committee of corruption within several unions, followed by passage of Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959

- lack of union success in organizing white collar, professional and agricultural workers, and alleged lack of identification with the "working poor"

- growing gulf between liberal intellectuals and the labor movement; allegation that organized labor has lost its crusading zeal and/or that it "no longer represents the economic underdog"

- charges of racial discrimination directed against some unions, particularly with respect to employment and apprenticeship practices in the skilled trades

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The following books deal with various phases of labor history, structure and government, and with theories of trade union development. Some of the books deal with specific trade union leaders and/or specific unions, while others are of a more general nature. Most are "standard" reference works, which means they should be available in many libraries which have collections dealing with labor history, collective bargaining, industrial relations, etc.

Alinsky, Saul, John L. Lewis

Angle, Paul, Bloody Williamson

Baker, Elizabeth Faulkner, Printers & Technology

Barbash, Jack, Unions & Telephones

Bernstein, Irving, The Lean Years

Bernstein, Irving, The New Deal Collective Bargaining Policy

Brazeal, Brailsford, R., The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Brissenden, Paul, The I.W.W.

Brodie, David, The Steelworker in America

Carnes, Cecil, John L. Lewis: Leader of Labor

Chaplin, Ralph, Wobbly

Christie, Robert A., Empire in Wood

Coleman, McAlister, Men and Coal

Commons & Associates, History of Labor in the United States 1896-1932, Vols. 1, 2, 4

Derber & Young, Labor and the New Deal

Draper, Theodore, The Roots of American Communism

Draper, Theodore, American Communism and Soviet Russia

Dulles, Foster Rhea, Labor in America

Fine, Sidney, The Automobile Under the Blue Eagle

Galenson, Walter, CIO's Challenge to the AFL

Garaty, John, Right-Hand Man, The Life of George Perkins

Suggestions for further reading, continued

Goldberg, Harvey (editor), American Radicals

Goldberg, Joseph, The Maritime Story

Gompers, Samuel, 70 Years of Life and Labor (revised & edited by Phillip Taft & John A. Sessions)

Grob, G. N., Workers and Utopia

Howe and Widdick, The UAW and Walter Reuther

Jacobs, Paul, The State of the Unions

Jensen, Vernon, Heritage of Conflict

Jensen, Vernon, Nonferrous Metals Industry Unionism

Joseph, Matthew, Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor

Kampelman, Max M., Communist Party vs. the CIO

Kennedy, Robert, The Enemy Within

Kerr, Clarke, et al, Industrialism and Industrial Man

Lahne, Herbert, The Cotton Mill Worker

Lieberman, Elias, Unions Before the Bar

Leiter, Robert, The Teamsters Union

Leiter, Robert, The Musicians and Petrillo

McMurry, Donald, Great Burlington Strike of 1888

Millis, Harry H. & Brown, Emily C., From the Wagner Act to Taft-Hartley

Morris, James O., Conflict within the AFL: A Study of Craft Versus Industrial Unionism, 1901-1938

Perlman, Mark, Labor Union Theories in America

Perlman, Mark, The International Association of Machinists

Perlman, Selig, A Theory of the Labor Movement

Perlman, Selig, The History of Trade Unionism in the United States

Purcell, Theodore, Blue Collar Man

Suggestions for further reading, continued

Saposs, David, Communism in American Unions

Seidman, Joel, American Labor from Defense to Reconversion

Seidman, Joel, The Needle Trades

Stolberg, Robert, The Rubber Workers

Taft, Phillip, The AFL in the Time of Gompers

Taft, Phillip, The Structure and Government of Labor Unions

Taft, Phillip, Organized Labor in American History

Taft, Phillip, The AFL from the Death of Gompers to the Merger

Ulman, Lloyd, The Rise of the National Unions

Ware, Norman S., Labor in Modern Industrial Society

Wechsler, James A., Labor Baron

Weintraub, Hyman, Andrew F. Furuseth: Emancipator of the Seaman

Yellen, Samuel, American Labor Struggles

Wage Hike Tops List:

UAW Parley Sets '67 Contract Goals

By Eugene A. Kelly

Detroit—Delegates representing 1.6 million U.S. and Canadian members of the Auto Workers took two days to debate a collective bargaining program for 1967 negotiations with the auto industry, then adopted it by show of hands with less than 10 dissenting votes.

The program, departing in only two minor respects from the recommendations of the executive board and a convention committee, gave top priority to a "substantial wage and salary increase for all" and strong emphasis to 20 other contract objectives including wage parity for Canadian workers, a guaranteed annual wage patterned on that of office workers and company officials, "equal pay" for skilled trades workers, and improved working conditions.

Delegates from more than 1,000 local unions of production, skilled trades, technical, professional and office employes voted unanimously to support the current strike of 50,000 members of the Rubber Workers and passed the hat for striking farm workers.

Resolutions for changes in the bargaining program submitted by two UAW locals were defeated by margins of more than 95 percent. Ford Local 1250 proposed a 35-hour workweek resolution, and Fisher Body Local 45 offered a retirement-at-55 resolution with no reduction in benefits. Both locals are in the Cleveland, O., region.

Broad Goals

The convention supported a request by UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther that union bargaining che

UAW in 1967 make a maximum contribution" toward establishing "a healthier balance in the distribution of our national income through the winning of substantial wage increases for all its members."

The program makes these other points:

- There must be "no tampering" with the cost of living wage escalator nor the improvement-factor wage increases except to improve them.
- Elimination of the wage differential between American and Canadian auto workers will be a primary goal this year. While auto makers pay their Canadian workers less than in the U. S., they charge Canadian buyers higher prices for Canadian-made and U. S.-made cars.
- The "degrading" hourly-wage system has outlived its time. The union is determined to end it and "replace it with an annual income guarantee or contract of employment."
- Corporations must end the "double standard" of lower wage rates for skilled tradesmen than for workers hired by "outside" contractors to do essentially similar work.

The convention program also

NEW LABOR ADVISERS to the Office of Economic Opportunity are shown as they met with OEO Dir. Sargent Shriver. From left: Hyman Bookbinder, head of OEO's Office of National Councils & Organizations; William Gary, civil rights director for the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Tom Cosgrove, OEO labor liaison officer; Evelyn Dubrow, Washington representative of the Ladies' Garment Workers; Shriver; Julius Rothman, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security; Joseph Joy, Job Corps labor liaison officer, and Rosa McGhee, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers. Other newcomers to the 17-member council are Walter Davis, AFL-CIO education director; William Lucy, community affairs director of the State, County & Municipal Employes, and West Virginia AFL-CIO Pres. Miles Stanley.

'Massive' Educational Effort Urged To Combat Poverty in Mississippi

Jackson, Miss.—Mississippi needs a "massive" adult education program as well as an expanded Head Start for young children in order to break the poverty cycle, State AFL-CIO Pres. Claude Ramsay told a Senate fact-finding committee.

"Many thousands of people have been pushed off the farms and plantations in recent years by mechanization of farm equipment," Ramsay said. "Even though jobs are available, these people are unemployable because most of them have no education."

Only a large-scale federal effort can end poverty "as a way of life" in the state, Ramsay stressed. "Mississippi simply does not have the necessary resources" to do the job itself.

Ramsay urged the senators to "visit and listen to the experiences" of people who for the first time have been given "hope" that their children will be able to escape from poverty.

Mistakes have been made in many of the anti-poverty programs, but progress has been made, too

The most important byproduct of these programs, he suggested, has been "bringing whites and blacks to the conference table where they could discuss problems of mutual interest." He added:

"To me it would be a real tragedy if these programs were to be abandoned just when we appeared to

board and a convention committee, gave top priority to a "substantial wage and salary increase for all" and strong emphasis to 20 other contract objectives including wage parity for Canadian workers, a guaranteed annual wage patterned on that of office workers and company officials, "equal pay" for skilled trades workers, and improved working conditions.

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Broad Goals

The convention supported a request by UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther that union bargaining committees be given broad general goals rather than mandates for specific objectives like the 35-hour week or a spelled-out wage proposal.

On wages, the report adopted by the convention noted that wage and salary income lags behind property income "such as dividends, interest and profits." The average rate of return of the motor vehicle and equipment industry, it pointed out, was higher than the average for all other manufacturing corporations combined in 19 of the past 20 years.

"Both as a matter of equity for workers and their families, and as a necessity for the nation's economy," the report declared, "it is essential that the "a healthier balance in the distribution of our national income through the winning of substantial wage increases for all its members."

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- The "degrading" hourly-wage system has outlived its time. The union is determined to end it and "replace it with an annual income guarantee or contract of employment."
- Corporations must end the "double standard" of lower wage rates for skilled tradesmen than for workers hired by "outside" contractors to do essentially similar work.

The convention program also calls for better supplemental unemployment benefits, improved pensions, gains for white collar workers and employes of small shops, higher pension benefits for retirees, full health-care services, better vacation and holiday provisions, an end to overtime abuses, and the right to strike when legitimate grievances over production standards are not "fairly resolved."

The delegates approved a change in the UAW constitution to allow the union's executive board to "alter the union's relationship" with the AFL-CIO "in any way it deems appropriate."

NEW LABOR ADVISERS to the Office of Economic Opportunity are shown as they met with OEO Dir. Sargent Shriver. From left: Hyman Bookbinder, head of OEO's Office of National Councils & Organizations; William Gary, civil rights director for the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Tom Cosgrove, OEO labor liaison officer; Evelyn Dubrow, Washington representative of the Ladies' Garment Workers; Shriver; Julius Rothman, assistant director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Social Security; Joseph Joy, Job Corps labor liaison officer, and Rosa McGhee, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers. Other newcomers to the 17-member council are Walter Davis, AFL-CIO education director; William Lucy, community affairs director of the State, County & Municipal Employes, and West Virginia AFL-CIO Pres. Miles Stanley.

'Massive' Educational Effort Urged To Combat Poverty in Mississippi

Jackson, Miss.—Mississippi needs a "massive" adult education program as well as an expanded Head Start for young children in order to break the poverty cycle, State AFL-CIO Pres. Claude Ramsay told a Senate fact-finding committee.

"Many thousands of people have been pushed off the farms and plantations in recent years by mechanization of farm equipment," Ramsay said. "Even though jobs are available, these people are unemployable because most of them have no education."

Only a large-scale federal effort can end poverty "as a way of life" in the state, Ramsay stressed. "Mississippi simply does not have the necessary resources" to do the job itself.

Ramsay spoke to the four members of the Senate subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty who came to Mississippi as part of a first-hand investigation of the nation's anti-poverty programs—chairman Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.) and Senators Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.), Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and George Murphy (R-Calif.)

Mississippi repealed its compulsory school attendance law in 1956—and in 1964 53.9 percent of its young people failed the Armed Forces Qualification Test. Ramsay noted also that only 28.5 percent of youngsters who enroll in high school stay until graduation,

Half Illiterate

He found a direct relationship between statistics showing that nearly half the state's population is functionally illiterate and that more than one third of the population doesn't earn enough money "to purchase the necessities of life."

"We in the AFL-CIO have done our best to help initiate adult education and training programs throughout the state," Ramsay said, and "the doors to opportunity have been opened to several thousand of our unfortunate citizens."

He stressed, however, that "the surface has only been scratched" and the need is for a federally-financed "massive program."

Praising the Head Start program for young children as a "vehicle to break the vicious circle of poverty enslavement," Ramsay urged the senators to "visit and listen to the experiences" of people who for the first time have been given "hope" that their children will be able to escape from poverty.

Mistakes have been made in many of the anti-poverty programs, but progress has been made, too, Ramsay observed.

The most important byproduct of these programs, he suggested, has been "bringing whites and blacks to the conference table where they could discuss problems of mutual interest." He added:

"To me it would be a real tragedy if these programs were to be abandoned, just when we appeared to be making significant progress."

Congress Weighs Action To Bar Rail Shutdown

(Continued from Page 1)

partment, told the Senate Labor Committee at an April 24 hearing that the railroads have "refused to engage in meaningful collective bargaining."

He charged that management's goal is to get Congress "to take away our right to strike" through a compulsory arbitration law.

The strong likelihood of congressional action, he said, has encouraged management to hold out against union contract proposals.

A special three-member presidential mediation panel contended that its recommendations—rejected by both sides—presented a basis for settlement. It would provide a 6 percent general increase in an 18-month contract, with three 5-cent raises over the contract period for skilled workers.

Pres. Johnson, in making public the report, said a strike would have "tragic consequences" and asked both sides to weigh its impact "against the narrow issues" that separate them.

Fox praised the panel's efforts, but stressed that the unions had already come down considerably on their original proposals and the skilled shopmen are "grossly underpaid," with pay scales lagging 50 cents an hour and more behind other industries.

The unions involved—the Machinists, Boilermakers, Sheet Metal Workers, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Railway Carmen, and Firemen & Oilers—"are not strike-happy," Fox said.

"We have not had a national strike in 45 years. But it takes two to negotiate. Unfortunately, the railroads have not yet begun serious negotiations with us."

Fox told the committee that "a railroad strike need not be a disaster to the nation."

He pledged that "if we are allowed to strike, we will make every arrangement possible to see that all necessary shipments—either for the military or essential to the nation's health—continue to move."

There still need not be a strike, he declared. "The prime need is for railroad management to bargain seriously with us—and give up their goal of trying to use us as Judas goats to lead you to destroy the right to strike."

Earlier Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz and Transportation Sec. Alan S. Boyd said in a joint statement: "The ugly fact is that collective bargaining has fallen flat on its face" in the dispute.

Deadline Near

All of the cooling off and mediation procedures of the Railway Labor Act have been exhausted in the dispute and Congress has already passed legislation postponing strike action 20 days. That extension expires May 3.

The unions' last proposal suggested a two-year contract with a 6.5 percent general pay raise plus a 12.5 cent inequity raise for skilled workers the first year, and 5 percent plus another 12.5 cents the second year.

After the Senate Labor Committee session, the two parties met for a final effort at direct bargaining, but the talks broke off after management would go no farther than a 6 percent raise over 18 months, a single 5-cent skill inequity boost and a further job study.

Teachers Post Big Wins In Washington, Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

that had been suspended for the balloting were resumed.

Mrs. Mary Ellen Riordan, president of the Detroit local called the vote a "clear mandate that teachers believe we are making progress and want the union to keep on representing them."

Negotiators scheduled two meetings in April and two more in May, with management counter-proposals expected May 9.

Pay Raises Asked

The DFT is asking the School Board for pay increases averaging $1,700 a year across the board, two weeks' paid vacation, a reduction in the size of classes, and a shortening in the school year from 40 weeks to the big-city average of 38.

Other union objectives in a written contract include longevity payments of $150 a year after 15 years of Detroit school service, $300 after 20 years, $450 after 25; a greater voice in the selection of textbooks and supplementary teaching materials; more substitute teachers, "professional service days" for home visits and attendance at professional meetings; board-paid tuition for further college training in areas of severe shortages; and free tuition for elementary pupils who fail a grade and must attend summer classes.

No organization had bargaining rights until 1964, when the union got 5,739 votes to the DEA's 3,848 to win recognition as the voice of the Teachers' Representation Committee.

The state law was amended in 1965 to permit an exclusive bargaining agent, and the board recognized the union as the teachers' choice.

The union won its first written contract Dec. 8, 1965, and a renewal contract July 1, 1966. That latter contract expires next July 1, by which time the union hopes it will have given way to a new pact, Mrs. Riordan said.

Two Major Areas Show Job Gains

Asheville, N.C., and Memphis, Tenn., moved in March from the moderate to the low unemployment category for the first time since the classification system was inaugurated in 1955, for 150 major man power centers. The Labor Dept.'s Bureau of Employment Security said the improved employment picture in the two communities raised to 61—the number of major areas reporting less than 3 percent of the work force jobless. Laurel, Miss.,

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Questionnaire Seeks Labor Education Data

Unions have been asked to report their labor education activities in a questionnaire now being circulated as part of a national survey by the National Institute of Labor Education, financed by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education.

The survey is the first attempt to collect full information on union educational activity, according to Lawrence Rogin, study director for NILE. Partial surveys of the past were incomplete and the information is out of date, Rogin said.

Dir. Walter G. Davis of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Education said he hopes all federation affiliates will cooperate by returning completed questionnaires promptly. He pointed out that an increasing number of unions have started educational programs while others have expanded or changed their emphasis.

Information on the education activities of affiliated unions will, Davis said, increase the effectiveness of his department by providing needed information and correlating it with the work of universities.

The questionnaires by NILE seek information on union programs aimed at improving the knowledge or skills of union members, or at helping them function more effectively in civic, economic and cultural fields, Rogin said, adding: "The survey does not include training in job skills such as apprenticeship or the upgrading of skilled workers."

Each union, state central body and major local central body will be asked to fill in a questionnaire adapted to its activities.

5/27/67 AFL-CIO News

THE STRUGGLE TO UNITE

A Brief History of the American Labor Movement

Irving Brotslaw

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June 21, 1960

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Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Enclosed I am sending you a copy of the Prospectus on our Residential Study Institutes. Should you care to have a few more copies, I trust you will let me know.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

J. Mire

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:jm

Enclosure

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SLEP

To Emory then return
what should we be doing?

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

Proposal for

Education, Research, Action Projects

on Labor and the Problems of Urbanism

July 1963

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I. WHAT IS PROPOSED

The National Institute of Labor Education (hereinafter called NILE) will sponsor, for the period of four years, an education, research and action program on labor and the problems of urbanism. The program will be directed by NILE and conducted by university labor education centers in cooperation with urban study centers and the labor movement.

The participating universities will offer over the four year period a variety of educational programs pointed toward the special needs of various levels of labor union leadership. The universities will also develop special educational materials, conduct supportive research, and initiate action programs designed to help labor participate in the search for intelligent solutions to urban problems.

The project anticipates the cooperative participation of at least seven universities. The universities to be selected will all have active labor education centers and, it is hoped, urban study centers or local government research departments (e.g., Wisconsin, Rutgers, Michigan State, etc.). The universities will be located throughout the country and will work in the urban center most convenient to their own location. Furthermore, these universities are located near urban centers of various sizes and it is expected that small, medium and large urban areas will be involved in the project.

A NILE project office will be established to direct and coordinate the project. It will consist of a full-time project director and secretarial assistance. It is expected that each university's labor education center will designate a person to direct that university's participation

in the project. One mandatory requirement for participation will be that the labor movement in the area designate a person to act as labor coordinator for the university's project. The labor coordinator will advise in the development of courses, direct the recruitment of labor participants, and help organize the action programs.

II. Goals and Objectives

The basic objective of the project on urbanism is: to educate the trade unions as to their stake in the current trend towards urbanism, and to help point up policies that can be adopted and courses of action that can be taken which would aid labor in playing an effective and constructive role in the shaping of urban America.

We shall seek to accomplish these goals through three main channels:

Education: that is the sponsorship of courses and conferences - both short-term and long-term, residential and non-residential - and the application of a variety of techniques, methods and media including the preparation of materials to help labor understand the problems of urban development and to acquire the skills of dealing with them;

Research: designed to help labor define the nature of some community problems, and the role and responsibilities of organized labor in finding solutions to these problems. Research is thought of here not as an objective per se, but as a preliminary to education or action projects made necessary by the absence of facts or other pertinent information on some aspects of urban affairs; and

Action Programs: that is through the involvement of labor groups in a variety of important, current, and realistic community programs so as to

demonstrate the practicability and usefulness of accomplishing reasonable community goals through union action.

The prime objective is to establish the basis for a permanent education program for labor on the problems of urbanism.

Specifically, it is anticipated that the proposed program will accomplish the following:

First, continuing education programs on urbanism will have been established on a permanent basis in labor education centers in at least seven universities across the country.

Second, a foundation for the development of continuing education programs on urbanism in other labor education centers, both in labor unions and in universities, will have been built.

Third, there will have been developed a whole series of highly comprehensive course outlines, discussion guides and outlines, reading lists and references, and other materials of special interest to labor on the subject of urbanism. In addition, the detailed background materials prepared by the universities in their special areas will comprise, at the conclusion of the project, something akin to a special labor textbook on urbanism.

Fourth, the action phases of the project will, at the conclusion of the project, provide a casebook of studies of citizen groups action. A casebook, incidently, which will have value far beyond the limits of the labor movement.

Fifth, last but not least, the program will certainly enable labor to play its role in urban affairs more intelligently and responsibly.

III. Reasons for the Proposal

The problems of urbanism became a subject of widespread concern shortly after the end of World War II. Since that time these problems have not only continued, but have in fact gotten much worse. Urban sprawl, unemployment, spreading urban decay, inadequate housing, migrating business and industry, rising crime rates, and deepening racial tensions are only some of the problems that continue to grow more troublesome and which sometimes seem to defy solution.

Part of the failure to find solutions can certainly be attributed to a lack of good research and an inability to uncover workable alternatives. Many of the problems, on the other hand, have already received a good deal of study. Some of these studies have come up with courses of action that are both intriguing and apparently workable. But, it is one of the unfortunate facts of urban life that change or reform comes very slowly. Too many of these studies, especially where the recommendations are in any way bold or experimental, lie neglected on some library shelf where their only current function is to gather dust.

What responsibility must labor bear for this reluctance to act on urban problems? Obviously, labor alone cannot be held responsible for the lack of action. Many of these problems are of such a magnitude that even the search for a solution requires the wholehearted commitment of the entire community. However, labor does have a responsibility to play its part, and there is too much evidence that suggests that labor in the field of urbanism has not functioned as effectively as it can.

This, of course, is not to suggest that labor has been remote from or disinterested in all urban problems. One need only look at labor's record on behalf of such matters as public housing, education, and its activities in the area of community services to know that this is not the case. But, it does seem clear nevertheless that labor's efforts at the local or municipal level have not matched their efforts at other levels of government. And, it hardly needs to be added, the local level is the place where some of the crucial attacks on the problems of urbanism are being mounted.

There are undoubtedly many reasons why organized labor tended to neglect urban problems. One of the reasons, however, must surely have been tradition. The old union movement never developed comprehensive policies on local or municipal government. It was the practice to leave local problems to local unions or local labor councils. The practice began to change during the New Deal when national programs were developed that dealt directly with problems that had heretofore been regarded as purely local in character. As Federal-local intergovernmental relations became more common, it became apparent to labor that many local problems had national significance and had to be considered by a labor movement interested in the national welfare. AFL-CIO support of a Department of Urban Affairs is an example of labor's recognition of the national significance of the problems of urbanism.

However, despite these signs of increased awareness, there is still disappointment expressed over labor's failure to live up to its potential. For example, a speaker at an important civic conference in 1961 expressed his disappointment over the "glaring evidences of a lack of concern among labor organizations." He went on to add that "the lack of concern was a

disappointment because we have generally been convinced that the membership of such organizations was a potentially powerful factor in the urban community".[1]

This latter point is important, because organized labor is indeed generally regarded as a "potentially powerful factor". But, just how powerful is it and what are its limitations? Some observers, such as David Riesman, see power shared by a relatively large number of groups. Any one group can expect to operate successfully -- that is, implement its interests -- in only a very narrow range due to the resistance of competing power groups.[2] Thus, power, under these pluralistic circumstances takes on a negative or "veto" character. It has the ability to stop or inhibit, but not the ability to innovate or initiate.

There are, of course, some dissenters from the "veto" theory of power, at least as it applies to labor. One study has shown how unions have actually altered a community decision-making process,[3] and another study suggested that union political support can be enlisted for broad social purposes on the basis of working-class self-identification.[4] There are also others, but the important question is the impact that trade union involvement will have on finding solutions to urban problems. This is the reason for the proposal.

IV. <u>The Concept of the Core</u>

There must be some general understanding as to the meaning of urbanism in the context of the project and the assurance that each university plays a cooperative, rather than a competitive role. Therefore, the project is designed to assure a measure of cohesiveness and consistency.

During the course of the project each cooperating university will be expected to offer a sequence of courses on urbanism for labor leaders. However, instead of each university building the courses from the ground up, areas to be covered in the study of urbanism and labor will be outlined in the project design (Chapter V). The areas so outlined constitute a general core curriculum that will be followed by each university in its education program, with the understanding that each university will use its own resources to build its courses within the context of the core curriculum.

The use of the core curriculum for courses on urbanism, however, is not the end of it. Each major area in the core curriculum will also represent areas of specialization for each of the cooperating universities. Each university will not only be responsible for developing an entire sequence of courses on labor and the problems of urbanism, but the same university will also choose one of the major areas of the core curriculum -- public finance, for example -- in which to concentrate its research efforts, develop educational materials and, possibly, devise its action or extension programs.

This approach has several important advantages:

1. Assures an integrated and coherent project by minimizing greatly the problems of coordination.

2. Sets up a cohesive project design with a unity of purpose, while at the same time leaving ample opportunity for the original and creative use of each participating university's resources.

3. Allows for a cross fertilization of ideas not only within a particular university, but also between cooperating universities by the structured exchange of such things as course syllabi, special educational materials, and research findings.

4. Allows unique research opportunities for each university, while maintaining the integrity of the project and avoiding needless overlap.

5. Permits the development of creative action and extension programs at each university that can ultimately serve as demonstration projects and case materials.

V. The Core Curriculum

The core curriculum consists of seven specific subject areas. They are (1) The People, (2) The Economy, (3) Government - Structure and Functions, (4) Public Finance, (5) Physical Development, (6) Social Organizations, and (7) Policy Formulation and Urban Change. The core defines the areas to be covered by courses, the subject matter for which educational materials are to be prepared, the areas where research is needed, and areas where action programs are to be carried out.

The description of the core areas is divided into two parts. The first part - education - describes the general content of the courses and the substance to be covered in the special educational materials. The part called research illustrates the kind of problem that might benefit from some additional study and which would help meet the educational goals of the project.

In terms of research one further point should be made. Research, as it is visualized in this project, includes everything from basic studies requiring the collection of original data to mere compilations of existing data for use in a specialized way by labor educators. The final estimate of how much of each type of research will be done will obviously have to wait until specific proposals are made by the various universities and they

will be guided by anticipated resources and the overall objectives of the project.

The fact that there are separate parts for education, research and action implies nothing in terms of relative priorities or rankings. The arrangement is one of pure convenience. Also, it should be understood that the section on research is neither exclusive nor complete, but merely illustrative. Finally, all of these areas are presented with the explicit understanding that organized labor is the context in which they are to be considered.

The core curriculum is as follows:

1. The People

At least one writer has described urbanization as simply the process of population concentration.[5] If that definition is too limited, there is no doubt that population concentration is a crucial ingredient of the phenomena of urbanization. Furthermore, population concentration is not a uniquely American problem. Much of the world is undergoing the same process and so it would seem that the proper starting place for a study of urbanism is the growth and concentration of population in the world and in the United States.

Education

The section on The People should touch on the so-called "population explosion", especially in the United States. It should point out how the growth is being distributed in terms of urban and rural places. Even more specifically, it should point out the differential rates of growth within

urban concentrations and where the growth is coming from. That is, the relative impact of the birth rate and immigration. It also should deal with the changing ethnic and racial character of urban areas as well as with other characteristics such as age, occupation and socio-economic status. It should certainly also draw attention to projected changes expected to take place in the foreseeable future.

Research

The growing concentrations of people in urban areas pose questions for the labor movement for which there are as yet no adequate answers. For example, (1) what are the effects of changes in place of residence and changes in place of work on the structure of urban areas and on social institutions such as labor? (2) what effect is urbanization having on the character of the labor force, both in terms of occupational requirements and in terms of special groups within the labor force (e.g., minorities, women, youth and the aging)?

2. The Economy

Among the traditional characteristics of American economic life are its dynamic and experimental nature. These conditions have seldom been more evident than they are at the present time. The economy of the nation is now moving into a period of accelerated technological advance. Significant changes in the structure and organization of industry, composition and dispersal of the labor force, skill requirements of the labor force, and the methods of communication and distribution are now taking place. These changes will be of great importance in determining the shape of urban America and the future of the American labor movement.

Education

The section of the Economy should include an explanation of the structure and functions of the urban economy in the past, present and foreseeable future. It should trace the development of urban settlements as centers of economic activity from at least the medieval town to the modern industrial and commercial city. It should explain the economic functions of the contemporary central city, and satellite cities and urban suburbs and attempt to show how they are changing.

This section should also deal with the important economic problems facing urban centers. These include the migration and dispersal of industry, automation, unemployment, the problems of the poor and deprived, and the relationship between the urban and national economies.

Research

All economic questions affecting a particular region will affect the labor movement within the region. However, in view of the rapid changes now taking place in the American economy, certain problems seem of special importance to urban oriented labor organizations.

(1) Analysis of the effects of technological change (e.g., industrial location and mobility, labor force requirements, emerging product and service needs, new power sources, new patterns of transportation and communication) on the industrial structure and labor force of the urban area.

(2) Analysis of non-manufacturing and manufacturing employment expectations in urban areas and the implication of these forecasts for labor unions.

(3) Analysis of policies designed to stimulate urban industrial and commercial growth and the meaning of these policies in terms of unions and their members.

3. Government - Structure and Functions of Local Government

In any attempt to compartmentalize the study of urban areas there is bound to be a certain amount of repetition or overlap. Public economy, for example, deals with the burden-benefit equation and the benefits are merely reflections of the functions or services that government provides. Also, the structure and organization of urban local government is simply the application of the theories of democracy to government in urban areas. Therefore, the distinctions between the areas are sometimes subtle and always arbitrary, but at the same time useful.

Education:

Organizing and structuring government is the applied science of democracy. It is the concrete attempt to translate into practice the abstract notions of representative democracy, the rule of law and the rights of the individual. In a study of the structure of government several approaches are possible, but one obvious starting point is a consideration of the meaning of democracy and the legal basis of local government. From where do local governments derive their powers and how do these governments fit into the complicated structure of a federal republic like the United States? What are some of the problems that grow out of the relations between the various levels of government? What are the kinds of local government (e.g., counties, cities, townships, etc.) and what forms do they take? What are the traditional functions of local government and how

have these functions been changing? What are some of the new functions that have come to characterize the activities of modern local government and what have been the stimuli bringing about such changes? What efforts have been made to change the jurisdictional limits of local governments in urban areas and what forms did they take? And, very importantly, what is to be expected in the future?

Research:

1. There have been a number of studies done in recent years on the structure and functions of local government in metropolitan areas or urban regions. Many communities have proposed reforms as a consequence of these studies, most of which have met resounding defeat at the polls. These proposed reforms have invariably been opposed by suburban or outer-fringe communities, but increasingly there have been signs of opposition emerging in the central cities. Why has this new opposition been developing? Or, to put it in a somewhat different way, how can metropolitan or regional government be organized so as to meet the needs of all residents in the area, particularly working people, low income people and racial minorities living in the central city?

2. There has been a long history of controversy over the best way to organize and structure local government. Advocates of the strong mayor plan, the council manager plan, the commission form, the "at-large" election of councilmen, election of councilmen by district, the aldermanic system can all be found, but the labor movement has never developed a policy supporting any of these positions. A research project, therefore, that would be most helpful to the labor movement would be a systematic analysis of

the various forms of local government as they relate to the needs of labor. Such a study might develop a set of canons or principles concerning legislative representation, executive responsibility and accountability, and administration that would provide useful guidelines for labor in judging proposals for local governmental reform.

4. Public Finance

The shortcomings of local public finance are among the most troublesome problems of urbanism. These difficulties stem from inadequate and unjust revenue systems, expenditure programs that have grown like topsy, rather than as responses to rational determinations of need, and archaic and perverse budget and financial administrations. Attempts to solve problems in urban areas within the present framework of public finance seem doomed to failure and make this area a particularly important subject of investigation.

Education:

There are three categories to be considered under the general heading of Public Finance. They are (1) public revenues, (2) public expenditures, and (3) budgets, debt, fiscal policy and financial administration.

Public revenues, of course, are the means by which local governments in urban areas support their activities. They include taxes, fees, service charges and grants from other governments. All of these means ought to be considered in terms of their equity, adequacy, efficiency and effectiveness. They also ought to be considered in terms of historical perspective.

Public expenditures are outlays made by local governments for public purposes. In this section should be included the facts and trends relating

to public expenditures, the causes of and attitudes toward increasing public expenditures, the economic effects of public expenditures, the classification of public expenditures and the limits of public expenditures.

The section on budgeting, debt, fiscal and financial management should include an analysis and appraisal of these activities. It should touch upon the purpose of budgeting, proposals for improving budget administration, the criteria for determining effective financial administration, the function of debt at the local level, economic incentives to business available from local government, and the impact of local finance on the national economy.

Research:

There are countless questions relating to urban public finance that, if answered, would be of great interest to the labor movement as well as to the society in general.

(1) As the number of independent taxing authorities in urban areas increase there has been a concomitant increase in disputes over the nature of a fair and effective system of intra-urban local taxation. One such controversy typically grows out of the relationship between central cities and their suburbs. The central city argues that it provides services and protections to daytime populations that pay most of their local taxes outside the central city. The suburbs counter with the claim that they pay taxes directly to the central city on property they own or rent, indirectly by shopping in central city stores, and by producing wealth and income for the central city from which taxes are collected. Since labor unions have constituents in both the suburbs and the central city it would be useful

to have some empirical evidence with which to evaluate the merits of each position.

(2) Also, what effects on the redistribution of income occurs from the multitude of autonomous revenue and expenditure units in an urban area?

5. Physical Development

The choice of the term Physical Development may be an obvious but unfortunate one. It tends to suggest that physical development is a goal apart from the needs of people living in places where development takes place. Indeed, one of the criticisms of planning in recent years has been that it has tended to be preoccupied with physical development to the detriment of the people affected by this process.

This has not always been the case as the history of planning illustrates so well. The city planning movement grew out of a concern for the welfare of the poor and deprived. Frederick Law Olmstead, for example, proposed the building of city parks so that the poor might find a haven from the pressures of urban life in a rural setting.[6] Also, Ebenezer Howard proposed the Garden City concept as a means for ameliorating the life conditions of the poor.[7]

As city planning progressed, however, the emphasis changed. As Herbert Gans has put it, "it is safe to say that until the coming of the City Beautiful movement, the concern with zoning, and the formulation of the master plan concept - that is, until the business community came to be interested in planning - one of the major aims of the flegling city planning movement was to fight urban deprivation and to maintain the existing social order by doing so."[8]

Although the aim of improving the conditions of the poor became less important, it never disappeared completely from the ideology of planning. In fact, in recent years there has been a major rekindling of concern among planners for the problems of the socially disorganized, the urban poor, the slum-ghetto dweller, the unemployed, and other alienated urbanites. This intensified concern has shown itself in a number of cities throughout the country (Oakland, Calif.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Newark, N. J.; New Haven, Conn.) with programs emphasizing the social and economic needs of the affected peoples. Now physical planners are interacting more frequently with the social scientist, educator and the social worker, and the term physical development is coming to be defined more and more in human terms.

Education:

There are two categories to be distinguished under the heading of Physical Development and each one is divided into two parts. Planning and zoning make up the first category and housing and urban renewal make up the second.

Planning is "the continuing process of preparing, in advance and in a reasonably systematic fashion, recommendations as to courses of action to achieve agreed-upon goals or objectives in the common life of urban communities."[9] Broadly speaking, it "involves the appraisal of all manner of resources in men and materials, and the marshalling of them in the community interest."[10] Zoning is simply the "applied" aspect or engineering of the "science" of planning and is the practice of restricting the use of buildings or premises by districts or zones. Housing deals with the subsidization (direct or indirect) of shelter and urban renewal with the

processes of slum clearance, redevelopment, control and conservation of blighted and deteriorating parts of the urban area.

The course dealing with these matters should review the present situation and events leading up to the present. It should review the arguments for and against planning, zoning, publicly subsidized housing, and urban renewal, and indicate the changes that have occurred in the legislative history of these programs. It should deal with the inter-governmental relations affecting these functions and indicate how these relationships have worked out in practice. It should point to the shortcomings of these programs and make some evaluation as to suggested reforms and new programs. It should also try to point to some of the alternatives that have been suggested for the future.

Research:

The opportunities for useful research in the area of Physical Development are literally too numerous to mention. Three possible projects of special importance to labor are the following:

1. Urban sprawl promises to have a very great impact upon labor union members. Not only does this sprawl threaten to greatly affect the dynamics of union participation, but zoning restrictions in the suburbs where many new factories are being located threaten to make housing for workers economically impossible in areas near these new plants. Therefore, it would be in the interest of labor and the society in general to analyze carefully the effect of such restrictions on workers and the part that housing subsidies play in this pattern of development.

2. There has been general agreement that one of the real shortages in the urban central core is reasonably priced middle-income housing. A study that would benefit labor most directly would be an analysis of middle-income housing in these areas and the part that labor could play as possible promoter, developer and/or manager of such housing.

3. Labor has typically paid very little attention to city planning as a function of local government. It is, therefore, not surprising that labor had been so little consulted or represented, either in the dialogue that has preceded development of planning principles, or in the implementation of planning policies. In view of this, it would be useful if planning, including regional and state planning as it is currently practiced, were appraised in terms of its impace on labor. Such a study should also deal with the role that labor should play in the development and implementation of planning policies.

6. Social Organizations

Voluntary social groups have a long and venerable tradition in the United States. These groups typically began as narrow self-interest groups, but frequently they broadened their interests to include concern for the plight of others. The development of such associations or groups is what has been termed the "voluntary group enterprise" system of meeting human needs and wants. This system is an extremely important and influential part of American life and it now constitutes a virtual unofficial government. As Jack Stumpf, Executive Director of the San Bernardino County Council of Community Services, has pointed out, "It (the system of voluntary group enterprise) not only holds sway over many areas of American life, but also

provides the country with the widest and deepest experience in decision-making and problem solving short of government itself."[11]

Education:

The section on social organization is concerned with the role and functions of voluntary associations and how they relate to the problems of urbanism. This section will be concerned mainly, but not exclusively, with the processes that are coming to be regarded by practitioners as "more similar than different". In general, both community organization and community development are concerned with creating conditions most favorable to social growth and change and have as their ultimate goals the improvement of the individual family and small groups. But, specifically, how do social organizations engage in community organization and community development? How intimately do they know the people and the community in which they serve? How deeply do they penetrate the community and how broad are their efforts? How do they help people identify and discuss their problems? How do they initiate community organization and how do they locate and develop leadership, both lay and professional? At what level (i.e., block, neighborhood, district, or urban-metropolitan) are plans for community organization, community development, or social welfare programs developed and what are the guidelines provided by experience? How do social organizations formulate action plans, make decisions and find resources to make plans and programs possible? How successful have been the voluntary associations in the areas of social welfare, community organization and community development? And, finally, what is the future role of the voluntary association in community

organization and development in view of the broadened interest on the part of government at the state, local and national level?

Research:

In most countries of the world community development or organization is usually carried out as a governmental activity, whereas in the United States these efforts are predominantly under voluntary auspices. Therefore, with the increased activity of government in the United States, in fields related to community organization and development, is the emphasis on the voluntary approach still appropriate? Also, is decision-making within the voluntary associations sufficiently representative of the whole community, and are the voluntary associations responsive to the diverse elements they are intended to serve? Finally, what will be the role of the labor movement, both in terms of recent governmental efforts in community organization and development and in terms of the traditional roles of the voluntary agencies?

7. Policy Formulation and Urban Change

One of the problems facing practitioners in the field of urbanism is the difficulty of bringing about change. Even where proposals are made that suggest only moderate reform, the reaction too often is immediate and overwhelming rejection. Labor, of course, has played a part in this process, if largely by indirection. In communities or districts where large numbers of union members cast their ballots, the votes against reform proposals have equalled or exceeded the negative votes counted in predominantly non-union districts. This sometimes happened despite the fact that union

leadership endorsed the reform proposal on the grounds that union members stood to benefit from its enactment. One conclusion that may be drawn is that there is at present too little understanding of the dynamics of urban change and the part that enlightened and aggressive leadership can play in bringing about change.

Education:

An education program on Urban Change should deal first with the nature of change. What precisely is the meaning of "reform" as opposed to "systemic" change in the context of urban affairs and how does the difference between these two types of change affect the problems of urbanism? Who initiates change in an urban setting and how is the community organized to bring it about? How does a reform or proposal for systemic change achieve legitimacy in the eyes of the affected constituency? Who ultimately passes judgment on a proposed change? What has been the recent experience of communities in the United States in terms of accepting or rejecting change? What groups supported the proposals for change, and what groups comprised the opposition? What role has labor played in these attempts at change?

It is obviously unreasonable to expect union members to follow policy recommendations that are neither well thought out nor carefully presented. The formulation of sound policies responsive to the needs and goals of the rank and file is one of the keys to competent and effective leadership, especially where the issue is as distinct from normal union activity as the problem of urban change. Thus, this section should deal with the problems faced in the formulation of policy on urban affairs as a function of labor union leadership. The course should also concern itself with the methods

of policy formulation and the problems of effective presentation of policy recommendations. It should concern itself with the role of the expert on urban affairs and the part that he should properly play in the exploration of alternatives as a necessary preliminary to the making of sound policy decisions. It should deal with the sometimes contradictory demands of constituent pressure as opposed to the often more obscure long-term interests of the labor movement and the general community.

Research:

During the past several years there have been a number of attempts in the United States to change the governments of urban (metropolitan) areas. These attempts with very few exceptions have failed, Miami and Nashville being the important exceptions. And, it is important to note, many of these attempts have had the benefit of active support of the most important and influential elements in the area. Therefore, it would be useful to the labor movement and other groups to know something of the forces that played a part in defeating or enacting these proposals and the precise role played by the labor movement in each case. What role did labor play in the development of the proposed reforms and did they support or oppose the final proposal? How did labor organize to support its own position and was there any evidence that the rank and file either followed or rejected the recommendations of their leadership? What do the findings of the study suggest for union leadership in the future regarding urban change?

VI. Action Programs

Action programs that might usefully be undertaken in conjunction with this project are literally too numerous to mention. Given the time and an

inclination for such work, scores of possible programs might be listed. It is not, however, the function of this section to provide such an exhaustive list, but only to illustrate briefly the kinds of programs that could usefully be undertaken in conformance with the overall objectives of the project.

Some possible action programs are:

1) Through the cooperation of the labor movement, the university, social welfare agencies of the community, a community adjustment office could be established in a local union hall for the purpose of providing advice and assistance to new residents of the city. Advice on social services, tenant rights, and medical and welfare services are but a few of the functions such an office could perform. Staff for such a venture could be recruited from the trade unions themselves, trained by the university for their new roles.

2) A program could be established to help youthful entrants to the labor market find jobs or additional training appropriate to the needs of the labor market. Labor organizations are uniquely qualified to provide help in this area. For example, one of the oldest traditions in the labor movement is that of adult education, and especially adult education associated with the upgrading of vocational skills. Also, unions, both locals and internationals, do make some effort to keep abreast of changing skill and vocational requirements in their factory or industry and they are often among the first to see signs of emerging opportunities. Unions also have access to or even control over certain processes (e.g., apprentice training) that can greatly influence the vocational expectations of youth.

3) An action program that would draw on the experiences of both labor and urban extension might be the creation of a labor-urban extension service using the facilities of both the labor extension program and the urban extension program in order to design and improve patterns of collaboration between universities, labor unions and the urban communities they serve.

The role of the labor-urban extension agent or specialist might be something like the following:

a) Consultant

To respond to requests for information on urban problems, give technical advice and guidance, and offer alternative courses of action on urban issues to guide labor union policy formulation.

b) Policy Seminars and Conferences

To call conferences and arrange seminars for the purpose of acquainting labor leaders with important issues relating to the urban area.

c) Labor Education on Urban Affairs

To offer or assist in the offering of special educational programs to labor people on the nature of urban society, urban development and urban problems.

d) Public Information

To prepare releases and other materials intended to inform union members on urban issues affecting them through such means as the labor press and the general mass media.

4) Another appropriate action program would be the development of an urban internship program for labor specialists in urban affairs. In this program union urban trainees would be assigned to various local government offices and agencies for specific periods of time. They would

function very much as ordinary administrative trainees or interns learning the operation of the city government by working in city offices. In conjunction with the work experience there would be a series of seminars or courses directed toward making the work experience more meaningful. Such a program would be administered jointly by the university, the local governments and the unions involved. The participating unions would, of course select the participants with the approval of the university and the local municipal administration.

5) The creation of an urban research agency by labor, which would study problems affecting the urban area and make recommendations for labor's approval. Such an agency could be established at the university labor education center and have its services available to all labor unions in the area. One of its by-products might be the development of technical advisors with the capacity and training for careful and objective analysis of urban problems.

6) The training of a group of urban development agents or specialists connected with the labor movement. These agents would be recruited, on a non-paid, part-time basis, from secondary local union leadership, and would receive university-guided training in fields related to physical development. They would be taught, for example, the legal and functional role of the planning department, the part that zoning properly plays in carrying out the planning concept, the function of public housing, and the purposes and methods of urban renewal. The training would be geared to the existing programs and practices of physical development in the city where the program is to be put into effect.

These agents would be an important source of reliable information and assistance to the people they would serve, as well as a useful barometer of community reaction to development plans and programs. People who are concerned about the future of their neighborhood would feel free to make inquiries to such an agent and he in turn would be in a position to communicate these apprehensions to the public agencies. If such a program were instituted, much of the antagonism toward physical development programs now encountered would be allayed, and many a misguided program might receive the careful reconsideration it needs.

7) The establishment of one or a number of Labor Urban Service Centers. These centers would be established for the purpose of aiding the process of community organization and would be staffed by - to steal a phrase from the sporting world - "semi-professionals" from the labor movement. These Urban Service Workers would be trained by the universities and be supervised by project personnel in cooperation with community services specialists from the labor movement.

The labor oriented Urban Service Worker would be a rare source of indigenous leadership. Ideally, they would come from the part of the community they will service and they would help establish rapport between the professionals and their clients. The Urban Service Worker would be equipped to translate the values of the community to the professional worker, while at the same time allaying the fears and diminishing the hostilities of the low income client. The Urban Service Worker would also provide concrete service by helping to initiate and carry through organizational efforts and by his ability to provide simple referral advice and assistance.

8) An experimental program designed to test labor's role in bringing about urban change. An issue in the area (or an issue the labor movement itself could raise) would be taken and studied by the group with some care. University people and governmental experts would be invited to help outline the problems and propose alternative solutions and the group would also be expected to undertake some independent study. After the issue had been carefully analyzed, the group would then decide how to best work for the implementation of the solution they selected. With the help of university experts and others, the group would analyze the decision-making process as it relates to the issue they are concerned with. They would determine how popular support can best be enlisted, how the issue can be presented to the general union membership and the public, and the part the group (or spokesmen for the group) can play in obtaining political support for the change they are advocating.

VII. Methods and Procedures

1. Program Office:

To administer the program, and to assure its effective execution, a Program Office will be established at NILE headquarters to be staffed by a Program Director and a stenographer. Its precise functions and responsibilities are discussed in Chapter VIII.

2. Program Advisory Committee:

NILE will establish an advisory committee to engage in a continual evaluation of all programs and provide whatever assistance may be necessary or requested by the universities to accomplish the purposes of the project. The committee, composed of NILE board members, experts in the problems of

urbanism, the general public, and labor, will also attempt to maximize cooperation among all participating universities. The committee will be assisted in its work by the staff of the program office.

3. Selection of Universities:

The universities to be selected for participation in this program will be chosen from those having active all-year-round labor education services in operation. Preferably, they will be universities which have also engaged in research and/or teaching in the field of Urbanization. All universities wishing to cooperate in the program will be required to cooperate with NILE on reporting, annual review, exchange of experiences, and evaluation.

4. Educational Methods:

The participating universities will have considerable latitude in shaping the educational aspects of the project. All of the universities to be invited as participants have had long and valuable experience in labor education and it is expected that the methods and materials used will reflect this experience.

5. Intra-University Cooperation:

It is expected that each university will call upon those resources within the university that can contribute to their effective participation. University urban study centers, political institutes, public administration institutes and schools of social work are examples of university facilities that will be of special help to a university's effective participation.

6. Community Groups:

Several of the communities where this project will be initiated have community supported activities that promise to be of unique value to the

labor center in the development of the project. It is expected that attempts will be made to establish cooperative relationships when resources such as these are available.

7. Recruitment:

The labor participants in the education and action phases of the project will be recruited or selected cooperatively by the universities and the labor movement. The labor coordinator working with each university will have the specific responsibility for directing recruitment in cooperation with the labor education center. The specific level of union leadership from which labor participants are recruited will be part of the experimentation that conditions the final outcome of the project, but some general criteria can be outlined at this point. First, participants should be leaders who actually make decisions or affect decision-making, or will soon be in a position of decision-making importance. This means that appointive as well as elective officials may usefully participate, but only if the labor official is in a position to translate the training and experience into policy terms. Second, participants can be officials of locals, international unions, or the federated bodies. Again, the only concern is that the person recruited come from a position within the hierarchy that suggests a decision-making role or a position that leads to such a role.

8. Materials Preparation and Research:

As has been pointed out above, each university will have special responsibility for a particular area of the core curriculum. In these areas each university will prepare relatively comprehensive educational materials and conduct supportive research. In terms of the research, it is

expected that each university will enlist qualified researchers to conduct the studies.

The same can be said of the preparation of comprehensive educational materials. That is, that the universities engage people to do the work who have a knowledge of the labor movement and who have some understanding of labor education. However, as regards the comprehensive educational materials, there is one further requirement. The sum of these materials will be something akin to a labor textbook on urbanism and there will consequently be a need for some coordination to assure that these materials are comparable in terms of comprehensiveness and sophistication. This coordination will be the responsibility of the NILE program director.

9. Action Phase:

It is expected that the labor education centers, with the help of the labor coordinators, will take the responsibility for directing the action phase of the project. All of the centers have people on their staffs with long experience working with labor groups and all of them have developed amiable and cooperative relationships with the labor movements in the states in which they are located.

10. Cooperation of the Labor Movement:

It is clear that the project could not hope to succeed without the wholehearted cooperation of labor. It is fortunate, therefore, that labor has already demonstrated its interest. The idea of the project, for example, came from union and university labor educators and the proposal was designed by a technician on leave from an important international union. Moreover, during the period of consultation and preparation, union leadership

at various levels gave encouragement and demonstrated a live interest. As far as the overall project is concerned, labor will be represented on a project advisory committee which will be established by NILE and which will have a major responsibility for coordination of the project. Labor is also represented on the Board of Directors of NILE.

In order to assure cooperation between the labor movement and the various universities in the communities where the project will actually be conducted, it will be required that the labor movement designate a person to serve as labor coordinator to work with the labor education center. The labor Coordinator's functions will include recruitment of labor participants in the project, help in the organization and direction of the action phase of the project, and liaison officer between the labor education center and the labor movement.

It is also expected that each university will consider the creation of a special labor advisory committee to guide and advise the project at the various labor education centers.

11. Performance Standards and Evaluation:

As has been the recent practice in NILE administered projects, each university will be asked to include in their proposals provisions for standards of performance and evaluation. Evaluation will grow out of standards and guidelines developed by the program advisory committee and will be administered cooperatively by the universities and NILE.

VIII. Program Office

There will be established in conjunction with NILE headquarters a program office which will have the following functions and responsibilities:

a) Coordination of All Projects:

Coordination through some central agency is considered a vital ingredient to the success of the program, considering the size and scope of the program and the involvement of several universities and many individuals. There is need to avoid overlap in the production of reading materials, study and discussion guides, visual aids, and manuals for instructors. Furthermore, during the initial period of the project, it may be necessary to negotiate reassignment of projects among the universities and/or to incorporate into the program new data and ideas as they may become available from new studies. Finally, the program office will receive and evaluate reports on the various university projects.

b) Recommend on Grants to Universities.

c) Stimulate University Participation and Support of the Labor Movement.

d) Editing and Reproduction of Materials:

In order to achieve the purpose of the program, that is to assist the labor movement to be better informed on urbanization problems, materials must be written in a manner suitable to labor groups. It is therefore anticipated that the Program Director will review all materials, and in close cooperation with the universities and/or individual authors suggest or undertake such adaptations and revisions of the materials as seems necessary to make them an effective tool in labor education. All materials produced

under the Urbanization project will become the property of NILE, which reserves the final decision on duplication (printing) including quantity of copies, price, etc. The program office may also, if deemed necessary, engage in the initiation of experimental testing programs for all or certain kinds of materials as a preliminary step to the release of materials for general consumption.

e) Provide for an Exchange of Experiences, Utilization of Techniques, Identification, Collection, and Distribution of Materials:

Some agency must assume responsibility for publicizing the material and information, or else the project will fail to achieve its objective. This is a task requiring skill and a good deal of effort which will be assumed by the NILE program office.

In addition, the program office will make the widest possible effort to have the materials used and make experiences known to labor unions and universities not directly participating in the program, as well as other interested persons or organizations.

f) Final Report and Evaluation:

In view of the great scope and significance of the project, it seems absolutely necessary that program staff keep a very careful record on all developments and prepare a detailed project evaluation. It is expected that the report will be made available not only to the grant-giving agencies, but also to unions and universities, subject-matter specialists, and other interested persons.

IX. Cost and Financing:

An accurate estimate of the cost of the program must await negotiations with participating universities. It is estimated, however, that a good

Before or after they are produced?

portion of the total cost will be borne by labor organizations, primarily through tuition payments and purchase of materials and books. Depending on circumstances, labor organizations will also contribute financially to the program through the provision of classroom facilities for education and/or action projects, through voluntary service on advisory committees, both national and local, and assignment of a staff person to function as general liaison to the individual university projects.

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SUMMARY REPORT ON NILE

National Institute of Labor Education
1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

January, 1965

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SUMMARY REPORT ON NILE

I. Current Projects

A. Southern Staff Institute

The second Southern Staff Institute will be held January 31, 1965, to February 26, 1965, at Austin, Texas, in cooperation with the University of Texas. Like the first Institute, held in 1963 at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, it will be open only to full-time staff of unions assigned to work in the South. The curriculum for the Institute includes discussion of labor law, organizing and bargaining problems, and effective communications, as well as a broad consideration of social, political and economic problems of the South, including civil rights. The faculty is drawn from both unions and universities. George Guernsey and Joe Mire function as co-directors for the Institute, which is also receiving significant assistance from the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

The following unions have indicated interest in registering students with the Institute: Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Automobile Workers; Carpenters; Chemical Workers; Clothing Workers; Communications Workers; Electrical Workers (IBEW); Hodcarriers; Iron Workers; Locomotive, Firemen and Enginemen; Machinists; Oil, Chemical Workers; Packinghouse Workers; Papermakers; Photo-Engravers; Retail Clerks; Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers; Seafarers; State, County and Municipal Employees; Steelworkers. Between 20 to 25 students will be in attendance.

Professor Ron Donovan (Cornell University) has prepared an evaluation report on the very successful North Carolina Institute and copies are available from NILE headquarters.

Funds have been secured to hold a third Southern Staff Institute either in the fall of 1965 or the spring of 1966.

B. Program for Educationally Disadvantaged Unionists

NILE is sponsoring a program to help educationally and culturally disadvantaged unionists, be they rank-and-filers, union officers, or full-time staff members, to improve their knowledge and skills for the operation of an effective, civic-minded union, and for constructive participation in the solution of community problems.

This program will provide mainly educational services which persons drawn primarily from minority groups could use to expand their knowledge and skills in the directions needed. The subjects taught could include a range from reading techniques (both elementary and advanced) to small and mass group behavior, as well as the more standard sessions covering the philosophy and operation of both unions and American society.

Initially unions located in Atlanta and Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, will be selected for participation in the program. Unions to be involved will, hopefully, include the following: Longshoremen; State, County and Municipal Employees; Woodworkers; Carpenters; Tobacco Workers; Hodcarriers; Oil, Chemical Workers; Furniture Workers; Rubber Workers; and Papermakers.

We expect the program to accomplish as a minimum the following: personal growth of individual students; improved efficiency on all levels of union-employer and rank-and-file-union leadership relations; improvement of quality of community life.

The program is a pilot project and if successful will be extended into other geographical areas.

C. Youth Employment Program

On request of the labor members of the President's Committee on Youth Employment, and in close cooperation with U.S. Government agencies, NILE has been conducting a program for underemployed or unemployed youth. Its major purpose is to supplement the various efforts of government agencies in the field through union-initiated, union-sponsored, and perhaps also union-conducted demonstration projects which include pre-apprenticeship training, apprenticeship training, institutional and on-the-job training for semi-skilled occupations.

A large portion of those involved in the NILE-Youth Employment Program are school dropouts belonging to minority groups. Currently the status of the Youth Employment Program is as follows:

Operational Projects:

Carpenters Program in the District of Columbia, now involving 52 trainees;

Painters Program in Newark, New Jersey, now operating with 28 boys. This program has received favorable publicity in Newark papers, as well as in the NEW YORK TIMES. It has also been praised on television by Governor Hughes of New Jersey;

Mattatuck Manufacturing Company, Mattatuck, New Jersey, involving 22 boys to become tool maker apprentices in a program initiated jointly with the UAW;

Truck Mechanics Program, Washington, D.C., involving 25 disadvantaged youths to become truck mechanic apprentices in a program initiated jointly with the Machinists union.

Approved and Recommended for Funding:

Wire Novelty Company, Shelton, Connecticut, involving 10 boys to become tool maker apprentices under a program initiated jointly with the Steelworkers union;

Ansonia Manufacturing Company, Ansonia, Connecticut, involving 15 youngsters to become apprentice screw machine operators and set-up men in a program initiated jointly with the Steelworkers union.

Pending Applications for Approval and Funding:

Bricklayers in Norwalk and Bridgeport, Connecticut, involving approximately 35 disadvantaged youth;

Millmen, Cincinnati, Ohio, involving 20 boys;

Carpenters, Norwalk, Connecticut, involving 18 youth.

Pending Project Contacts:

Marine Engineers, Baltimore, Maryland, involving some 200 youngsters (a backlog of some 1500 openings and a demand for 700 a year). Here, we are actually called upon to set up an entirely new, full-fledged apprenticeship program;

Bakery Workers, Long Island City, New York - 50 trainees;

IAM Truck Mechanics, Baltimore, Maryland – No decision yet on number of trainees;

IAM Truck Mechanics, Boston, Massachusetts – Between 15 and 20 youth;

Carpenters, Flint and Midland, Michigan – To set up a new apprenticeship program to train 35 youth;

Rome-New York Division of Pettibone-Mulliken Corporation, and IAM – To train 25 boys to be apprentice machinists and welders;

Terry Turbine Company and IUE, Hartford, Connecticut – To set up an apprenticeship program to train 12 youth to be machinists;

IAM and Teamsters, Cincinnati, Ohio, jointly to sponsor a program to train 15 youth to be truck mechanics;

The Tri-State District Council of Ohio, Kentucky and West Virginia – To train 30 youth to become carpenter apprentices;

Bricklayers in the same general area of Ashland, Kentucky, covering parts of West Virginia and Ohio – To set up a new apprenticeship program to train 30 youth;

IAM in Utica, New York – To set up a new apprenticeship program to train 25 youth to become auto mechanics.

D. Mental Health Program

After preliminary research and exploration extending over a period of two years, NILE initiated a substantial effort to foster mental health activities within labor organizations. Current activities include the following:

1. Assistance to and coordination of labor-sponsored mental health programs;

2. Assistance to labor in formulating policy guidelines on mental health issues;

3. Dissemination of information within the professional community on mental health problems of low income groups;

4. Preparation of monographs on mental health issues, e.g., "Issues in the New National Mental Health Program Relating to Labor and Low Income Groups"; "New Approaches to Mental Health Treatment for Labor and Low Income Groups"; "The Indigenous Nonprofessional - A Strategy of Change in Community Action and Community Mental Health Programs"; also several bulletins on current mental health issues of interest to labor.

   Copies of bulletins and monographs may be obtained without cost from NILE headquarters.

5. Providing - through conferences and correspondence - a forum for the exchange of views among labor, government and professionals on mental health problems indigenous to labor groups.

II. Program Proposals Now Pending with Foundations or Government

A. Proposal for Experimentation with Union-Sponsored Youth Service Programs

NILE has pending a proposal (a) for the conduct of pilot projects to research into the problems and conditions which enhance or hinder the full, intelligent, and responsible participation of labor in community affairs, and (b) the experimentation with approaches and techniques to improve the quantity and quality of such participation. The core of unions to participate in this program will be those with substantial membership in the low income groups, and every effort will be made throughout the experimental project to involve workers as active participants in the program, providing thus both direct and indirect opportunities for the acquisition of skills leading to self-reliance and self-help.

Initially this project will concentrate on an exploration of how to involve labor constructively in school problems, primarily those which deal with preparation for an occupational career. It is in this area that labor, because of its intimate knowledge of the requirements of industry and the trades, can play an immensely significant role in shaping the high school curriculum, pressing for vocational guidance for all students, and establish counseling services for those who dropped out of school or those who may need help in order to stay in school until graduation.

Three distinctly separate avenues might be pursued, namely, (1) the use of informational surveys, (2) experimental action programs, and (3) education and training for community action.

B. Civil Rights

NILE plans to sponsor a three-year program of education, including:

one-week human relations institutes for union staff and local union officers;

preparation of case studies on handling of minority problems; and

training of speakers on civil rights problems.

The major goal of these projects will be to assist the labor movement in the effective implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and in dealing with other problems of discrimination, whether they arise in a plant, union, or community.

III. Programs for Which Funds are Being Sought

A. Long-Term Study Institutes

NILE has developed a proposal for multi-university long-term (two- to four-year) non-residential study institutes in metropolitan areas. The program will provide for instruction of three to six hours per week for a period of 32 to 36 weeks annually. It will be designed for either full-time staff, or local union officers, or rank-and-file members. Subject matters will be those taken from the fields of the Social Sciences, the Humanities, and skill training. Details of the curriculum and other matters have been hammered out in several meetings of union and university labor educators.

B. Technological Change

A program proposal prepared by Professor William Faunce of Michigan State University provides for experimental projects in the field of automation, including recommendations for research, preparation of materials, educational conferences, and a film. The subjects cover the whole gamut of problems faced by unions, at every level, in the fields of automation and technological change.

C. Urbanization

This proposal has been developed by Carl Westman, then on leave from the UAW, and serving as Urban Fellow at Rutgers University. The

proposal aims at increasing trade union participation in solving the many-sided problems besetting the nation's cities. On the agenda for the project is research into problems of urban life, a determination of the nature of labor's role and responsibilities, preparation of materials, and the conduct of combined action/research projects.

IV. A Few Previous Notable NILE Programs

A. During 1960 and 1961, NILE, with the assistance of a foundation grant, sponsored a research study on Ethics and Moral Standards. It resulted in a detailed report on opinions and teaching on the subject matter in the labor movement, and in a manual titled "Teaching Ethics in Labor Education." Copies of the teaching manual are available from NILE. Both research and publication are the work of Professor Wayne Leys of Roosevelt University and Professor Peter Senn of Wright Junior College.

B. In line with its major objectives of initiating and stimulating important programs in labor education, NILE supported a research study on Pre-Retirement Education, prepared by Professor Leonard Breen of Purdue University. Subsequently, with the assistance of a government grant, NILE sponsored a two-day conference of subject-matter specialists and labor educators for the purpose of defining and designing the precise nature and scope of a pre-retirement program within labor education.

C. During 1960 and 1961, NILE developed, on behalf of the then ICA, a reccomendation for pilot projects for the residential training of union leaders from foreign countries. NILE also prepared a set of materials and bibliographies for use in such training institutes, as well as by ICA missions in foreign countries. The program was directed by Emil Starr, formerly ACWA.

D. During 1961 and 1962, NILE sponsored a total of five residential study institutes, at the Universities of California (Berkeley), Michigan State (East Lansing), Michigan University/Wayne State (Ann Arbor), and Cornell University (Ithaca). The institutes ran for a period of ten weeks, and included a high proportion of full-time union staff. The curriculum consisted of four courses, namely, Economics, Political Science, Sociology and Psychology, and Trade Union History and Philosophy. An evaluation of the institutes has been prepared by Professor Goodwin Watson, formerly of Columbia University, and copies are available from NILE.

E. For the past five years NILE has sponsored a Seminar on Comparative Labor Movements, which has engaged in a continuing study of the differences between the forms and concepts of trade unionism in the United States and Europe, on the one hand, and in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and South America, on the other. A collection of papers prepared for the seminar has been published by Northwestern University under the title "National Labor Movements in the Postwar World."

F. NILE has served as a forum for the exchange of views and experiences, and discussions of important problems in labor education at two nationwide conferences held in 1959 and 1960. The first conference centered around labor's public responsibility. Eleven papers were presented at this conference, exploring labor's public responsibility in collective bargaining, internal union policies, and public affairs.

The second conference dealt with challenges to labor education in the sixties, and focused on problems of urbanization, technological change, and labor leadership problems. Papers for both conferences were subsequently published, and made available to all interested persons.

January, 1965

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1966 Directory of Labor Education

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wrote to friend on 4/3/67

..."My current plans are to return to Univ. of Wisc. in Sept." ...

Strayer, George Drayton, 1876-

L133 Georgia. Board of Regents of the University System.
.G4 A report of a survey of the University system of
Georgia ... Atlanta, Georgia, The Regents, 1949.
4 p.l., 343 p. illus. 22½cm.

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San Franciso, California

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University of California
Berkeley, California

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United Automobile Workers
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

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Labor Education & Services
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University of Michigan, Museums Annex
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Lawrence Rogin, Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Don Stevens, Education Director
Michigan State AFL-CIO
716 Lothrop Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

David Sullivan, General President
International Building Service Employees Union, AFL-CIO
One East 35th Street
New York 16, New York

Gus Tyler, Director
ILGWU Training Institute
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New York 19, New York

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Los Angeles 14, California

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Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

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155 North Wacker Drive
Chicago 6, Illinois

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

Mental Health Project

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Union Health Service, Inc.
Room 1114
111 North Wabash Avenue
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Dept. of Social Security
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815 - 16th St., N. W.
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A. N. Browne-Mayers, M.D.
The New York Hospital
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1001 Penfield Road
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Proposal

for

A Community Worker Education Program

to

The National Institute of Labor Education

(Mental Health Project)

by

Karl U. Smith

Industrial Relations Center and Psychology Department

University of Wisconsin

INTRODUCTION

This is a proposal, based on the general concepts of work psychology, to create new approaches to preventive mental health programs and to make an attack upon the general problems of work evolution in metropolitan centers and depressed communities. The specific proposal made here is that a new dimension of education is needed in the community--a system or facility of worker education which can be used as a supportive mechanism to aid all types and classes of workers in three general ways: (1) providing information, educational support, and preventive pharmacologic aid for individual adjustment in work or at home; (2) providing educational facilities for underemployed and unemployed people in finding new lines of activity in work; (3) creating sustained educational activities in keeping members of the working community informed on general problems of mental hygiene, social control, self-improvement through systematic work, and avenues of self-expression in work.

This proposal is divided into three parts, as follows:

1. That a limited number of Work Science and Community Worker Education Centers be established in the United States for the express purpose of (1) exploring and developing worker-education and preventive mental health programs, (2) carrying out developmental research on the functions of worker education in prevention of behavior difficulties, and (3) carrying out exploratory studies of rehabilitation in behavior disorder. These centers can be established under the auspices of Extension Divisions of State Universities.

2. That a systematic program of development of Work Science Research Centers be initiated and supported in several major universities. These centers would have the responsibility and prime objective of promoting the scientific understanding of work as it affects both the physical and mental health of individuals, and social integration in family and social behavior. A program of this general nature already has been proposed at the University of Wisconsin.

3. That the National Institute of Labor Education initiate a campaign to write and promote a National Worker Education Act, making possible the channeling of adequate sums of federal money for the development and support of worker educational facilities and work science research centers in the United States. This act should not only provide money for worker educational activities, but research funds for carrying on community research activities in preventive and rehabilitative mental health programs.

Theory of Work Science and Work Psychology

The present proposals are not a series of activities dreamed up out of the blue sky. They represent deductions from a systematic theory of human behavior concerning potentially significant action in alleviating unemployment, underemployment, and behavioral disturbances of employment in all segments of modern society. They are based on a systematic theory of human evolution in work which states that human behavior is a product of work evolution in society, and that all of the main channels of human and individual development are tied to the nature of the individual's job and the level of the work institution in which he holds a job. The spirit of these proposals is to provide an institutional mooring in the community for depressed and displaced workers, through which they can achieve some motivation toward self-control and self-development, and which is not being supplied today by industries, labor unions, the church, or the schools. These proposals define new avenues of social participation of troubled industrial people in the only lines of activity that they consider meaningful, their sustained behavior in work and application of their skills to work.

In submitting a preliminary statement of these proposals, a number or supporting ideas may be given without amplification at this time. They are:

1. That the science-directed technological revolution going on today is not wholly sound in respect to the unequal burden in survival that is being placed on the semi-skilled and unskilled rural and urban worker.

2. That national health financial resources for research and development in the psychological field are being channeled through universities and thus almost entirely in the direction of the needs of the rich and not in the direction of the needs of the working classes.

3. That both the theories and practices of modern verbal (talkie-talkie) psychotherapy and psychiatry are unsound and based on superficial parlor-level social interactions. All forms of such psychology have proven dangerous in defining mental health programs because of the shallow social conformity principles on which they are based. Moreover, responsible medical statisticians now consider these approaches as meaningless at the level at which they have been applied, i.e., treatment of behavior disorders in universities and mental hospitals.

4. That the current fads in verbal psychotherapy represent a conformity philosophy of the rich and management classes which have had only deteriorating influences on the handling of behavioral difficulties among the working classes, inside mental hospitals and out. A new type of psychological orientation is needed in medicine and psychiatry--one that is based on the principles of human evolution and development through work, and on principles of adaptive development of people through work. Such a modern psychology, as opposed to the medieval authoritarian mentalistic doctrines of current clinical psychology, can serve to structure a sustained research and educational approach to behavior disturbance in industrial society.

5. That new concepts and techniques are needed to protect the privacy of the troubled worker in democracy. We need worker educational institutions which will alter the concepts of both disease and sickness in dealing with personality problems. Current management-oriented education, counseling programs, education, and personnel work must be balanced by institutional patterns that provide real privacy and protection of the individual in seeking help in times of difficult stress. One institutional form of this nature is the Worker Education Center recommended under these proposals. Through such centers, handling of behavioral stress that does not incapacitate a person can be put on a proper, i.e., an educational, basis.

6. That modern developments in the biochemical foundations of behavior, and in the supportive treatment of behavioral difficulties by use of drugs, make possible an entirely new community and industrial approach to prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation of individuals with all levels and types of behavior difficulty. Integrated work science, medical and educational facilities of a community nature are needed to exploit these modern scientific advances for the benefit of the working classes.

7. The significance of occupational and work techniques in treatment and rehabilitation in behavior disorder already has been established in occupational and institutional work therapy. Mental hospital occupational therapy programs, in fact, are being altered and changed into institutional work participation programs for patients. In such programs, patients are being given actual work roles in the institution.

8. That a work psychology, worker education, and work science community program can be given theoretical support from many directions in modern science--from the fields of occupational rehabilitation, occupational therapy, vocational training of the handicapped, the general field of ergonomics or human engineering, and from the general theory of work science. All of these theoretical areas suggest that systematic institutional effort in integrating work education, medical resources, counseling, and mental hygiene for the troubled or stressed worker could have nothing but positive effects on the worker and upon society itself. Moreover, such institutional evolution can be carried out readily within the existing framework of public education in this country.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

–a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

–a department store in which there is a restaurant: *so long as* the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or

2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State or locality where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State or local officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State or locality rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of Titles II, III, IV, V, VI and VII. Title I retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman
Frankie M. Freeman
Erwin N. Griswold
Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

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CIVIL RIGHTS RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

A Brief Summary

White House Conference
"To Fulfill These Rights"
June 1-2, 1966
Washington, D.C.

CIVIL RIGHTS RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

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Civil Rights Responsibilities of the Federal Government

I. Major Civil Rights Agencies

A. Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

Washington, D.C. 20530

Has ultimate responsibility for enforcing rights guaranteed by Federal law, in a broad range of areas, including denial of rights to citizens by State or local officials or private individuals; intimidation of and discrimination against voters; obstruction of justice; peonage and slavery. The Department represents other Federal agencies in civil rights lawsuits.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act further authorized the Attorney General to initiate lawsuits to:

- eliminate patterns or practices of employment discrimination at the request of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (see below) or on his own initiative;
- eliminate a pattern or practice of resistance to desegregation of public accommodations, to compel desegregation of public facilities and public schools, including public colleges.
- intervene in private lawsuits alleging denial of equal protection of the laws, such as discrimination in public education, public accommodations, employment or jury trials.

In September 1965, Presidential Executive Order No. 11247 designated the Justice Department as coordinator for all Federal civil rights efforts under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits

discrimination in programs which receive Federal financial assistance. In December 1965, the Justice Department issued Guidelines to 21 Federal agencies administering assistance programs, designed to achieve consistent enforcement of Title VI.

B. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (USCCR)
Washington, D.C. 20425

Established by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Investigates denials of the right to vote and allegations of vote fraud, studies legal developments and appraises Federal policies and programs relating to equal protection of the laws in such areas as education, housing, employment, the administration of justice, use of public facilities and transportation. Makes recommendations to the President and Congress.

Authorized by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information.

The Commission operates with the assistance of 51 State Advisory Committees which provide information on civil rights developments in their States.

C. Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice.
(CRS) Washington, D.C. 20230

Established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964* to

assist communities in resolving disputes arising from discriminatory practices which impair rights guaranteed by Federal law or which affect interstate commerce.

Aids communities in developing plans to improve racial relations and understanding, through conferences, publications and technical assistance.

Conciliates complaints referred by Federal courts in lawsuits to desegregate public accommodations.

*(Originally established in the Department of Commerce; transferred by the President to the Justice Department on April 22, 1966, after approval by Congress.)

D. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (EEOC)
Washington, D.C. 20506

Established by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex or national origin by private employers, unions and employment agencies.

Investigates complaints of discrimination; seeks to conciliate and resolve disputes involving discrimination by employers, unions and employment agencies.

The Commission may initiate as well as receive complaints. It conducts technical studies of employment. It may make its assistance available to all persons subject to Title VII, including employers and unions whose employees or members refuse to cooperate in

carrying out its nondiscrimination requirements.

The Commission has no enforcement authority. If conciliation efforts fail, a complainant may take his complaint to U.S. District Court. Where the Commission finds that a pattern or practice of discrimination exists it may refer matters to the Justice Department for legal action.

The Commission promotes programs of voluntary compliance by employers, unions and community organizations.

E. Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor. (OFCC) Washington, D.C. 20506

Responsible for policies, leadership and coordination of the Federal government's program to achieve equal opportunity in employment by Government contractors, subcontractors and on Federally assisted construction programs.*

Reviews compliance programs of all government contracting agencies. Receives and settles complaints of discrimination of employees or prospective employees of Government contractors.

Coordinates compliance program with programs of EEOC and the Department of Justice under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Provides administrative support for "Plans for Progress" (a voluntary equal employment program carried on mostly by private industry).

*(This function, formerly performed by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, was transferred to the Department of Labor by Executive Order 11246, September, 1965.)

F. U.S. Civil Service Commission. Washington, D.C. 20415

Supervises, provides leadership and guidance for all Federal agencies in carrying out an equal employment opportunity program in Federal employment.*

Reviews agencies' practices, develops training and counseling programs to encourage improvement of employees' skills. By request of the Justice Department, conducts training programs for compliance officers of the 21 Federal agencies which have Title VI enforcement responsibilities to eliminate discrimination in Federally-assisted programs.

*(This function, formerly performed by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, was transferred to the Civil Service Commission by Executive Order 11246, in September, 1965.)

G. President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. (PCEOH) Washington, D.C.

Established in 1962 by Executive Order 11063, prohibiting discrimination in Federally-assisted housing.

Composed of the heads of Federal agencies which provide assistance to housing or supervise home-financing institutions, and civic leaders appointed by the President.

Authorized to recommend policies and procedures to implement the Order, to coordinate activities of Federal departments and agencies to carry out the Order, and to conduct educational programs to foster public acceptance of the Federal policy of equal opportunity in housing. The Committee reports to the President on action and results. It has no enforcement authority.

II. Federal Agencies with Major Civil Rights Responsibilities

H. Department of Commerce. (Office of Equal Opportunity) Washington, D.C. 20230

Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, responsible for assuring equal opportunity in economic development programs, state technical services, maritime grants and subsidies, etc., with special emphasis on equal employment opportunity in jobs created by grants and loans made by the Economic Development Administration (EDA) for public works, business loans and local economic planning to stimulate economic development.

The Bureau of Public Roads is also responsible for enforcing the equal employment opportunity provisions of the Executive Order in connection with thousands of road contractors in the highway building program.

Conducts a special "affirmative" program to promote equal opportunity through its regular contacts with the business community. Special programs encourage greater participation of Negroes and other minority groups in activities sponsored by the Commerce Department, and provide services to help Negro businessmen improve skills. Another program has encouraged large corporations to seek out Negro businessmen as local franchisors.

I. Department of Defense. (DOD) Washington, D.C. 20301

As the major contracting Federal agency, carries on a comprehensive compliance program to assure nondiscrimination and promote "affirmative action" for equal opportunity in employment by government contractors and subcontractors, subject to general coordination of OFCC (see above).

Military commanders are responsible for conducting equal opportunity programs within the services, and---with the assistance of base community relations

committees---for conducting programs designed to secure equal treatment for military personnel and their families in such off-base facilities as public schools, housing and public accommodations.

J. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. (HEW)
Washington, D.C. 20201

Office of the Secretary: Office for Civil Rights

Advises the Secretary on all matters concerning equal opportunity and Title VI. Responsible for the formulation of Department policy on all civil rights matters. Provides leadership and coordinates work of Department's agencies.

I. Office of Education, Equal Educational Opportunities Program (EEOP).

Under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, directed to:

- conduct a national survey to determine availability of equal educational opportunity;
- provide technical assistance upon request, to help states, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;
- arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;
- make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

Under Title VI of the 1964 Act, responsible for assuring non-discrimination in all Federal aid-to-education programs, including aid to elementary and secondary schools, colleges, universities and libraries. (Designated by the Attorney General to coordinate Title VI enforcement in Federal aid to colleges, universities, elementary and secondary schools, on behalf of other Federal agencies.)

2. Public Health Service, Office of Equal Health Opportunity (OEHO).

   Responsible for enforcing nondiscrimination under Title VI in all Federally-aided hospitals and other health facilities. (Designated by the Attorney General to coordinate Title VI enforcement in these institutions on behalf of other Federal agencies.)

3. Welfare Administration. Responsible for enforcing nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI in Federally-aided State and local welfare programs, and in work-training programs for the unemployed, under the Anti-Poverty Program.

4. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. Responsible for enforcing nondiscrimination requirements of Title VI in Federally-aided programs for vocational rehabilitation.

5. Social Security Administration. Responsible for securing compliance of insurance companies and other contractors under the Medicare program with equal employment policy required for Government contractors.

K. Department of Housing and Urban Development. (HUD)
Washington, D.C. 20410

Responsible for enforcement of Executive Order 11063 (see above) and other Federal laws which require non-discrimination in the sale and rental of Federal and Federally-assisted housing, FHA-insured homes and community facilities.

Responsible for enforcement of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as it applies to Federal financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts to housing and urban programs.

Responsible for insuring nondiscrimination in employment in Federal and Federally-assisted housing construction projects, subject to general coordination of OFCC. (See above).

L. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration
Washington, D.C. 20210

Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, responsible for equal employment opportunity in

manpower programs involving federal assistance. These include:

- State and Federal employment service and employment insurance programs, administered by the Bureau of Employment Security (BES)
- Manpower development and training programs administered by Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation, and Research (OMPER)
- Apprenticeship Training programs, administered by Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT)
- Work-training programs under the anti-poverty program administered by Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC)

M. Office of Economic Opportunity. (OEO)

Washington, D.C. 20506

Administers anti-poverty program under Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Because more than half of all Negro and Spanish-speaking families are living in poverty, all the programs of this agency have significant civil rights implications.

The Act also requires that poor people served by community action programs must participate in their planning and administration.

- Office of the Special Assistant for Civil Rights

Responsible for assuring compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and the "maximum feasible participation" requirement of the Economic Opportunity Act. Administers all equal employment policies for

the agency, processes complaints, conducts compliance reviews under Title VI and Executive Order 11246.

Major programs operated by OEO include:

- Community Action Program (CAP). Provides funds for approved programs administered by community agencies which include representatives of the poor. Programs may provide such services as: remedial reading, literacy instruction, job training, employment counseling, homemaker, health and legal services. Also administers programs for the aged, for housing, sanitation and education needs of migrant workers, and for motivating high-school students toward further education.
- Head Start. Provides funds for pre-school programs to improve physical, social and educational abilities of children, and develop social services for their families.
- Job Corps. Provides residential centers, basic education and work-training experience in public and private sectors for unemployed young men and women. Assists them to find jobs after training is completed.
- Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). Trains volunteers and assigns them to work in anti-poverty programs.

Anti-poverty programs operated by other Federal agencies include:

- Neighborhood Youth Corps, U.S. Department of Labor (see above)
- Work-Study program, providing part-time jobs for college students, and Adult Basic Education, U.S. Office of Education, HEW.
- Work-Experience, providing experience and training for unemployed and other needy persons, Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, HEW.
- Rural Loans, providing loans and management assistance to low-income families in rural areas. Farmers Home Administration, U.S. Department of Agriculture.
- Small Business Loans, providing low-cost loans up to $15,000 and management counseling. Small Business Administration (see below)

N. Small Business Administration. (SBA)
Washington, D.C. 20416

Administers small business loan program financed by Economic Opportunity Act, through local Small Business Development Centers, which provide low-interest, long-term loans with minimal collateral and management assistance and counseling to small businessmen.

Has placed program emphasis on encouragement of small business enterprise among minority groups.

III. Other Agencies Providing Federal Assistance

Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, all Federal agencies are responsible for prohibiting discrimination in programs to which they give financial assistance. Twenty-one Federal agencies have responsibilities under this Title. In addition to those already listed, agency programs involving substantial financial aid include:

O. Department of Agriculture. Washington, D.C. 20250

Provides funds for State Extension Services, rural electrification, conservation and other agricultural programs.

P. Federal Aviation Agency. (FAA) Washington, D.C.

Provides financial aid for construction and maintenance of airport terminal facilities.

Q. General Services Administration. (GSA) Washington, D.C.

Responsible for disposal of surplus Federal properties. Also responsible for equal employment compliance by contractors working on Government buildings and facilities.

Other Federal agencies which provide Federal funds are: Department of Interior, Department of State, Treasury Department, Agency for International Development,

Atomic Energy Commission, Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), National Science Foundation (NSF), Office of Emergency Planning (OEP), Tennessee Valley Administration (TVA), and Veterans Administration (VA).

APPENDIX

Federal Agencies with Major Civil Rights Responsibilities in Areas to be Discussed at White House Conference

I Economic Security and Welfare

Employment. Equal employment policies of the Federal Government cover private employers, unions and employment agencies in industries affecting interstate commerce, Federal contractors and subcontractors, Federal employment, employment in state and local agencies which administer Federal programs, and recipients of Federal funds under programs which have a primary purpose of providing employment. Agencies administering these policies include:

A. Private Employment:

- The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (see page 3)
- Department of Justice (see page 1)
- National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) can act against discrimination by employers and unions in interstate commerce.

B Employment by Federal Contractors and Subcontractors

Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor (see page 4) supervises contract compliance programs of Federal agencies. (Major Federal contracting agencies include Department of Defense, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), General Services Administration (GSA), Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

C. Employment on Federally-Assisted Programs which have Primary Purpose of Providing Employment

Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (see page 10), Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce (see page 6), Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers vocational education and on-the-job training programs.

D. Public Employment

a) Federal. Civil Service Commission supervises equal employment program conducted by all Federal Agencies (see page 5).

b) State and Local. Public agencies administering certain Federal programs are subject to Federal merit standards which prohibit racial and religious discrimination. The Departments of Defense, Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare require such a prohibition in employment in state and local civil defense agencies, state employment offices, aging, health and welfare agencies.

Welfare. Welfare Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers nondiscrimination requirements (see page 9).

II Housing

-Department of Housing and Urban Development has primary responsibility for assuring equal housing opportunity (see page 10).

-President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing provides advice, recommendations, and coordination. (see page 5). (Federal agencies represented on this Committee, which are involved in housing or supervision of home-financing institutions are: Defense Department, Treasury Department, Department of Justice, Department of Agriculture, Veterans Administration, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and Department of Housing and Urban Development.)

-Civil Service Commission, as part of its responsibility for promoting equal employment opportunity, has urged Personnel Directors of Federal agencies to work actively for open housing opportunity for employees in national and regional offices.

-Department of Defense has directed base military commanders to use base community-relations committees and all available community resources to help military personnel secure equal treatment in off-base housing.

III Education

-The Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare has primary responsibility for equal educational opportunity programs (see page 8).

-The Justice Department, has responsibility for enforcement of the law relating to equal educational opportunity (see page 1).

-The Office of Economic Opportunity provides funds for certain educational programs (see page 11).

-The Department of Defense, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Atomic Energy Commission, National Science Foundation, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Department of Agriculture and Department of Interior are required to assure non-discrimination in college and university programs for which they provide financial assistance, under overall coordination of the Office of Education (see page 8).

IV Administration of Justice

-The Department of Justice is the major Federal agency responsible for protection of individual rights under the Constitution and civil rights laws (see page 1).

-The Office of Economic Opportunity has funded projects to develop better police-community relations, and to provide better legal services for the poor.

-The Office of Juvenile Delinquency in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has also conducted projects in police-community relations.

Save for possible Labor Program Publication

Outline of Federal Civil Rights Agencies

Six Federal agencies now operate directly in the field of civil rights, their primary concern being prevention of discrimination based on race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry.

+ EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION...handles complaints brought to it under the equal employment opportunity section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. It is empowered to work with public and private agencies and individuals, to furnish technical assistance to further compliance, to conciliate when employees block compliance, and to make studies to further equal employment opportunities. In addition to handling matters involving racial discrimination, the EEOC also has jurisdiction in the area of job discrimination because of sex.

+ COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS...investigates denials of the right to vote based on color, race,religion or national origin; studies and collects information concerning legal developments relating to denial of equal protection of the law; appraises the laws and policies of the Federal government with respect to equal protection; investigates allegations of vote fraud; serves as national clearing house for civil rights information. Advisory committees have been established in all 50 states.

+ COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE...by private conciliation attempts voluntary settlement of public accommodations complaints referred to it under the Civil Rights Act of 1964; provides assistance to communities with civil rights problems or where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or interstate commerce; and is authorized to cooperate with local agencies.

Preparation--education and training--leads to skilled jobs with good pay.

+ CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE...enforces Federal statutes relating to civil rights through both criminal prosecutions and civil remedies; responsible for protecting the integrity of orders of Federal courts in civil rights matters instituted by private citizens; enforces Federal civil and criminal statutes dealing with intimidation and discrimination against voters or obstruction of justice; and institutes prosecutions of law enforcement officers who misuse authority in depriving citizens of constitutional rights.

+ PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING...oversees handling of complaints of discrimination in Federally-assisted and Federally-owned housing that are made to the agencies concerned, such as FHA; coordinates activities of the agencies in enforcing the Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing; recommends to other agencies and to the President procedures to implement the Executive Order; encourages education and community action by local governments and private groups to bring about nondiscrimination in housing.

+ OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE...a section of the Department of Labor named in 1965 to assume activities previously handled by the defunct President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; coordinates enforcement of the Federal government's policy prohibiting employment discrimination wherever a Federal government contract is involved, and initiates affirmative procedures to assure compliance with the letter and spirit of Executive Order 10925. (The Plans for Progress program, formerly part of the President's Committee, continues on a private, voluntary basis with administrative support from the Labor Department.)

+ Among other agencies which devote at least a part of their efforts to the matter of civil rights is the United States Civil Service Commission, which assumes the responsibility of maintaining nondiscriminatory practices in all hiring and personnel procedures affecting workers in Federal service.

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[3]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[3] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[8]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[8] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

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An Adventure That Restored Good Race Relations In A Former Time Of Crisis

How Southern Conference Of Race Leaders Became Standing Goodwill Group

How Southern Conference Of Race Leaders Became Standing Goodwill Group

By LIN HOLLOWAY

Great things are wrought when men of like stature and minds gather to consider the ills of humanity.

An attempt to prove that point was made recently when 325 of the nation's colored leaders gathered in a "summit" meeting on race relations called by the National Newspaper Publishers Association at Washington, D. C.

* * *

REAL SUCCESS in proving the point was made as far back as the early 1940's when the South's most influential citizens of both races started a series of meetings and issued a series of statements which resulted in the organization of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Spearheaded by Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, then a professor at Virginia Union University and widely-read editorial columnist with the Journal and Guide, a meeting of the South's colored leaders was held at Durham, N. C., on Oct. 20. 1942, for the purpose of discussing the status of race relations in the South at that time and suggesting solutions which would benefit not only the colored citizens but the South and the nation as a whole.

* * *

DR. HANCOCK and other colored leaders in Virginia had concluded that the time was ripe to attempt to allay some of the racial tensions then existing.

Sage observers had noted that unrest was mounting, that relations were at an extremely low ebb, that lines of communication between white and colored leadership in the South had all but been severed.

* * *

THE HUE AND cry in the South was "Watch those colored people." The nation, just a year before, had been plunged into a global war by the sneak Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Americans of all races, colors and creeds were shedding blood on the far-flung battlefields of the world. The nation's industrial might had been geared to a wartime pace. Yet the white South was repeating "Watch those colored people."

The nation's wartime leader, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, had issued directives toppling racial barriers in the armed forces. Young men of color were becoming members of the Army on a basis of equality. The Navy let colored sailors out of the galleys to which they had been banished and handed them guns. And—as a bolt

out of the blue—the Air Force put tan hands alongside white ones at the controls of planes.

• • •

THAT, PARTS of the South couldn't stand. A white businessman in Georgia in a conversation with a friend wailed "Woe unto us. Colored pilots will take the planes, fly over the South and bomb us." White women in the South, stirred on by racial agitators, declared that colored women were becoming "uppish." They attributed this to the "Eleanor clubs" which were a myth. The idea spread like wildfire, however, because of Mrs. Roosevelt's unpopularity in the South.

Dr. Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina professor and an ardent student of sociological phenomena, in his learned study on the South of the early 1940's "Race and Rumors of Race," cites some of the incredible tales that southern white women repeated among themselves during the era of the mythical "Eleanor clubs".

• • •

SOME WOMEN felt that these "clubs" caused the colored women who had formerly been their domestic servants to 1) conspire to make the white women, not the colored ones, the kitchen menials; 2) "strike" for higher wages and better working conditions and 3) "take over," generally in the big houses.

As far-fetched as these tales were, many white women of the Southland believed them and passed their beliefs on to their husbands, sons and brothers.

• • •

THE REAL FACT was that many military installations, defense and war plants were hiring colored women for the first time and they were leaving pots and pans and dust rags behind and taking their places on the assembly lines, in the WACs and in the WAVES. Some of them, because of their husbands' increased earnings, became housewives in fact as well as fancy.

Like tiny mustard seeds growing into steady bushes, other myths were making the rounds of the Southland. In Norfolk, Richmond, Augusta and other southern cities rumors were spread that "all the colored men will attack white people with ice-picks" on a certain date; at Miami, a tale was circulated that all the colored cooks and other persons who prepared food would poison all white citizens at a given time. These and other stories totally as vicious and equally as ludicrous found many willing believers.

• • •

AND THE lure of the defense plants of the North and mid-West was attracting more and more of the South's labor force from the cotton fields and farms.

It was against this background of tension that colored leaders, urged on by Dr. Hancock, went into their meeting at Durham on Oct. 20, 1942.

• • •

WITH JOURNAL and Guide publisher, P. B. Young Sr., presiding and Dr. Hancock making the keynote speech, the Durham meeting opened without fanfare. For a full day, over 100 dedicated southern Negro leaders weighed the plight of the race. They discussed political and civil rights, industry and labor,

service occupations, education, agriculture, social welfare, health and other matters pertinent to full citizenship.

It was unanimously decided after a period of studious deliberation that a committee be named to write a statement on the conclusions of the leaders attending the meeting.

That statement, which was hailed as one of the most statesmanlike documents to come from such a conference, was widely-circulated as "The Durham Statement." The nation's communications media, Armed Services publications and foreign newspapers quoted the statement widely.

* * *

THE MEN who drew up the statement were Dr. Hancock, Mr. Young, William M. Cooper, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Drs. F. D. Patterson, B. E. Mays, Rufus E. Clement and Horace Mann Bond. The editing was done by Dr. Johnson who put the document in final shape.

The tenor of the Durham Statement was sounded in its preamble. It said: "The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased tensions, fears, and aggressions and an opening up of the basic question of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South.

* * *

"**THESE ISSUES** are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole", the Durham Statement declared.

"With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us."

* * *

THE DURHAM Statement then went on to say:

1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

* * *

3) **THE SOUTH**, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations.

"We recognize the strength and age of these patterns," the leaders at Durham said in their statement, but they added "We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and

timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework."

* * *

THE DURHAM Statement evoked such praise and consideration a group of white southern leaders decided to hold a similar conference on problems of the area. This group met at Atlanta on April 8, 1943 and after due consideration issued a statement.

The effect that the Durham meeting had on white southern leaders is indicated in the introduction to a statement that was forthcoming from the Atlanta meeting. The 304 white southern leaders concluded:

* * *

"**IN OCTOBER**, 1942, a representative group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C. and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves 'to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of racial relations, within the democratic framework.' Their statement is so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we glady agree to cooperate."

The Atlanta Statement showed a meeting of the minds of white and colored men of stature in the South. Many points of agreement were noted in the statements issued by the colored Durham and the white Atlanta meetings. Time was ripe, leaders of both races concluded, for a meeting with both white and colored southern leaders gathered at the conference table in a sincere effort to find ways and means of allaying the ever-increasing racial tension which gripped the American Southland.

* * *

THE CLARION call was sounded and from all parts of the South leaders of both races made their way to Richmond in June, 1943. Despite the heat of the war then going on and the pressures on every hand, the world looked to Richmond for a solution to the ills which gripped the South.

In his opening speech at Richmond, Dr. Hancock—who initiated the Durham meeting—observed: "It's a long way from Jamestown to Appomatox, and it's a long way from Appomattox to Richmond." Those at the meeting realized his reference to the advent of slavery, the emancipation which followed the Civil War and the historic significance of the Richmond meeting in which southerners of both races gathered in one accord aware of the problems plaguing their homeland.

* * *

BUT THE NEXT speaker, the late Rev. Ashby Jones, let it be known that Richmond was not the end of the line. "There is much more work yet to be done," Rev. Dr. Jones declared. The conference, in good spirit, then got down to business, and more planning was done.

With this challenge sounded, participants in the Richmond conference issued a third statement in which an impassioned plea was made for tolerance of the rights of

all citizens.

* * *

THE RICHMOND Statement in its concluding paragraph, declared:

"We recognize now the importance of affirmative action without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities."

* * *

TO ACHIEVE this "affirmative action" the Richmond conference charged members of the groups which had met at Durham and Atlanta to "work out practical means of approach" to the solution of racial differences.

The next step was the birth of the Southern Regional Council. Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina, was the first president; P. B. Young Sr., Norfolk publisher, was first vice-president and Frank W. Spencer of Savannah, Ga., second vice-president. Other officers were Carter Wesley of Houston; Dr. Johnson of Fisk University; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Dr. H. L. Trigg, Mrs. Emily H. Clay, George S. Mitchell and Ray Warwick.

From its inception, the Southern Regional Council had—and still has—as its objective the staging of an intense search for a cure for the racial ills of the South.

* * *

SINCE FEBRUARY, 1944, from its offices in Atlanta, the Council has carried on a program of research, education and publication in its quest for the cure. A non-profit, non-denominational, non-political organization, the Council seeks to determine the many problems of the South and to mobilize southerners to solve these problems.

But, according to Council spokesmen, the Council "has no room for narrow sectionalism" in its program. The conclusion is "The South as a whole lags far behind the rest of the nation in wealth, education, health and political democracy. Yet the South has an abundance of land and people—enough to make it one of the most prosperous regions in the country."

* * *

IN VIEW of this, the Southern Regional Council openly says that it "is devoted to the task of closing up the gap" between the actual and potential South.

Toward this end, men of vision of both races in the South are struggling.

* * *

MANY OBSERVERS feel that the period during which the groundwork for the organization of the Southern Regional Council was being laid was even more fraught with tension than today. But, unlike today, the South's white leaders in the early 1940's were able to sit down with Negro leaders and seek solutions to common problems.

The current pressure against the NAACP and other rights-seeking organizations in at least eleven southern states supports wide contention that the recent "summit" meeting of colored leaders at Washington could be compared to the first conference of colored leaders at Durham, the overall result of which was the Southern Regional Council.

WITH WHAT has been almost miraculous influence, the Council has, through the years, been able to secure a real meeting of the minds of southern leaders. The pressing question among its supporters today is whether, ultimately,

the South and nation will recognize the fact that it will require groups like the Council—maybe the Council itself—to secure a semblance of interracial accord in Dixie.

Present officers of the Council are James McBride Dabbs, president; Marion A. Wright, Dr. A. E. Dent and Paul Williams, vice-presidents; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, chairman, executive committee; Joseph Haas, counsel, and Harold C. Fleming, executive director.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Ave., N. E.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, BOSTON, SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1959

Southerner Airs Moderate Views

By John Lofton

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Sumter, S.C.

A quiet Southern voice has, in recent months, been appealing to a steadily wider audience to yield to "reason" on the integration question.

The voice is that of James McBride Dabbs, president of the interracial Southern Regional Council and author of the recent book, "The Southern Heritage," which has been widely acclaimed as a classic statement on the American racial dilemma.

In the wake of the interest stirred up by the book, Mr. Dabbs has addressed TV and lecture hall listeners from Little Rock to Atlanta, from Pittsburgh to New York. And he feels that he is reaching minds not only in the nation but in his own region.

Mr. Dabbs has qualities that establish confidence in the part of the country in which he lives. He is a farmer—a man who is occupationally and genealogically rooted in the soil of the South.

He comes from forebears on both sides who have lived in South Carolina for 150 years. His 14-room columned house near Sumter, S.C., was built in 1860 by his slave-owning maternal grandfather as the seat for an estate of some 10,000 acres.

Calls Self Farmer

After more than 20 years in the fields, Mr. Dabbs thinks he has earned the appellation "farmer," despite the fact that from 1925 to 1937 he headed the English department of Coker College in nearby Hartsville. He forsook the campus for the furrow because he felt that, "if you don't meet people where they make their bread and butter, you get cut off from life."

In the controversy over schools, Mr. Dabbs says his forte is persuasion rather than pressure. But while he sees his own role as that of persuader, he doesn't think the term "moderate" clearly differentiates him from such groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has been called "extremist" by some commentators.

His goal and that of the NAACP, he says, are the same—obedience of the law of the land. They are distinguishable only by their methods: persuasion and pressure. And persuader Dabbs is ready to acknowledge that only consistent pressure, steadily applied by the NAACP and other forces, will produce compliance with the law in the hard core South.

Liberal Unity Sought

If Mr. Dabbs's personal efforts and those of the Southern Regional Council are effective, the extent of the pressure necessary to produce results will be diminished. As Mr. Dabbs envisages his current objective it is to "unite lonely liberals" across the South.

While his book has provided a philosophy for such southerners, the organization which he heads is providing a vehicle through which they can work. The Southern Regional Council is a body of some 70 prominent southerners representing both races and the major religious faiths of a 13-state region.

Though not itself a mass membership organization, the council is the guiding force behind biracial human relations councils now established in 12 states. In these local groups white and Negro citizens work together toward a goal which the council has described as "a South . . . where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed."

Through its 14-member staff the council conducts research and surveys, provides community educational and consultative services, promotes specific programs of action aimed at eliminating second class citizenship for Negroes. Its Atlanta headquarters serves as a coordinating agency and a clearinghouse from which some 200,000 pamphlets are distributed annually.

So far Mr. Dabbs has encountered no vocal neighborhood opposition to his stand, nor has he been threatened or penalized during a 14-year period of expressing a viewpoint which, locally, is thoroughly unorthodox. His background and his experience bar the kind of challenge that is usually hurled at proponents of integration.

He was born in 1896 only a mile from his present home, was educated in local schools and at the University of South Carolina. He has lived in rural South Carolina all his life except for intervals as a field artillery officer in France during World War I and as a graduate student at Clark University and later at Columbia. He married within his home state and sent his three daughters and two sons to local schools.

Negroes Predominate

Negroes make up nearly 60 per cent of the population of Sumter County, where he lives. (One of the defendant school districts in the historic desegregation case is in neighboring Clarendon County.) He has dealt with Negroes as employees, as tenants, and as sharecroppers on his farm.

Two Negroes now sharecrop cotton and tobacco on his place. (Neither lives on the farm. Both, in fact, own their own homes; one owns farm land in addition.)

Mr. Dabbs attributes his basically optimistic attitude toward the South to his religious outlook—he is an active Presbyterian layman—and to a feeling that desegregation is the humane side of the controversy, the side of the future.

Success Expected

While he foresees enough missionary work to keep him busy the rest of his life, he expects all of the South eventually to yield with as much grace as it can muster—the border states first and finally South Carolina and Mississippi.

Conceding that some southern apprehensions about race are genuine, Mr. Dabbs seeks to allay these by a scholarly presentation of the findings of modern social science. But he has deft barbs for what he considers to be patent sophistries.

Mr. Dabbs visualizes the South as having an opportunity to set a new pattern for the nation in community living, because it is just now getting a real start in industrialization and can consciously plan its urban institutions, whereas in the North urban-industrial molds are fixed.

If Mr. Dabbs should persuade enough of his countrymen to adopt this vision of the New South, he could become the most important regional spokesman since John C. Calhoun. Not since that other South Carolinian gave the Old South its philosophical charter for a stratified society has the region veered perceptibly from the course he set for it.

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Introduction

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was formed during the closing years of World War II by Southerners who wanted at home better practise of the ideals for which that most terrible of wars was being fought abroad. These leaders, Negro and white, came together voluntarily, without coercion, without rancor, to try to do something about problems arising from culture and history that crippled this southern land and people they loved.

That was 20 years ago. The spirit of that beginning is recalled in the reprinting here of the three documents involved with the founding of the Southern Regional Council, and in articles about them. History and development of the Council is indicated in the two other documents included in this issue of *New South*.

A group of Negro leaders wrote the first document, The Durham Conference Statement. It stated first their belief that "compulsory segregation" is unjust, and the specifics of reform they considered the most important for political and civil rights, jobs, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare, and health.

A group of white leaders met in response, and adopted an Atlanta Conference Statement which in sum agreed with the Durham Statement, and pronounced its objectives just. At Richmond, a committee from both these groups was empowered to organize a Southern Regional Council, and did so, incorporating it with the following set out as its reason for existence:

> . . . For the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practises of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.

The early documents were conceived with an obvious awareness of a new opportunity for the South. The hope then was to solve simultaneously a whole set of social problems of which race was merely the most notorious. Failure during the years since then to make the most of this new chance has centered around southern reluctance to undo racial injustices, and as a consequence, race emerged, stark and alone, as the number-one problem. It had to be solved before the other problems could be finally solved, and the other problems had to be viewed in relation to solving it.

Awareness of this by the Southern Regional Council as far back as 1951 is indicated in the document, *The South and the Future*. And its fullest implications are stated in the final document, a Statement of Views adopted by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council in the fateful late days of 1963.

This final document came at a time when racial strife had spread—or been acknowledged—across America. In all the land, there had come awareness of the need for racial rapprochement, something beyond court orders or negotiation pres-

sured by demonstrations or legislation or other forms of coercion, necessary though these remained. The demand was for the mutual understanding and respect that is the real basis for human cooperation.

Toward this, the founding spirit of the Southern Regional Council has much to offer. Despite the discouragements of the past 20 years, that spirit is still alive. Progress has come. Though most of it had to be imposed upon the South, growing numbers of Southerners of both races found the courage to fight for and support each new change. Because of them, and a new atmosphere they have been crucial in creating in all but perhaps two states, once more there seems to be for the South one of those times of great opportunity—this time to lead the nation.

It is therefore appropriate to recall the original vision that founded the Southern Regional Council—a vision of a great and growing body of concerned Southerners of both races, led by all the best minds from their midst, cooperating creatively for the betterment of all aspects of southern life.

So in this issue of *New South,* we look back to the beginnings of a work that is not yet done, and to a spirit which seems more than ever necessary. We look back, and we look forward in the only way possible at this stage of the work, and at this time in history—with rededication.

PAT WATTERS
Director of Information

The Durham Conference Statement:

A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South*

A STATEMENT BY SOUTHERN NEGROES

THE WAR HAS SHARPENED the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status, and the welfare of the country as a whole.

With these problems in mind, we, a group of southern Negroes, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, and in the belief that we voice the sentiments of many of the Negroes of the Nation as well as the South, take this means of recording our considered views of the issues before us.

(1) Our Nation is engaged in a world-wide struggle, the success of which, both in arms and ideals, is paramount and demands our first loyalty.

(2) Our loyalty does not, in our view, preclude consideration now of problems and situations that handicap the working out of internal improvements in race relations essential to our full contribution to the war effort, and of the inevitable problems of post-war reconstruction, especially in the South where we reside.

(3) The South, with its twenty-five million people, one-third of whom are Negroes, presents a unique situation, not only because of the size of the Negro population but because of the legal and customary patterns of race relations which are invariably and universally associated with racial discriminations. We recognize the strength and age of these patterns.

We are fundamentally opposed to the principle and practice of compulsory segregation in our American society, whether of races or classes or creeds; however, we regard it as both sensible and timely to address ourselves now to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations within the democratic framework.

(4) We regard it as unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life.

(5) We have the courage and faith to believe, however, that it is possible to evolve in the South a way of life, consistent with the principles for which we as a Nation are fighting throughout the world, that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears.

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*Statement of Negro leaders attending Southern Conference on Race Relations, Durham, N. C., October 20, 1942.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

1. We regard the ballot as a safeguard of democracy. Any discrimination against citizens in the exercise of the voting privilege, on account of race or poverty, is detrimental to the freedom of these citizens and to the integrity of the State. We therefore record ourselves as urging now:

a. The abolition of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

b. The abolition of the white primary.

c. The abolition of all forms of discriminatory practices, evasions of the law, and intimidations of citizens seeking to exercise their right of franchise.

2. Exclusion of Negroes from jury service because of race has been repeatedly declared unconstitutional. This practice we believe can and should be discontinued now.

3. a. Civil rights include personal security against abuses of police power by white officers of he law. These abuses, which include wanton killings, and almost routine beatings of Negroes, whether they be guilty or innocent of an offense, should be stopped now, not only out of regard for the safety of Negroes, but of common respect for the dignity and fundamental purpose of the law.

b. It is the opinion of this group that the employment of Negro police will enlist the full support of Negro citizens in control of lawless elements of their own group.

4. In the public carriers and terminals, where segregation of the races is currently made mandatory by law as well as by established custom, it is the duty of Negro and white citizens to insist that these provisions be equal in kind and quality and in character of maintenance.

5. Although there has been, over the years, a decline in lynchings, the practice is still current in some areas of the South, and substantially, even if indirectly, defended by resistance to Federal legislation designed to discourage the practice. We ask that the States discourage this fascistic expression by effective enforcement of present or of new laws against this crime by apprehending and punishing parties participating in this lawlessness.

If the States are unable, or unwilling to do this, we urge the support of all American citizens who believe in law and order in securing Federal legislation against lynching.

6. The interests and securities of Negroes are involved directly in many programs of social planning and administration; in the emergency rationing, wage and rent control programs. We urge the use of qualified Negroes on these boards, both as a means of intelligent representation and a realistic aid to the functioning of these bodies.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Continuing opposition to the employment of Negroes in certain industries appears to proceed from (1) the outdated notions of an economy of scarcity, inherited from an industrial age when participation in the productive enterprises was a highly competitive privilege; (2) the effects of enemy propaganda designed to immobilize a large number of potentially productive workers in the American war effort; (3) the age-old prejudices from an era when the economic system required a labor surplus which competed bitterly within its own ranks for the privilege of work; (4) the established custom of reserving technical processes to certain racial groups; and (5) craft monopolies which have restricted many technical skills to a few workers.

Our collective judgment regarding industrial opportunities for Negroes may be summarized as follows:

1. The only tenable basis of economic survival and development for Negroes is inclusion in unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled branches of work in the industries or occupations of the region to the extent that they are equally capable. Circumstances will vary so as to make impossible and impracticable any exact numerical balance, but the principles enunciated by the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee are regarded by us as sound and economically essential.
2. There should be the same pay for the same work.
3. Negro workers should seek opportunities for collective bargaining and security through membership in labor organizations. Since there can be no security for white workers if Negroes are unorganized and vice versa, labor unions of white workers should seek the organization of Negro workers, on a fair and equal basis.
4. We deplore the practice of those labor unions which bar Negroes from membership, or otherwise discriminate against them, since such unions are working against the best interest of the labor movement. We hold that only those labor unions which admit Negroes to membership and participation on a fair and democratic basis should be eligible for the benefits of the National Labor Relations Board, Railway Labor Act, State Labor Relations Acts, and other protective labor legislation.
5. It is the duty of local, state, and federal agencies to insist upon and enforce provisions for the industrial training of Negroes equal in quality and kind with that of other citizens. We believe, further, that Negroes should have equal opportunity in training programs carried on by industries and by labor organizations.
6. We urge Negro representation on regional organizations concerned with the welfare of workers.
7. We regard the wage-and-job-freezing order of the War Manpower Commission as holding the seeds of a distinct disadvantage to Negroes and other marginal workers. Most of these workers are now employed in the lowest-income job brackets. The "freeze" order can remove the opportunity for economic advancement. There is as yet no assurance that under existing circumstances the War Manpower Commission can deal more equitably by the Negro in the future than it has in the past.
8. We are convinced that the South's economic and cultural development can be accelerated by increasing the purchasing power and skills of Negro workers.

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Any realistic estimate of the occupational situation of Negroes supports the view that Negroes will be employed in greatest proportions for a long time in service occupations. We see, however, possibilities of making of these fields scientifically guided areas in which training and organization will play a greater part in bringing about results mutually beneficial to employer and employee. We believe that greater service will be rendered and greater good will be engendered in the service fields if the following principles are observed:

1. More thorough training should be provided workers who plan to enter the service field, but the reward of the job and treatment on the job should be such as to make the workers feel that their training is justified. Opportunity should be given the service worker to advance through the opening up of additional opportunities.
2. A wholesome environment, living accommodations, food, uniforms, and rest rooms, all of an approved standard, should be provided service workers.

3. Opportunity should be given the service worker to live, after his stipulated hours of work, as an individual undisturbed in his private life by the whims and caprices of his employers.
4. In view of the strides made by labor in general, while the service worker's lot has remained about the same, service workers should be organized into unions with recognized affiliations.*
5. Service workers should be included in the provisions for old age insurance, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, the wage and hour act, and other benefits of Social Security legally provided to workers of other categories.

We believe that these provisions will help to insure some intelligent service and wholesome loyalty (which will improve both the quality of labor and personal relations) in service occupations.

EDUCATION

As equal opportunity for all citizens is the very foundation of the democratic faith, and of the Christian ethic which gave birth to the ideal of democratic living, it is imperative that every measure possible be taken to insure an equality of education to Negroes, and, indeed to all underprivileged peoples.

1. Basic to improvement in Negro education are better schools, which involve expenditures by States of considerably more funds for the Negro schools. This group believes that a minimum requirement now is (a) equalization of salaries of white and Negro teachers on the basis of equal preparation and experience; (b) an expanded school building program for Negro schools designed to overcome the present racial disparity in physical facilities, this program to begin as soon as building materials are available; (c) revision of the school program in terms of the social setting, vocational needs, and marginal cultural characteristics of the Negro children; and (d) the same length of school term for all children in local communities. Our growing knowledge of the effect of environment upon the intelligence and social adjustment of children, in fact leads us to believe that to insure equality of educational opportunity it is not enough to provide for the underprivileged child, of whatever race, the same opportunities provided for those on superior levels of familial, social, and economic life. We feel it a function of Government to assure equalization far beyond the mere expenditure of equivalent funds for salaries and the like.

2. The education of Negroes in the South has reached the point at which there is increased demand for graduate and professional training. This group believes that this training should be made available equally for white and Negro eligible students in terms defined by the United States Supreme Court in the decision on the case of Gaines versus the University of Missouri.

3. Where it is established that States cannot sustain the added cost of equalization, Federal funds should be made available to overcome the differentials between white and Negro facilities and between southern and national standards.

4. It is the belief of this group that the special problems of Negro education make demands for intelligent and sympathetic representation of these problems on school boards by qualified persons of the Negro race.

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*In the present hysteria of many housewives who are losing poorly paid servants to better paying war industries, it seems desirable to emphasize that this proposal bears no relation to the fantastic and probably Axis inspired rumors of so-called "Eleanor Clubs."

5. The education of Negro youth can be measurably aided by the use of Negro enforcement officers of truancy and compulsory education laws.

AGRICULTURE

The South is the most rural section of the Nation, and Negroes, who constitute 33% of its population, are responsible for an important share of the agricultural production on southern farms.

We recognize that the South is economically handicapped and that many of its disabilities are deeply rooted in agricultural maladjustments. To win the war, there is need for increased production of food, fibre, and fats. In the present organization of agriculture, Negroes are a large part of the sharecropper and tenant group and a great majority of the rural Negro workers are in this class. Circumstances deny the Negro farmer sufficient opportunity to make his full contribution as a citizen. We suggest the following measures as means of increasing the production of the area, raising the status and spirits of Negro farmers, and of improving the region's contribution to the total war effort.

1. Establishment of sufficient safeguards in the system of tenancy to promote the development of land and home ownership and more security on the land, by:
   a. Written contracts
   b. Longer lease terms
   c. Higher farm wages for day laborers
   d. Balanced farm programs, including food and feed crops for present tenants and day laborers.
2. Adequate Federal assistance to Negro farmers should be provided on an equitable basis. The war effort can be materially aided if adequate provisions are made now for the interpretation of governmental policies to rural Negroes.
3. The equitable distribution of funds for teaching agriculture in the Negro land grant colleges to provide agricultural research and experimentation for Negro farmers.
4. The appointment of qualified Negroes to governmental planning and policy making bodies concerned with the common farmer, and the membership of Negro farmers in general farmers' organizations and economic cooperatives, to provide appropriate representation and to secure maximum benefits to our common wealth.

MILITARY SERVICE

We recognize and welcome the obligation of every citizen to share in the military defense of the nation and we seek, along with the privilege of offering our lives, the opportunity of other citizens of full participation in all branches of the military service, and of advancement in responsibility and rank according to ability.

Negro soldiers, in line of military duty and in training in the South, encounter particularly acute racial problems in transportation and in recreation and leave areas. They are frequently mistreated by the police. We regard these problems as unnecessary and destructive to morale.

SOCIAL WELFARE AND HEALTH

1. We believe that some of the more acute problems of Negro health, family and personal disorganization are a reflection of deficiencies in economic opportunity, but

that social and health services for Negroes will continue to be necessary in considerable amounts even with improvement of their economic status. As a means of reducing the mortality and public contagion resulting from inadequacies of medical attention and health knowledge, this group believes that minimum health measures for Negroes would include the following:

a. Mandatory provisions that a proportion of the facilities in all public hospitals be available for Negro patients;

b. That Negro doctors be either included on the staff for services to Negro patients, according to their special qualifications, or permitted as practitioners the same privilege and courtesy as other practitioners in the public hospitals;

c. That Negro public health nurses and social workers be more extensively used in both public and private organizations.

2. We advocate the extension of slum clearance and erection of low-cost housing as a general as well as special group advantage. The Federal government has set an excellent precedent here with results that offer much promise for the future.

It is a wicked notion that the struggle of the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the Nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government.

The effect of the war has been to make the Negro, in a sense, the symbol and protagonist of every other minority in America and in the world at large. Local issues in the South, while admittedly holding many practical difficulties, must be met wisely and courageously if this Nation is to become a significant political entity in a new international world. The correction of these problems is not only a moral matter, but a practical necessity in winning the war and in winning the peace. Herein rests the chance to reveal our greatest weakness or our greatest strength.

[Signed]

GORDON B. HANCOCK
F. D. PATTERSON
BENJAMIN E. MAYS
ERNEST DELPIT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
HORACE MANN BOND
JAMES E. JACKSON
WM. M. COOPER
P. B. YOUNG
CHAS. S. JOHNSON
Chairman Sub-Editorial Committee

IN ATTENDANCE AT SOUTHERN RACE RELATIONS CONFERENCE

A complete list of those attending the Southern Conference on Race Relations held at the North Carolina College for Negroes, Durham, October 20th, is as follows:

DR. CHAS. S. JOHNSON, Director, Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

DEAN R. O'HARA LANIER, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

DR. H. L. McCROREY, President, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. L. F. PALMER, Executive Secretary, Virginia State Teachers Association, Newport News, Va.

O. M. PHARR, Principal, Unity High School, South Carolina.

REV. J. A. VALENTINE, D.D., Durham, N. C.

DR. GORDON B. HANCOCK, Department of Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

DEAN MOSES S. BELTON, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

WILLIAM M. COOPER, Director of Extension Work, Hampton Institute, Va.

ASBURY HOWARD, representing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO), Bessemer, Ala.

DR. JOHN M. GANDY, President-Emeritus, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

L. H. FOSTER, Treasurer-Business Manager, and Acting President, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

PRESIDENT J. B. WATSON, A. and M. College, Pine Bluff, Ark.

CLARENCE A. LAWS, Executive Secretary, New Orleans Urban League, New Orleans, La.

DON A. DAVIS, Comptroller, Hampton Institute, Chairman Executive Committee, National Negro Business League, Hampton, Va.

REV. H. B. BUTLER, President, Baptist State Convention, Hartsville, S. C.

PROF. J. B. BLANTON, Principal, Voorhees N. and I. School, Denmark, S. C.

WILLIAM Y. BELL, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Ga.

J. A. BACOATS, Vice President, Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.

MRS. R. E. CLAY, Bristol, Tenn.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON, Director, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Ga.

JESSE O. THOMAS, Staff Assistant, War Bonds and Stamps, Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. TAYLOR, Dean of Men, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

DR. AND MRS. J. G. STUART, Columbia, S. C.

ROBERT A. SPICELY, Director, Commercial Dietetics, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

C. C. SPAULDING, President, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

MRS. ANDREW W. SIMPKINS, Social Worker, Columbia, S. C.

DR. JAMES E. SHEPARD, President, North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

REV. J. ALVIN RUSSELL, D.D., President, St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Lawrenceville, Va.

G. D. ROGERS, President, Central Life Insurance Company, Tampa, Fla.

DR. F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

ROSCOE C. MITCHELL, Associated Negro Press Representative, Richmond, Va.

JOHN W. MITCHELL, State Agent, A. and T. College, Greensboro, N. C.

DR. BENJ. E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

JAMES G. MARTIN, JR., Business Agent and Financial Secretary, Carpenters' Local No. 544, Baltimore, Md.

DR. HORACE MANN BOND, President, Fort Valley State College, Fort Valley, Ga.

THEODORE MALLORY, Secretary-Treasurer, United Transport Service Employees of America, Member International Executive Board, Atlanta, Ga.

DR. AND MRS. D. K. JENKINS, Columbia, S. C.

DR. LUTHER P. JACKSON, Chairman of the Department of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Va.

EDGAR P. HOLT, Vice President, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

WALTER J. HUGHES, M.D., State Board of Health, Raleigh, N. C.

JAMES E. JACKSON, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Ala.

J. W. HOLLY, President, Georgia Normal College, Albany, Ga.

K. W. GREEN, Dean, State A. and M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

ERNEST DELPIT, President and Business Manager, Carpenters' Local, New Orleans, La. (A. F. of L.).

G. HAMILTON FRANCIS, M.D., Speaker House of Delegates, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

REV. JOHN E. CULMER, Rector, Episcopal Church, Miami, Fla.

DR. ROBERT P. DANIEL, President, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C.

A. B. COOKE, Business Agent, Local No. 815, Carpenters, Columbia, S. C.

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT, President, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

D. G. GARLAND, Representative, American Federation of Labor, Winston-Salem, N. C.

MAJ. W. M. WHITEHEAD, Principal School for the Handicapped, Newport News, Va.

D. W. BYRD, M.D., Chairman, Health Commission, National Medical Association, Norfolk, Va.

C. H. BYNUM, Field Secretary Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Dallas, Texas.

DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN, President, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, N. C.

P. B. YOUNG, Editor-Publisher, Journal and Guide, Norfolk, Va.

EDWARD MASON, representing Dining Car Cooks and Waiters, Houston, Texas.

REPRESENTED BY LETTER

C. A. SCOTT, Publisher Atlanta Daily World, and Scott Chain of Weekly Newspapers, Atlanta, Ga.

CARTER WESLEY, Editor-Publisher, The Informer, Dallas Express and New Orleans Sentinel, Houston, Texas.

MRS. ZELLAR R. BOOTHE, Oklahoma City, Okla.

DEAN V. E. DANIEL, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

CLAUDE A. BARNETT, Director, Associated Negro Press, Chicago, Ill.

Others who sent Telegrams endorsing the Conference were:

DR. J. R. E. LEE, President, Florida A. and M. College, Tallahassee, Fla.

ATTY. J. LEONARD LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.

ATTY. J. R. BOOKER, Little Rock, Ark.

MRS. ORA BROWN STOKES, Washington, D. C.

PRESIDENT H. L. TRIGG, Elizabeth City State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, N. C.

PRESIDENT DAVID D. JONES, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.

MRS. H. L. McCROREY, Charlotte, N. C.

DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, President, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.

BISHOP B. J. KING, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT JAS. BRAWLEY, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga.

PRESIDENT W. J. HALE, Tennessee A. and I. College, Nashville, Tenn.

DR. MARY BRANCH, President, Tillotston College, Austin, Texas.

DR. L. H. BELL, Mississippi State College, Alcorn, Miss.

WILEY A. HALL, Executive Secretary, Urban League, Richmond, Va.

DR. J. M. ELLISON, President, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

M. F. WHITAKER, President, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, S. C.

The Atlanta Conference Statement:

Statement of Conference of White Southerners on Race Relations*

Atlanta, Georgia
April 8, 1943

IN OCTOBER, 1942, a representative group of Southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., and issued a statement in which they addressed themselves "to the current problems of racial discrimination and neglect, and to ways in which we may cooperate in the advancement of programs aimed at the sound improvement of race relations, within the democratic framework."

Their statement is so frank and courageous, or free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and at the same time shows such good will, that we gladly agree to cooperate.

We do not attempt to make here anything like a complete reply to the questions raised nor to offer solutions for all the vexing problems. We hope, however, to point the pathway for future cooperative efforts and to give assurance of our sincere good will and desire to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations.

These Negro leaders rightly placed emphasis in their statement on discrimination in the administration of our laws on purely racial grounds. We are sensitive to this charge and admit that it is essentially just. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande there are some ten million Negroes. While all citizens are governed by the same laws, it is recognized that Negroes have little voice in the making and enforcement of the laws under which they must live. They are largely dependent upon the will of the majority group for the safety of life and property, education and health, and their general economic condition. This is a violation of the spirit of democracy. No Southerner can logically dispute the fact that the Negro, as an American citizen, is entitled to his civil rights and economic opportunities.

The race problem in any Southern community is complicated by our economic limitations. The factors which have kept the South a tributary section have also kept it poor and lacking in sufficient industry to develop and to provide enough jobs and enough public funds for every public need. Yet the only justification offered for those laws which have for their purpose the separation of the races is that they are intended to minister to the welfare and integrity of both races. There has been widespread and inexcusable discrimination in the administration of these laws. The white Southerner has an obligation to interest himself in the legitimate aspirations of the Negro. This means correcting the discrimination between the races in the allocation of school funds; in the number and quality of schools, and in the salaries of teachers. In public travel where the law demands a separation of the races, primary justice and a simple sense of fair play demand the facilities for safety, comfort, and health should be equal. The distribution of public utilities and public benefits, such as sewers, water, housing, street and sidewalk paving, playgrounds, public health, and hospital facilities should come to the Negro upon the basis of population and need.

It is recognized that there is often practical discrimination by some peace officers and in some courts in the treatment of Negro prisoners and in the abrogation of their

*Conference of White Southerners on Race Relations, Atlanta, Georgia, April 8, 1943.

civil rights. There is no such discrimination incorporated in the laws of any of the Southern states. False arrests, brutal beatings and other evils must be stopped.

In the economic field, unquestionably procedures should be undertaken to establish fully the right to receive equal pay for equal work. To do otherwise works a wrong to our entire economic life and to our self respect. With so large a proportion of our wage-earning population belonging to the minority race, if we cannot plan for a well-trained, well-employed, and prosperous Negro population, the economic future of the South is hopeless.

Most of the Negroes in the South are on farms and in rural communities. Failure to provide for them all the facilities for improving agricultural practices through schools, county agents, and supervision holds back all of the South. Fair wages, longer tenures of leases, and increased opportunities for farm ownership are also necessary.

All men who believe in justice, who love peace, and who believe in the meaning of this country are under the necessity of working together to draw off from the body of human society the poison of racial antagonism. This is one of the disruptive forces which unless checked will ultimately disturb and threaten the stability of the nation. Either to deny or to ignore the increased tension between the white and the colored races would be a gesture of insincerity.

That there are acute and intricate problems associated with two races living side by side in the South cannot be denied. But these problems can be solved and will ultimately disappear if they are brought out into an atmosphere of justice and good will. If we approach them with contempt in one group and with resentment in the other group, then we work on hopeless terms. The solution of these problems can be found only in men of both races who are known to be men of determined good will. The ultimate solution will be found in evolutionary methods and not in ill-founded revolutionary movements which promise immediate solutions.

We agree with the Durham Conference that it is "unfortunate that the simple efforts to correct obvious social and economic injustices continue, with such considerable popular support, to be interpreted as the predatory ambition of irresponsible Negroes to invade the privacy of family life." We agree also that "it is a wicked notion that the struggle by the Negro for citizenship is a struggle against the best interests of the nation. To urge such a doctrine, as many are doing, is to preach disunity, and to deny the most elementary principles of American life and government."

It is futile to imagine or to assert that the problem will solve itself. The need is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation and a mutual respect.

[Signed]

THEODORE F. ADAMS, Richmond, Va.
H. A. ALEXANDER, Atlanta, Ga.
JOHN M. ALEXANDER, Fayetteville, N. C.
MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES, Atlanta, Ga.
J. H. ANDERSON, Knoxville, Tenn.
MRS. ROSCOE T. ANTHONY, Palm Beach, Fla.
SAMUEL Y. AUSTIN, Sylacauga, Ala.
HARRY M. AYERS, Anniston, Ala.
MISS FANNIE BAME, Augusta, Ga.
CLIFFORD E. BARBOUR, Knoxville, Tenn.
F. E. BARKLEY, Knoxville, Tenn.
THOMAS C. BARR, Nashville, Tenn.
RT. REV. MIDDLETON S. BARNWELL, Savannah, Ga.
J. A. BAYS, Knoxville, Tenn.
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WILLIAM F. YUST, Winter Park, Fla.

The Richmond Statement:

Resolutions of the Collaboration Committee*

Richmond, Virginia

June 16, 1943

THIS IS A DAY OF GREAT DIFFERENCES, strong feelings, and epochal conflicts throughout the world. Yet the world's greatest need and hope is to find common ground for universal action and balanced harmony among all peoples. Manifestly, such a goal must be reached through cooperative approximation to the largest measure of agreement in line with the largest number of values and the largest number of people.

We face, therefore, the double crisis of standing firm for the conservation and preservation of human rights; yet to seek these ends by the way of peace and planning rather than by conflict and revolution.

In America, and particularly in the South, we face the problem of readjustments to meet the demands of present and post-war conditions with reference to the Negro and the future development of a great region of the Nation. This, exclusive of the war, is the great crisis of the South and Nation.

This is the problem of two great peoples caught up in the midst of transition between the powerful heritage of the past and the mighty pull of the future. For here is the white South, a *great* people often doing little things and good people doing *bad* things. And here is the Negro South, caught as always between the upper and nether millstones of conflicting forces and also paying the price of extraordinary transition from level to level of cultural achievement, and needing plenty of understanding and cooperation. And here is the white South inexorably conditioned by cultural complexes, suffering terribly, too, and needing sympathy and help as few peoples have ever needed in the annals of man. And, even more important, the two, white South and black South, are part and parcel of the Nation, whose people need scarcely less than the two regional peoples the sense of time and wisdom.

The war has sharpened the issue of Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South. A result has been increased racial tensions, fears, and aggressions, and an opening up of the basic questions of racial segregation and discrimination, Negro minority rights, and democratic freedom, as they apply practically in Negro-white relations in the South. These issues are acute and threaten to become even more serious as they increasingly block, through the deeper fears aroused, common sense consideration for even elementary improvements in Negro status and the welfare of the country as a whole.

This is a rare challenge to the leadership of the South: to the white leadership to find new ways of cooperation and to justify increased confidence of the Negro leadership in the white South; to the Negro leadership, to sense the difficulties involved and to meet increasing demands, without slowing down their essential efforts.

As evidence of the promise of this leadership, two recent Southern conferences on race relations, one at Durham, under the auspices of Negro leadership, and one in Atlanta, under the auspices of white leadership, have blazed new trails. As a follow-up of these and with the above problems and backgrounds in mind, we, a group of Southern whites and Negroes, representing both the Durham and Atlanta groups,

*Joint committee of representatives of the Durham and Atlanta Conferences.

meeting as a collaboration committee at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1943, and following the general trend of the Atlanta group, urge the general adoption of the Durham statement entitled "A Basis for Interracial Cooperation and Development in the South," which has had extraordinary nation-wide endorsement.

The framers of this covenant, realizing that the situation calls for both candor and wisdom, have included adequate and searching analysis of the principal issues involved, duly interpreted in their proper perspective. The problems so featured include political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, social welfare and health.

In the area of political and civil rights: the essential problems featured were those of franchise and the ballot, jury service, personal security, services in public carriers, the elimination of violence within and without the law, the elimination of lynching, and the employment of an increasingly larger number of Negroes in the public service.

In the area of work opportunities: the increased training for all skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled labor, and opportunity for employment; the readaptation of labor union policies both for the best interests of Negroes and labor unions; the problems of dual standards of pay; support of, but guarding against discrimination in, local, state, and federal procedures; special problems of service workers and standards of living.

In the area of education: equalized opportunities in all aspects but especially including institutions of higher learning, professional training, and equal salaries.

In the area of agriculture: adequate opportunity for the Negro farmer, including a sound system of tenancy, adequate state and federal assistance, increased opportunity for farm ownership, fair farm wages, and the wider employment of Negro farm and home agents.

In the area of military service: along with the obligation to serve, the opportunity for full participation and advancement in the war activities and a continuing better adjustment of unsatisfactory situations.

In the area of social welfare and health: adequate provisions for safe-guarding the public health, for training physicians and nurses, and for their employment. Also, the erection of low-cost housing and other facilities for improving community life.

We recognize now the importance of affirmative action, without which we shall fall far short of our hopes and possibilities. To this end, we direct that the continuing committee, as appointed by the two groups now consolidated in this larger collaboration committee, be charged with the responsibility for working out methods and practical means of approach. We urge especially that efforts be begun to prepare the post-war world for a wise and successful reception of our returning soldiers and to prepare both our soldiers and the people for attitudes and procedures adequate to carry the great load of post-war needs. In all these, we urge the public to a new sense of the meaning of these needs as they accord with our professed principles of Christianity and democracy.

Signed: Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Virginius Dabney
A. W. Dent
William G. Gehri
Archdeacon B. W. Harris
S. S. Morris
Josephine Wilkins
Howard W. Odum, Chairman

The Origin of the Southern Regional Council:

Writing a 'New Charter of Southern Race Relations'

As recalled by GORDON B. HANCOCK

WHEN I RELEASED to the Associated Negro Press in 1941 an article titled "Interracial Hypertension," little did it appear that there was being set in motion a chain of events that was to eventuate in the Southern Regional Council.

The article was read by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Texas and Atlanta, who became somewhat alarmed at the tenor of the article, for set forth therein were certain disturbing facts about the racial tensions that were everywhere apparent. The Old South was making sure that the Negro would not indulge hopes of liberation at the close of World War II, as at the close of World War I, when he was sadly disillusioned by an outbreak of anti-Negro feeling that fairly swept the South.

Mrs. Ames, who was an official of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, wrote that she would like to discuss the whole matter with me, and offered to come to Richmond for the conference. She arrived a few days later in Richmond, registered at a hotel, and met with me at the colored YWCA, where we spent the greater part of an afternoon discussing "Interracial Hypertension." Our discussion hinged about a belief that a statement by Negroes themselves about what they expected of the post-war South and nation would help clarify matters and afford a new basis of interracial cooperation. Mrs. Ames further assured me that if I could get a group of leading Negroes of the South into a conference to make a statement to the white South, she would get a group of whites to consider our proposals. We agreed, and with this agreement, she went home and I went about the task of getting together a group of Negro leaders of the South.

I went to Norfolk to talk over the general plan with the late Dr. P. B. Young, and he immediately saw its possibilities. We accordingly met with two or three others on the campus of Virginia Union University, where I was teaching at the time. We decided to organize a Virginia committee which would act as host to the proposed conference. We later met and formed this host committee with Dr. Young as chairman.

Then arose the question of where we would meet. Richmond, Durham, and Atlanta were proposed as meeting places for our proposed conference. We agreed to meet at Durham, on October 20, 1942. Then arose the more vexing question of who should be invited. Most of the committee were in favor of inviting some of the leaders from the North, but a few of us contended that this would doom our meeting and our general plan, for Southerners would dismiss our statement summarily with the observation that it was drafted by northern "agitators." These few of us contended that ours should be a statement of Negro Southerners to white Southerners, and in the end our view prevailed.

But our choice brought down upon our heads the "curse" of some of our northern brethren, who evidently doubted the ability and manhood of their southern brethren. The flood-gates of criticism and disparagement were loosed against our proposed Durham Conference. As elected director of the conference, the burden of the suspicions and calumnies and harsh criticisms were leveled at me in the assurance that if confidence in me could be destroyed the whole enterprise would come to naught. The opposition failed to destroy the conference, for of the 75 invited, 65 attended, and most of the others were heard from by letter or telegram of approbation.

So determined were some of the enemies, that spies were dispatched to Durham to report whatever might serve their purpose of destruction. Those who met at Durham that eventful day not only wrought mightily in making the Southern Regional Council possible; they saved the director from "utter destruction" at the hands of those bent on destroying the Durham Conference, and all because southern Negroes dared to stand upon their own feet and make their own statement to the white South.

The Virginia Committee had voted unanimously that the writer should make the opening statement at Durham. That statement could easily have thrown things out of joint and thrown our meeting to the wolves. On the morning of October 20, there was an atmosphere of tenseness and anxiety.

The hour struck and we were in the middle of the now famous Durham Conference. Happily the opening statement seemingly relieved the tension, and upon its conclusion everybody seemed to be in harmony and full accord. My closing words were: "The sponsors of this conference may not have fashioned the most well-wrought conference imaginable, but what they did was at a tremendous sacrifice; for none of them had time and means to give as the cause demanded, but they did the best they could. We have brought to you a conference that is absolutely unfettered and unintimidated. There are no secret commitments, no secret understanding, no dotted lines, no secret financial underwritings. May God help us on this historic occasion to acquit ourselves like men."

This left the conference in a "let's go" mood, and from then on things moved. Although we had hoped to complete the conference statement within the day, Dr. B. E. Mays was among the first to contend that our opportunity was so great that we ought to take our time and make a statement commensurate with the possibilities of the occasion. A committee headed by the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson was sent on to Atlanta for the final drafting and the Durham Statement as it finally appeared is the work of this committee.

When the Durham Statement appeared, it stirred the South. Mrs. Ames made good her promise to rally the white leadership of the South, for in a relatively short time, a meeting of whites was called in Atlanta. The Durham Statement was the basis of discussion, and it was agreed that the white South would go along with the Negro South in finding ways and means of constructive cooperation and in

finding a common denominator of constructive action in the improvement of race relations.

The Durham Statement enumerated a minimum of what the Negro wanted and the white South had accepted this minimum as a basis of cooperation, and this was the beginning of the dawn of a new day in the South: for it quickened a new impulse in the Old South and stirred the inspiration of Negroes.

With the conferees of the Durham and Atlanta meetings in virtual agreement, it remained to have representatives of the two conferences meet in a common session, which was called at Richmond June 16, 1943. Again the writer was chosen as director and to make the opening statement. (This matter of being elected director without "visible" means of "directing" and of making opening statements where the chance of saying "wrong things" was such a possibility, was becoming a serious matter fraught with Herculean tasks and great anxieties.)

According to plans, the Collaboration Conference was duly convened. Besides the representatives of the Durham and Atlanta meetings, there was an audience made up of those who had become interested in the tone of the other meetings. In his opening statement the writer stressed the crisis that had arisen in the South's Negro leadership: that the time was at hand when that leadership would be strangled or strengthened. The statement was largely a plea for a racial cooperation that took into account the ever-expanding ambitions of the Negroes who were more and more forced to appeal to law with their just demands. The case of teachers' salaries was given as evidence. Why could not the interracialists gain equalization of salaries instead of its being a matter of litigation? The argument ran that if Negro leadership, through interracial cooperation could not produce results, it was of no effect and would be discredited by Negroes themselves. It was further pointed out that the-time-is-not-ripe-yet attitude of so many white interracialists was obsolete and had to go.

Upon the conclusion of the opening statement one white clergyman arose and cold-watered the opening statement, and there was general confusion. It was at this critical moment that Dr. Howard W. Odum entered the picture and showed himself to be a moral and intellectual giant.

Dr. Odum was quick to see the wisdom and justice of the Negro's contention, in seeking to save southern Negro leadership, about to be sacrificed upon the altar of reaction. He depicted with dramatic power and eloquence the pathetic plight of his beloved South, caught in the cross-currents of crucial circumstances that foisted upon a great people momentous decisions which it would be tragic to evade. He pointed out with touching pathos that the situation could eventuate in a great triumph if the whites and Negroes of the South faced up to it like men, but he was equally poignant as he suggested the price of evasion and indecision.

Almost as if by magic under the spell that Dr. Odum had cast upon the conference there was a transformation in the spirit of those present and the conference became dynamic with hope and courage. It is safe to say that without Dr. Odum's

masterly presentation and his prestige, his statesmanship, and his willingness to move forward and upward, the day would have been lost and with it the great opportunity to bless the great cause of race relations, and most certainly there would not have been a Southern Regional Council, which the late Dr. Charles Johnson called "a new beginning on a higher level." The moral stature of Dr. Odum was silhouetted against this critical occasion, and his moral and intellectual dimensions stood out in bold relief.

In reflecting upon that eventful day Dr. Odum wrote me: "Early that morning we realized that the Negroes had their top-flight leaders present and that most of the southern white leaders had defaulted; and when your magnificent address on the crisis of Negro leadership had been rebuked by Dr. Jones as going 'too far' and he lectured them in somewhat the old southern way, it became clear that there was a crisis." Dr. Young, presiding officer of the meeting had this to say: "Dr. Odum saved the day and the Richmond meeting from being a failure."

Representatives of the Durham Conference and from the Atlanta Conference and the Collaboration Meeting were sent on to Atlanta where the Southern Regional Council was organized. The history of the achievement of the Council is a vindication of what those southern Negro leaders saw in dim outline in Durham, October 20, 1942.

Great causes sometimes are delicately poised upon some slender event. And so great movements are often poised upon the behavior of individuals committed to serving the present age, their calling to fulfill.

One such individual is Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, who first saw the possibility in a meeting of white and Negro leaders to write a new charter of race relations, for the old charter written in paternalism had become obsolete. Without a Jessie Daniel Ames, and her vision and promise of white cooperation, there would not have been a Durham Conference.

The late Dr. P. B. Young who presided at both the Durham and Richmond meetings proved himself a great leader and without his great influence and that of his great newspaper, the *Journal and Guide,* which was our spokesman in those days when the enemies of the movement were seeking our lives, we could not have carried on and the Durham Conference would never have come to pass. Modesty forbids my saying that without a Gordon B. Hancock as "director" to absorb the terrible punishment meted out by foes of the Durham Conference there would not have been a Durham Conference. The burdens of suspicions and derision and calumnies fell with greatest weight upon him.

In conclusion let it be said that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if all southern white leadership had gone along with the Council and its program, and if the many so-called liberals had been real liberals as a few have been, the South would have been spared the travail of the hour!

Dr. Hancock, a resident of Richmond, Va., is a Life Fellow of the Southern Regional Council.

The Origin of the Southern Regional Council:

An Answer When Negro Southerners Spoke

As recalled by JOSEPHINE WILKINS

IT WAS A WINTER EVENING in early 1943. Jessie Daniel Ames had asked me to have dinner with her and we were sitting at a small table just inside the Peachtree entrance of the Piedmont Hotel in Atlanta. There was an atmosphere about the dinner that led me to stop abruptly and say, "Ames, we aren't just having dinner together. There's something more—out with it."

She smiled, and began to talk of the conference of southern Negroes recently held in Durham, North Carolina. She spoke of the vicious attack made on its leaders prior to the conference by the northern Negro press, and said she had pledged that if they went ahead with the conference there would be a following meeting of white Southerners to consider the statement they planned to issue. She said she wanted me to help her with it as she was frequently out of the city but would ask for no commitment until I was familiar with the whole background, and she pulled from her briefcase a thick folder to be taken with me following the dinner.

Mrs. Ames was field secretary for the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had its headquarters in Atlanta. The nation was at war, and the Commission's director, Dr. Will Alexander, had entered government service in Washington, leaving Mrs. Ames more or less in charge. We had become close friends in the League of Women Voters where I had just completed several terms as state president and she as a member of its board.

When I reached home that evening I opened the folder. It contained a quantity of correspondence and press clippings, chronologically filed and stapled to the folder with a long metal brace. First was a letter from Mrs. Ames to that stately gentleman, Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, then Dean at Virginia Union University in Richmond. Mrs. Ames wrote of having long read his column syndicated by the Associated Negro Press and that she was particularly interested in a recent one in which he said that perhaps the time had come when the Negroes themselves should draw up a charter. (President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had had their rendezvous at sea and drafted the Atlantic Charter with its declaration on interdependence and the four freedoms.) The letter asked Dr. Hancock to enlarge his idea in an article for *Southern Frontier,* issued monthly by the Commission. I read on and came across a letter acknowledging the article.

His suggestion had appealed to her at the time, she wrote, and now "I am impelled to make a suggestion to you which I want you to consider. But, first, I must explain both my position on and my concern in the racial situation: I want Negroes to get as much recognition as citizens—full fledged—as possible; I want

them to hold as much of the gains made in this field as possible after the war. It is at this latter point that my concern arises. Unless southern white people agree that this gain must be preserved, I am afraid of the future for southern Negroes. . . . Now and for the duration is our opportunity to convince the white South that the obvious minima of citizenship must be accorded for enduring peace, as well as for successful war."

I read on, interested. "White and Negro leaders of the South should agree on ultimate goals, immediate objectives and strategy. When we have done this, we can work both jointly and separately in carrying out our purposes. We should include in our program in the economic field, industry, agriculture and domestic service; in the educational field, salaries, equipment, free and equal educational advantages on all levels; in the field of civil rights, unrestricted franchise, equality before the courts, petty and state; in the social field, health and hospitalization, parks, playgrounds and housing. . . .

"This is my suggestion. Could you and two or three other Negro leaders from the deep South invite into conference a dozen others not dependent upon the Federal Government for their living and discuss the problems as you see them and come to some general agreement on what you want white people to do to help. Then later invite a small number of southern white persons, men and women, to join with you in working out the strategy to be followed.

"You may think that we ought or would want to sit in at the first conference. If you do, I would say that in my judgment we should not. . . . Any other procedure would in my opinion leave the whole plan open to attack by members of your race on the grounds that "Bourbon" white people of the South were already planning to re-enslave Negroes. An additional advantage would accrue by excluding white people until you had worked out your program: the white South would know what southern Negroes want and what they would expect to get in cooperation with the white South. . . ."

She ended her letter with, "I think there is value in this idea. It is unimportant whether or not you accept the plan as it is outlined here. But it is important that something be planned and begun now. The initiative should be taken by southern Negroes. I can promise you cooperation from southern white people."

I laid down the folder, my thoughts caught up in events following World War I, the revival of the Klan, the disillusionment of the Negro; and now he was again in the uniform of his country and already there were rumblings of similar after-war reaction. I read on, absorbed, well into the morning.

Carbons of letters followed one after the other: Dr. Hancock's conference with P. B. Young, of the *Norfolk Journal & Guide,* regarding the suggestion made by Mrs. Ames; copy of a letter sent by Dr. Hancock to a number of leading Negroes of the South polling their reaction to "a suggestion made by an interested white southerner" and quoting at length from Mrs. Ames' letter; his account of their enthusiastic response; meetings of Virginia Negroes and their invitation to some

three score Negro Southerners to meet in Durham to formulate a charter for Negro citizens of the South; again their enthusiastic response.

Next followed numerous clippings from the northern Negro press, vicious attacks made on this move by Negro Southerners, and heaped in particular on the head of Dr. Hancock whom they sarcastically called "the gloomy Dean." One could not read these accounts without paying high and lasting tribute to this man and to all those who in the face of such criticism went ahead and brought forth that historic Durham Statement. No longer could the white South claim that it could speak for what the Negro Southerner wanted; he for the first time had spoken for himself.

The job at hand was response from the white South. A carefully chosen list of Atlanta men was prepared and on request of Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church, they met for dinner in one of the small conference rooms on the second floor of the Piedmont Hotel; and this was followed by two other such meetings. The first one I shall never forget, the tension at one point as each man sat obviously fearful he might be singled out to head the southwide meeting of white Southerners which was under consideration. But when the decision to undertake it ultimately came, there was agreement that its call should carry the signature of each of the group. Bishop Moore consented to have the replies come to him at his home address.

There were 13 men, their signatures to the call placed alphabetically: C. H. Gillman (Regional Director, CIO); George L. Googe (Regional Director, AFL); M. Ashby Jones (Minister); Ryland Knight (Minister, 2nd Ponce de Leon Baptist Church); David Marx (Rabbi, The Temple); Arthur J. Moore (Bishop, the Methodist Church); Ralph McGill (Editor, *Atlanta Constitution*); Stuart R. Oglesby (Minister, Central Presbyterian Church); Gerald P. O'Hara (Bishop, Catholic Church); Dean S. Paden (President, King Hardware Co.); J. McDowell Richards (President, Columbia Theological Seminary); John Moore Walker (Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church); and Goodrich C. White (President, Emory University).

Then came the attacks, this time by letter and more subtle and less personal than those made on the Negro meeting: "meddlers and carpetbaggers from the North who are stirring up this trouble" . . . "not the approach to the Negro question" . . . "bound to do more harm than good" . . . "approve of what you are trying to do but disagree strongly with the way you are going about it" . . . "there is no disposition on the part of the businessmen of this state" . . . "postpone until the war is over" . . . "the thousands of white boys in the armed forces would not appreciate any effort by any group," etc, etc.

The meeting was held in Atlanta on April 8, again at the Piedmont Hotel, on the mezzanine where the cocktail lounge is now located. Invitations had gone to a carefully prepared list of approximately 300 white Southerners, equally balanced between representatives of religion, business, education, etc. One hundred fifteen

from ten states attended and wide response from others expressed interest and a desire to cooperate.

A draft of a statement responding to the Durham Statement had been prepared in advance and was offered at the morning session. During the discussion a small group of businessmen at the far end of the room fought first to keep any statement from being issued, then to get it postponed. Finally a committee was appointed to meet during lunch and bring in a recommendation on the matter. We met in a small room adjoining the main one. And the high point of the day came there, when Bishop Moore rose, with the weight of his body and prestige, and looking directly at a man across the table, in substance said: "Mr. Smith, businessmen in equal number with others were invited to this meeting. They had the opportunity to attend. They chose not to come. The meeting is in process. I for one am unwilling to wait longer on the businessmen. And I say to you, Mr. Smith, the businessmen may be missing the boat!" That settled the matter. The statement was approved that afternoon, signed by practically all, and given to the press. Other names added by wire and mail brought the total number of signers to 292.

The Atlanta meeting of white Southerners had authorized the appointment of a Collaboration Committee to meet with a similar committee of Negroes from the Durham meeting, and Ralph McGill, who had chaired the Atlanta meeting, was asked to appoint it. These two committees met together in Richmond at St. Paul's Church on June 16. P. B. Young, from the Durham group, presided.

The opening address was made by Dr. Hancock who pointed out dramatically the importance of the day and made a ringing appeal to the white South for a more advanced policy toward the Negroes of the South. Unfortunately, Dr. Hancock was followed by an elderly white minister who in the paternalistic manner of the old South cautioned slowness, just what the Negroes feared, and a pall fell over them. But the caution served to rally the whites and Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina, rose and coming to his full height reversed the tone of the meeting.

Discussion continued throughout the day. The conference ended with a Richmond Statement and with a bi-racial Continuation Committee created and charged with the responsibility of determining ways and means for the white and Negro South to work together toward implementing the Durham Statement. Still there was a certain anxiety among the Negroes, as expressed by Dr. Hancock a few days later when he wrote, "I still wonder if we are going to be left with a conference in our laps. I hope not and I pray not but if our white friends are going to be overcautious we are not going to accomplish much."

The success of these three meetings now drew to the movement the full support of Dr. Will Alexander, director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who was still with the war effort in Washington, and Dr. Odum, then president of the Commission. They, together with Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk

University, who headed the editorial committee for the Durham Statement, threw their wide influence behind the movement. These three had a long record of joint work in the South and were frequently referred to in warm admiration, and sometimes otherwise, as "The Trinity."

Interest was revived by them in an idea that had lain dormant for a number of years, and I found myself meanwhile recalling a sequence of events: a letter written by Dr. Odum back in the spring of 1938 in which he referred to the possible formation of a "southern regional council with representatives from each of the southern states;" an evening with him around that time when he unfolded a large sheet of paper headed "Southern Regional Council" and showed me a diagram of the South's major problems; and his near-bitterness on feeling blocked in furthering the idea when the president of his university became head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare formed unexpectedly that fall. It was this idea that was now brought forward again and developed.

Thus when the Continuation Committee appointed at Richmond met at Atlanta University on August 4, Dr. Odum was elected chairman of the meeting, and a proposal was brought in to set up a southwide council with broad scope. Following a day-long discussion, the proposal was approved and a resolution establishing the organization now known as the Southern Regional Council was adopted. The Continuation Committee was made its nucleus.

A charter was applied for by Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, Dr. Charles Johnson, Ralph McGill, Bishop Moore, and Dr. Odum. The charter was granted on January 6, 1944. A charter meeting was held at Atlanta University on February 16-17, and just prior to its opening the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and merged the Commission with the newly formed Council. All those who had participated in the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond meetings, together with members of the old Commission, were made charter members. Bishop Moore was elected president and when he could not serve, Dr. Odum was elected. A board and an executive committee were chosen, and Dr. Guy B. Johnson and Dr. Ira DeA. Reid were made staff directors. The Southern Regional Council was launched!

"Great causes," as Dr. Hancock has aptly said, "sometimes are delicately poised upon some slender event." Nineteen hundred sixty-four marks the 20th anniversary of the Southern Regional Council. When its quarter-century arrives a few years from now, how better could we observe the occasion than by having a fully documented history of the Council's origin and the time out of which it came, prepared and ready for publication. In Tryon, North Carolina, in Mrs. Ames' library, are a dozen or more folders—their contents carefully classified and chronologically filed—that record this eventful period. It was truly a meaningful one for the South.

Miss Wilkins, a resident of Athens, Ga., is a vice president of the Southern Regional Council.

The South of the Future

A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council
December 12, 1951

EIGHT YEARS AGO, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels —national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

The role appropriate to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, factfinding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes its influence felt for truly representative government.

The council's functions may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the devlopment of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

The declared purpose of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race — problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

The south of the future, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

A Statement of Views

By the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council
December 30, 1963

I. Three Centuries of Moral Crisis

THE SOUTH'S HISTORY for centuries has been interwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice. This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world. There is nowhere we can turn that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

These are days of turmoil, but also of hope. Negro Southerners, and Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who have advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans to join the ranks of the world-wide Communist conspiracy against constitutional democracy. They have, on the contrary, held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

White Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion. They have been subverted in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the white Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim. Even worse, they have in yet larger numbers surrendered to those social and economic desires and conveniences which blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and a quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. Generations of white and Negro people have equally and together built this region, imparted to it what virtues and strengths it has, and made the South's positive contributions to the nation and to all mankind.

Out of affection for the South, and out of a belief in the sanctity of every individual as a child beloved of God, we suggest the following thoughts to the public in this year 1963, the centennial of several great events of American history and a year also of unprecedented anxiety and disorder and tragedy.

II. The Two Leading Issues

The Southern Regional Council has always been committed to the achievement of the goal of justice for all, and the consequent elimination of discrimination and inequities through education, understanding, and cooperation at the local level and within each community and state. We believe that this is still the primary and most effective way. Surely, however, all must recognize that where there is a breakdown in this primary approach, resort will inevitably be had to legislation and demonstrations.

In the past, and most especially during the last 80 years or so, the South has deliberately created laws and public policies to keep its two races *apart* and to *discriminate* against its Negro citizens. At the same time, southern political leaders contended that law can never be used to bring the two races *together* or to *suppress discrimination*. They had thus effectively removed from Negro Southerners every

power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of leaving family and neighbors by moving to the North or West.

That we have progressed far in the years since World War II is evidenced by the fact that the present two issues of greatest urgency to our domestic strength and tranquility are the uses of law and public policy to undo the wrongs of the past, and the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed this process.

III. Law is the Servant of Justice

As to the first issue, and while recommending that voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive actions by the local, state, and federal governments. We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and rebuilding job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our Constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace. In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress; there is good reason to hope that, as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good. America is a better land because of the brilliant thrust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's moral and political leading and because of President Johnson's resolve to "move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression."

We need to recognize fully and clearly the two just demands of what is called the 'Negro revolt.' One is that there be an end *now* to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise. The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy.

The federal government does not serve the public well when the help it offers, through either legislative or executive actions, is minimal; when it treats symptoms and not the problems; when it merely palliates disorders, leaving them to fester and to nag at the nerves of the people; or when it allows its money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare or dignity of any class of citizens.

Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race relations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those southern cities which in recent months have established effective bi-racial commissions and committees. We believe that the essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents. We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual, and that only as it does so will it itself prosper.

None of the issues of civil rights is likely to be solved fully while there exists,

throughout the population, the present wide differentials of educational opportunities, nor while unemployment is as large and menacing as it is and has been. We are gratified by the industrious, even imaginative, endeavors now underway or being discussed in several southern states to lift educational levels. But federal leadership in these intricately related fields of education and employment is a continuing necessity. The current rate of unemployment is not only an economic drag but frustrates even sincere governmental and private efforts to overcome racial discrimination. Job scarcity has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations, and may predictably engender more and bitter protest.

We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, reshape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

The means to this end is a thoroughly democratic, thoroughly responsible politics.

IV. An Historic Opportunity

There is no virtue *per se* in street demonstrations, but only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all.

Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion.

We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either. Bitterness and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society — governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations — must contend and which they must rectify.

We commend those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing, and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights.

We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be non-violent, in spirit as well as in form.

We ask the nation's understanding of and compassion for those white Southerners who, because of the teaching and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice. We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes.

We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South. Because we believe profoundly in democracy, we think that democratization of southern public life is the pathway to strength. We believe that the greatest con-

tribution which Negro Southerners can make today to the national welfare and to their own is to register and to vote responsibly, and, together with white citizens, to establish truly representative government in the South.

The qualities which are exhibited in the protest demonstrations are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power — these are qualities needed in politics, in the schools and universities, in the churches, in business, in all of our society. May this nation have the wisdom to draw strength from them.

Presidents of the Southern Regional Council:

1944-1945
HOWARD W. ODUM
Chapel Hill, N.C.

1946-1951
PAUL WILLIAMS
Richmond, Va.

1952-1957
MARION A. WRIGHT
Linville Falls, N.C.

1958-1963
JAMES M. DABBS
Mayesville, S. C.

1964-
JOHN H. WHEELER
Durham, N.C.

Chairmen of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council:

1944-1952
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Nashville, Tenn.

1954-1961
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
Atlanta, Ga.

(Note: There was no chairman during 1953.)

1961-1963
JOHN H. WHEELER
Durham, N.C.

Executive Directors of the Southern Regional Council:

1944-1947
GUY B. JOHNSON

1947-1957
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

1957-1961
HAROLD C. FLEMING

1961-
LESLIE W. DUNBAR

BUSINESS WEEK

May 16, 1964

Fifty cents

A McGraw-Hill publication

Below: William McC. Martin, Jr., now serving his fourth President, tries to shape a new role for the Federal Reserve Board [Finance]

John H. Wheeler (right), here greeting customer of biggest Negro bank, calls for Negroes to 'reenter U. S. marketplace'

Wheeler chats with mayor of Durham, R. W. Grabarek (right), Vice-Pres. Everett Hopkins of Duke University (hatless), attorney V. S. Bryant, Jr.

NAMES & FACES

Banker with a mission

Successful Negro bank president, firm in pushing for both Negro advancement and North Carolina development, wins an influential role throughout South and in the nation

The Mechanics & Farmers Bank, of which John H. Wheeler (pictures) is president, is located in downtown Durham, N. C., within a block of five competitive banks. When Wheeler walks along the streets downtown, many people nod or greet him with the good will and respect normally accorded to a successful and prominent local businessman.

This would not be especially notable except that Wheeler, 56, is a Negro, born near Durham, who has lived and worked his entire life in the South. And those who greet him today might have seen him in 1960—with an established reputation as bank president—walking in a picket line on behalf of sit-ins launched by Durham Negro students.

Wheeler would not want his career—remarkable by any standards—measured with a racial yardstick. Yet it is in the light of the impassioned and often troubled Negro fight for economic and social improvement that his work holds particular interest today. Though he is not well-known to the public, his contributions both as a businessman and as an influence on affairs affecting Negroes are outstanding.

His range of activities is broad—in private business, as an active lawyer, college trustee, key member of many state and national groups, and behind-the-scenes figure whose advice is sought and heeded. Their wide scope makes him the most influential Negro leader in his state, among the three or four top Negroes in the South, and a man with sub-

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Durham problems get attention of Wheeler and other civic leaders at breakfast meeting of Redevelopment Commission of City of Durham, of which he is member.

stantial weight at the national level.

Pres. Johnson, for example, with whom Wheeler has worked on equal employment, commends the "record of accomplishment" resulting from his combination of "deep dedication to the cause of equal employment with a recognition of the need for effective methods." Johnson saw Wheeler recently during the President's Appalachia tour last week.

Breaking the pattern. What is most remarkable, though, is the way Wheeler cuts across stereotyped patterns. He represents the top level of successful Negro businessmen who, over the years, won secure, if restricted, positions in many Southern communities. His bank, the largest Negro-owned bank in the U. S., is one of a group of three Negro financial institutions holding, together, $100-million in assets.

Such men were long accepted as Negro leaders, and the white community dealt with them on racial matters. The eruption of militant direct action about 1960—sit-ins, boycotts, and street demonstrations—changed things drastically. Many conservative businessmen drew back, branded as "Uncle Toms" and "white man's Negroes," while more combative Negro leaders arose.

Wheeler breaks this pattern at both ends. More cleanly than most Negro spokesmen, he has been able —at least up to the present—to reconcile heavy pressures from his own people to be militant and from whites to go slow.

Willing, as his picketing stint for sit-ins showed, to "test new ground," he has won praise from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for "unswerving commitment to the cause of freedom and justice." Yet he maintains good working relations with the white community, and has served the state of North Carolina so faithfully that Gov. Terry Sanford commends his "devotion, determination, and skill in important appointments."

All this time—while acting both as a sort of intermediary in the conflict with the confidence of both sides, and as a determined leader of one side—he has worked hard and successfully in his business.

I. Delicate balance

How Wheeler is able to do this appears more clearly in a close-up of his activities in Durham.

In Durham, Wheeler is at the center of Negro action. He is chairman of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, the group through which leadership channels its efforts. He is particularly proud of its accomplishments in education, where the group's efforts, he says, have resulted in "more Negro children attending integrated schools than in any other North Carolina city."

This was brought about largely by litigation, in which Wheeler's efforts were somewhat unorthodox for a businessman. While already vice-president of the bank in 1945, he went to law school for four years at night. Soon after graduating, he brought the first integration suit in North Carolina.

How to negotiate. The committee's strength, like that of similar groups, comes largely from its ability to influence Negro voting. Negroes comprise 28% of Durham's registered voters, and that so many are registered is, again, largely because of the committee's efforts. "You can negotiate in an atmosphere of friendliness," says Wheeler, "if you have the votes." He adds: "And if you don't rub people's noses in it."

Friendliness doesn't rule out a strong stand. When Durham Negro students launched sit-ins and picketing against some stores in 1960, Wheeler received calls from whites and from some Negroes, assuming he would help quell the demonstrators. Instead, he drafted a statement of support. Then he went on the picket line one morning to make his position unmistakable.

Wheeler holds profound and unyielding commitments to carrying Negroes along the path of social improvement as fast as possible, often faster than others want to accept. But he seeks to do this with calm reasonableness and clear judgment.

For the state. He also works hard for the state of North Carolina. His most important state activity is serving as treasurer and a director of the North Carolina Fund, a private organization headed by Gov. Sanford and largely financed by the Ford Foundation; it seeks answers to the problems of poverty in the state, without regard to race.

Difficult line. In this dual role, Wheeler has faced pressure and personal risk, both from whites and cautious Negroes. But white leaders know that when he speaks, other Negroes listen. Negroes know that he will not "go along" for the sake of easy acceptance.

At times, the irony of his position is striking. Wheeler recently went with a small group from the North Carolina Fund to 11 towns that had applied for assistance. At many meetings he presided over discussions that included mayors, city managers, other officials, and prominent businessmen. Yet, careful arrangements were necessary to insure that Wheeler could be served meals without incidents. In one strictly segregated town a newspaper reporter, watching Wheeler talk to city officials, observed: "Look at the way he handles those people. And that man couldn't even buy a cup of coffee across the street."

II. The Negro in business

"It can be extremely difficult," is Wheeler's only comment on such things. But he also says: "Some Negro businessmen have never known the thrill of seeing relationships change from a patronizing popularity to mutual understanding and respect."

For this activity, of course, rests solidly on the foundation of Wheeler's business career. His bank, the Mechanics & Farmers, is closely associated with Durham's North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., largest U. S. Negro-owned business.

Wheeler is also a director of a savings and loan association closely tied to N. C. Mutual. With two Durham offices and branches at Charlotte and Raleigh, Mechanics & Farmers has $12-million deposits. It ranks ahead of Atlanta's Citizens Trust Co. and the Industrial Bank of Washington among Negro-owned banks.

"We're a stone's throw from our white competitors in Durham," Wheeler notes, "but we have many accounts from white businessmen." His bank has accounts from many big North Carolina companies, and deposits of public funds.

Like many bankers, Wheeler takes satisfaction in supporting new and expanding business—particularly Negro enterprises. "Often our support determines whether a Negro business survives or not," he says.

Special problems. But for Wheeler, business pursuits inexorably lead to some hard thinking about the Negro's position in the economy. His analysis runs something like this. For Negroes, the period beginning in the mid-1890s (it was in 1896, for one thing, that the Supreme Court enunciated the "separate but equal" doctrine) brought political disenfranchisement, social separation, and the "removal of the Negro entrepreneur from the marketplace where American citizens are accustomed to bargaining for the goods and services of one another."

This brings special problems; Negro business is confined almost entirely to the low-income segment of the market. Negro bank accounts tend to be smaller, so serving them raises costs. "This means," says Wheeler, "we have to do a little more efficient job of management."

Holding operation. Wheeler sees successful Negro businessmen as conducting a "holding operation of unusual importance"—important because of growing Negro economic strength. In 1963, he points out, 14 Negro banks had total resources over $75-million, 53 life insurance companies had $335-million, 32 savings and loan associations $350-million.

Negroes are now ready, Wheeler feels, for the payoff of this holding operation. Negro businessmen, he says, must help the Negro "reenter the marketplace through pressure for maintenance of a free and open society by every means at our disposal, including some of the extraordinary ones in which all too few of us have participated in recent months."

III. South and nation

This year, Wheeler took on an assignment of wider geographical scope. He became the first Negro to be elected president of the influential Southern Regional Council, which has strongly shaped the course of race relations in the South.

Deep roots. It is a South in which Wheeler's own roots run deep. Like many successful Negroes, he comes from a comfortable background. His father was a college president, later Atlanta manager for N. C. Mutual.

From the age of five, Wheeler lived in Atlanta, where his family was part of a substantial middle-class Negro group including Walter White, later head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; M. L. King, Sr., father of the Negro leader; and the Dobbs family whose best-known member is Metropolitan Opera star Mattiwilda Dobbs.

Graduating from Morehouse College, summa cum laude, Wheeler went to work in 1929 for Mechanics & Farmers as a teller at $60 a month. He became vice-president in 1944, president in 1952.

Wider range. The broader range of Wheeler's activities now has a national as well as regional scope. About 1958 he met R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., in Chicago, and later Shriver asked him to become a director of the Businessmen's Committee for Kennedy-Johnson. "We were proud to have Wheeler as one of the original members," Shriver says. He also served during this period on the Commission on Race and Housing. He was sounded out about coming to Washington, but felt his bank needed him.

He is, however, a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, formed in 1961 by Pres. Kennedy and headed by then Vice-Pres. Johnson. He says: "I never had hesitancy about expressing strong views, to which Mr. Johnson was usually receptive."

Next step. Wheeler describes the next order of business for Negroes in these terms: "The current wave of militancy can succeed only in removing the artificial barriers to our return to the marketplace." He names some qualities Negroes will need to follow through, qualities that sum up his own personal credo: "Hard work, thorough training, tenacity, a genuine interest in other people, and intense self-discipline."

SLEP

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Labor Project Report -- January-June, 1967

Emory F. Via, Director

The six months period just ended was a time of slightly different emphases than during previous periods for the Labor Project. Substantially more time was spent on two special projects related to equal opportunity in employment and, of necessity, less time was given to labor education activities. This does not reflect a change in the basic orientation of the Labor Project, but a happenstance of timing and the Council's interest in responding to an opportunity to meet special needs.

The report will reflect the Project's activities in labor education, liason and consultation, and employment opportunity.

LABOR EDUCATION

The project director has taught in two week-long educational institutes during the report period. These have been with the Tri-State Labor School (AFL-CIO sponsorship in the states of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina) and in a regional United Rubber Workers School. Four classes were held in two different localities with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Two weekend institutes were planned and conducted in joint sponsorship with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO.

Although the specific subject matter varies from one institute to another, an opportunity is provided to discuss with the union group the changing South, and the union's relation to civil rights or particular problems in the community or state. For example, in teaching local union administration it is pertinent to get into the union's relation to the community and its problems as well as to the specific responsibilities of the union to its own members. In either case such a discussion is likely to touch racial relations. Frequently, the main presentation by the project director is under a very general heading such as "The South Today." In such cases worker interests can be related to the changes taking place in the economy, in politics and in social relations. Relevant factual information is brought

into the sessions. Such information may vary from facts and figures on the educational standing of the various southern states, to data reflecting the economic condition of states or regions, to a consideration of special reports such as the recently published "Hungry Children," to a careful reading of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Our effort has been to get union members to think, to accept the significance of important social developments and to begin to view the changes about them in a new perspective. It is hoped that they can begin to shake away from a negative and antagonistic view of civil rights progress and find an understanding that can hold some promise of a South of decency, equality and mutual progress. This result, happily, is sometimes achieved. More frequently another important goal is attained: working whites discover that there is a reasoned and reasonable "other view" of events in the South and Nation. They may discover that the Supreme Court is not always villainous, that the Constitution and democracy have a certain compatibility and that Negro gains do not necessarily mean white losses. Simple lessons, but it is often the first exposure to such an approach for many in a society where few efforts are made to reach working whites. (A major focus, even though most of the groups are integrated.) It is true that those who attend the sessions already have come through a process of "natural selection" -- they usually represent some level of local union leadership. Most of them still work in factories or at a trade. Overwhelmingly, their general response has been a positive one.

In the Arkansas institutes, local labor leaders from eastern Arkansas were brought together with local civil rights leaders from their own communities. The subjects discussed ranged from perspectives on the changing South and East Arkansas through a consideration of tax and consumer problems, to the problems and possibilities of unions and Negro action groups cooperating locally and in the state.

A further labor education activity has been the distribution of selected materials to appropriate persons within unions, human relations councils, or other groups. Occasionally materials have been

sent to human relations councils and others where it might be suggestive of common interests and joint programs. Our materials distribution provides specific information, the knowledge that a particular item is available for wider distribution, and continuing contact with those with whom we work. The most frequent targets for materials are the various State AFL-CIO bodies in the South and the state councils on human relations. The education or civil rights directors of national unions or their regional counterparts hear from us with some regularity. The same is true for regional directors of national unions.

Among the materials that have been distributed are the following:

American Federationist (Issue on Civil Rights), November, 1966. This was an additional distribution to a large mailing at the end of 1966.

"Statement on Employment Practices in the Textile Industry", prepared by the project director for a forum sponsored by the E.E.O.C.

Occupational Quarterly Outlook, "The Negro's Occupational Progress", December, 1966. Published by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Changing Education (American Federation of Teachers magazine), Fall, 1966. Special issue on "The Negro in American Education".

American Teacher (American Federation of Teachers newspaper), January, 1967. Special supplement on "Rascism in Education".

"Wages, Insurance, and Growth". Reprint from the New South by Raymond Munts on the role of unemployment insurance in the Southern states.

"The Freedom Budget" (A. Phillip Randolph Institute)

"How to Conduct a Registration Campaign" (VEP)

"Voter Registration in the South" (VEP)

"Hungry Children"

Beyond these general distributions and the supplying of specific materials either on request or as a need is seen, the program developed a major special purpose material of its own. A "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit" was produced to be used by unions, human relations

councils and others to assist in understanding and enforcing the law. The kit was designed specifically to assist low wage workers and to offer one tangible way for interested groups to more effectively relate to low income persons in their communities. It was hoped that such projects might prove to be the occasion for joint activity between one or more unions and one or more groups interested in civil rights. Approximately 1,800 of the kits have been distributed to date. In addition, a special minimum wage pamphlet for popular distribution, "More Money for You", has had a distribution of over 6,000.

Liason and Consultation

Although the work of the Project which comes under this heading is of great importance, it frequently is of a nebulous character. Activities here vary from on-the-spot advice to mediating differences between groups that should be working with each other. This is also that portion of our work where the Project reaches beyond its more immediate clientele to other private and public agencies. Some of the activities have included working on an employment conference with the Virginia Council on Human Relations and a minimum wage workshop with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, participating in a VISTA orientation program, leading a discussion with the national community services conference of the American Friends Service Committee, taking part in a Miles College manpower conference, working with the regional offices of the Urban League, relating to student groups interested in civil rights and organized labor, and serving as a consultant to a conference sponsored by the EEOC and the University of Michigan for key staff and policy people of the state agencies working on fair employment.

Participation in regional and national conferences where the topics are closely related to the work of the Project has been another portion of "liason and consultation" as has the contact with representatives of the regional and national press with a special interest in employment or unions.

An important part of the Project's activities has been the continued close cooperation with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Employment Opportunities

Two projects have dominated the time devoted to SRC's interest in furthering equal employment opportunity. Each has been an inter-agency undertaking in which the Labor Project was a prime mover.

In Atlanta several agencies joined together to launch a concerted effort to urge Negro youths to enter the skilled trades and bring pressure to bear on those responsible for recruiting and hiring to insure that jobs would in fact be open. This joint effort in recent weeks has focused primarily on the recruitment of potential apprentices and providing them with prepratory training for the testing and interviewing process for apprentices. Gradually, the staff function for this project has been assumed by the Labor Education Advancement Project of the Atlanta Urban League. SRC's Labor Project has provided a substantial portion of the initiative (though most certainly shared with others), factual material and consultative help. Beyond this, we have helped push the project along by bringing in outside consultants from the Joint Apprenticeship Project of the Workers Defense League and the Randolph Institute in New York. Their visit, at our suggestion and with our financial assistance, led to a very helpful and practical re-energizing of the local efforts, including a valuable demonstration with local recruits of the training process. It is our hope, and that of other agencies, that what is learned in the process in Atlanta can be used elsewhere.

The second employment project joins SRC with five other agencies in an effort to increase the employment of Negroes in the textile industry in terms of both numbers and quality of jobs. We have worked closely with the relevant federal agencies in developing our plans and have consulted with them, and supported and prodded their own efforts to develop what appears to be a most significant undertaking in the employment opportunity field. Our group has played an important

role in encouraging the government agencies to cooperate with each other in this joint undertaking. We work on the national and regional level in developing ideas, securing administrative support, and assisting in community contacts with the government agencies.

The private agencies, with SRC again as one of the chief initiators, have secured special funding to allow us to have a full-time staff person as an action arm in South Carolina (not yet in the field). Such a person will be in touch with public and private agencies within the state that relate to training or recruitment that might affect textile employment; he will secure the cooperation of local organizations in motivating and recruiting Negro workers for employment in the textile industry; he will maintain contact with the field operations of the federal agencies. Our aim is to show what a collaborative project with a developed strategy can accomplish in a one-year period. We hope that the project will introduce large numbers of Negro employees into entry level jobs and will achieve a substantial sprinkling of Negroes into clerical, technical and managerial positions. Further, it is our aim to encourage, through consultation, watch-dogging and administrative pressure, the on-going agencies such as local employment service offices and training programs to establish reasonable routines to insure that adequate recruitment of Negroes for employment of all kinds becomes a fact.

Labor Program

4/6/66

Labor Program — Emory Via, Director

The labor program has shown steady growth during the first quarter. The efforts of the director have been split between program development and promotion, execution, and research.

As a part of program development, the director attended meetings of university and union labor educators in Detroit the last of March.

Two research related projects are under way. One is an attempt to develop a pamphlet on hidden unemployment and underemployment. Materials have been collected and negotiations started with a research-writer. The labor program is also participating in a national study of apprenticeship programs as they relate to minority groups. Our responsibility is limited to the Atlanta metropolitan area.

The director of the labor program assisted in some of the arrangements for a conference and installation of the new EEOC regional director. An interesting attempt by the regional staff of the U. S. Labor Department to expand its effectiveness in reaching disadvantaged persons, led to a cooperative effort with the Council and other agencies. The labor program made a significant contribution to the planning, promotion and execution of the conference on March 23, with assistance from other members of the SRC staff.

The labor program has worked cooperatively with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO's Civil Rights Department. On several occasions we have successfully involved union leaders in programs sponsored by SRC and other agencies.

The director of the labor program has participated in a staff training program for the southeastern representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in a regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers, and in a month-long Southern Union Staff Training Institute.

The Southern Staff Institute was sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. Emory Via served as director of the Institute held from January 9 - February 4

at the University of Georgia. The Institute was attended by twenty-one full time union leaders from twelve states and fourteen international unions. It is rare to get working adults together for a full month of concentrated study. It seems to have been a most successful undertaking. One interesting by-product of the Institute was the bringing of Roy Wilkins to the campus to speak to an audience of students, faculty, and a few townspeople. It was the first time that a major, national civil rights personality had addressed a public meeting on the campus.

In recent weeks the labor program director has been serving on the Economic Security task force convened to assist in planning the White House civil rights conference, "To Fulfill These Rights."

Employment Problems

~~Apprenticeship Study~~ —

~~Apprenticeship Info Center~~

~~Employment Service Study~~

Unemployment Project

} Small assistance in

Specifics for Labor Program 6 mos report 7/1/66

Coop with City Pks —
Appr. Info Center
Unemployment
Atl. Council

5/19 P.O. Dept. — Regional Personnel People — Models

Vine City Council

~~Atl. Council on H.R.~~

Employment requests —
Urban League — Coop — LEAP
Board Boards
Vocational Schools

} Usually Atlanta Based —

Other

Labor Education

~~Jan — ILGWU Org. Staff.~~

~~Jan — NILE Staff Institute~~

March — AFT — Regional Meeting

~~4/16, 17 Va AFL - CIO Ed. Conf.~~

Development of Labor Ed. Idea —
Univ of Va, Va. State, Univ of Ky.

Ala. Primary — Labor Contacts —

~~5/17-18 Tri-State Labor School~~

~~6/3-4 ILGWU Reg. Ed. Conf.~~

~~6/10-11 USWA — Tampa~~

~~6/24-25 USWA — New Orleans~~

~~6/26-29 UAWA Summer Inst.~~

Coop Cin Rts
NILE —

Ed Dept.
NILE
Va AFL-CIO
Tri-State

Consultation & Liaison

Jan ~~EEOC - Installation of Regional Dir.~~

Ala. Labor Council - Valdez & Black

~~Feb-March Labor Dept Regional Conference~~

~~Daytona Beach Forum~~

~~White House Conference Task Force on Econ Security.~~
& Panel at WHC.

3/30 ~~UAWA & 189 Detroit~~

4/8-9 ~~SSOC - Panel Students & Labor - Atlanta~~

~~4/22-23 SSOC - Durham Conf on Students & Labor~~

~~4/29 - AFSC - Frogmore Conference~~

~~5/9 (?) AFSC - IUD re Migrant Labor~~

~~6/7 S.C. CHR initiative Conf for "Speed Up"~~

~~Vine City Council~~

~~NAACP - Pantex Conf~~

[Tenn. Council] - Fall

~~Ga. Council~~

Palm Beach Council

S.C. -

AM. - Ala.

Coop with Civ Rts -

EEOC Installation

~~SSOC - Durham~~

~~NAACP - Pantex~~

Ala Prison

Coop with Civ Rts -

~~EEOC Installation~~

~~SSOC - Durham~~

~~NAACP - Pantex~~

Ala Prison

Ala Prison & Labor

None

Tex

La.

N.C.

Va.

Ark

Miss

6 Mos. Report

SPECIAL PROJECTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

The meeting began at 10:00 a.m. on Friday, June 17, 1966. Those present ~~were of the staff~~ of the Committee were Dr. Gomillion, Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Mr. Courtney Siceloff and Miss Josephine Wilkins. Staff members present were Messrs. Bob Anderson, Emory Via, Marvin Wall, Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA, Al Ulmer, Edw Lewis, Ed Stanfield and Paul Anthony (who appeared for lunch only). In addition several of the presidents of the state councils on human relations or their representatives satoin on the meeting.

The first report was given by EMORY VIA and the LABOR PROGRAM. The Labor Program while becoming involved in working on labor problems on the local level hopes to use these experiences to develop more general materials and techniques. Its work is primarily with middle-leadership union officials. The main areas of work are:

1. Development of labor institutes
2. Employment problems
3. Consultation and liaison work
4. Staff institute at the University of Georgia
5. Work for the White House Conference ~~on Civ~~ "To Fulfill These Rights"

The Labor Program has seheduled a number of conferences for various union organizations throughout the South this summer. ~~The My~~ Mr. Via hopes through these conferences and the other aspects of his program to make the middle-leadership in Southern unions and through them the union members aware of the changing South and what this means for them.

During the questioning period following the report, questions dwelt on the Southern textile mills and unionizing efforts in them. Mr. Via

commented that while there were many jobs in the textile mills which still have low skill and training requirements that they (1) require manual dexterity which older farm laborers probably no longer possess and/or (3) these jobs will soon be mechanized. He ended his comment by remarking that he would hate to see many Negroes locked in textile jobs. Mr. Via was asked about the relationship of the limited apprenticeship ~~program~~ opportunities for both Negroes and whites who did not have old guild connections ~~and discrimination~~. This question was taken up at the White House conference, he reported, and that while he did not want to underestimate the symbolic value of these jobs in the trades, they did represent only a small number of jobs. Dr. Gomillion's question about how to influence or reorient the state commissioners of labor and their staffs was an important one and Mr. Via ~~is~~ said he would give it further thought.

Mr. VERNON E. JORDAN, JR. reported on the VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT. Mr. Jordan listed the ~~grd~~ foundation grants that VEP has received for this year and the next, giving the budget for 1966 as $324,000 ~~[check]~~. At this point VEP has made 66 grants to 10 states, ~~granting in total~~ committing $105,000. All states have received either voter registration, citizen ship education or leadership development grants with the exception of Texas where there has been little interest ~~because it is as yet 8 months until voter registration.~~ with the books closed for the next 8 months. Grants are being given under a cash-draw system where groups funded do not receive their total funds at one time, but are given weekly checks.

There have been several staff changes. New members are Marvin Wall, Director of Research, and Thadeus Olive, Financial Director; two summer interns are employed this summer, one of them is doing field work. The VEP is still short a permanent field director.

LABOR EDUCATION PROJECT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

A Report for January - June, 1966

Emory F. Via, Director, Labor Education Project

Most of the work of the Labor Project falls into three broad categories: labor education, consultation and liasion, and employment problems. This report will attempt to summarize the activities which have taken place in each of these areas without detailing the on-going process of administration, preparation, informal materials development, and the interaction with the continuing programs of the Council.

Labor Education.

The Project's involvement in education activities has varied from participations of one day to one month in duration, and from an intense exploration of civil rights problems confronting Southern unions to a rather tangential handling of such problems as they relate to the day-to-day concerns of a union.

In January the Director spent one month heading the National Institute of Labor Education's Southern Union Staff Institute. This Institute was held at the University of Georgia in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education. It was a useful and intensive educational experience providing tool courses, courses in social and economic understanding, and a fairly concentrated dose of subjects related to racial relations and civil rights.

The Virginia AFL-CIO conducted a week end education conference in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Education Department. The Director of the Labor Project taught four classes and made one general presentation to the entire group. The Tri-State School, sponsored by the state AFL-CIOs in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in cooperation with the national AFL-CIO Education Department, provided another opportunity for teaching a class and holding a general session on the changing South.

The Labor Project participated in two conferences sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. One of these was held in Atlanta for the Union's regional organizing staff and the other at Daytona Beach for local union leadership from throughout the region.

Two further week end institutes were worked out cooperatively with the Labor Project and the Education Department of the United Steelworkers of America and their District 36-G (Gulf Coast) Education Coordinator. One conference was held in Tampa, Florida, and the other in New Orleans. In each case the Project provided approximately one-half of the instruction.

The Director also taught in a one week summer school for members of the United Rubber Workers of America who held a regional program at the Blue Ridge Assembly grounds at Black Mountain, North Carolina.

The Project participated in a one day regional meeting of the American Federation of Teachers in Atlanta.

The Director has taken several opportunities to explore with institutions of higher learning the possibility of their developing some continuing interest in the area of labor education. This activity has been confined primarily to two states to date. Two Georgia institutions have been approached through members of the faculty and administration who were interested in such possibilities.

These moves have been made in consultation with appropriate persons within the labor movement. This effort must be recognized as little more than an attempt to stimulate a beginning interest. Potentially it is a useful way to expand labor education opportunities within the region.

Consultation and Liasion.

On a number of items which might be included under this heading the Labor Project has worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. Such items include jointly assisting with a conference sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee held in Durham on "Students and Labor," in settling problems which had arisen between a local civil rights group and a union engaged in an organizing campaign, and in assessing the impact of the primary election on the Alabama labor movement in regards to racial relations.

During the period of this report the Labor Project has had an opportunity to work with several Councils on Human Relations on a variety of problems. This activity has included work with state councils in Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, and local Councils in Atlanta and Palm Beach. Somewhat similar work has been done in cooperation with the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., Operation Breadbasket, and the American Friends Service Committee.

The Director spoke to a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference in Atlanta, to an American Friends Service Committee staff and advisory group, to the Daytona Beach Forum, and to the orientation conference for "Operation Speed-Up" sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

The Director was asked to serve on the Task Force on Economic Security for the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." This entailed several Task Force meetings in Washington and ultimately meant that the Director was involved as the spokesman for a panel appearing before four workshops at the White House Conference itself.

A few days were profitably spent in mediating between the union staff involved in organizing migrant laborers and an agency with which SRC has frequently cooperated, over difference that had arisen regarding approaches to migrant labor problems. This was an interesting and informative interlude. The outcome at this point seems to be a healthy one.

A few days were spent in Detroit attending conferences of the University Labor Education Association, the AFL-CIO Labor Educators, and Local 189 (Workers Education Local) of the American Federation of Teachers. This time was largely devoted to promotion and contact work and has led to further programs.

A regional conference sponsored by the U. S. Department of Labor in cooperation with SRC and a few other agencies involved the Labor Project directly. This conference was aimed at reaching civil rights and other groups who have contact with disadvantaged persons. It was an effort on the Department's part to bridge the gap between their program proposals and policies and actually reaching the people who should be affected by those programs.

Employment Problems.

Although the Labor Project is not specifically committed to working in the area of employment discrimination, it is difficult, and unwise, to side-step these problems altogether. During the past few months we have participated in a national apprenticeship study (our part was limited to the metropolitan Atlanta area) and have worked cooperatively with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in exploring and promoting the idea of an apprenticeship information center. Similarly, with the Civil Rights Department, we have been able to give some assistance in a study which they are doing cooperatively with other organizations regarding discriminatory practices in employment services. Both of our programs have worked cooperatively with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations in their interest to report the difficulties encountered in getting reliable information about apprenticeship and other training programs in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

From time to time employment requests come to the Council and are channeled through the Labor Project. These range from individuals seeking employment to companies seeking individuals in a variety of classifications. In some cases we are able to handle such requests fairly directly, but usually they are referred to other agencies such as the Urban League, Operation Breadbasket, or one of the vocational schools. The Labor Project has involved the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department's Southern Office in discussions with persons working with the Vine City Council in Atlanta regarding employment and training opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

The Director was asked to participate in a training program of Post Office Department personnel staff from throughout the region to discuss the problems of minority groups as they relate to employment both outside and inside the federal service.

The Project has been concerned with developing some of the background materials and locating outside staff for an unemployment study. Unfortunately, this project has not been brought to fulfillment.

In Conclusion.

It is envisioned that the main emphases of the Labor Project's work will continue to be in the three areas outlined above. Increasingly, the formal program will involve labor education activities. Some of these will be developed at the Labor Project's initiative and others will continue to be those developed by the labor movement with the Project being simply a participant. The liasion and consultation work will continue and is a natural outgrowth of the Project's contact with unions and governmental and private agencies. Our concern with employment opportunities will not diminish but is likely to find expression largely in stimulating interest in public policy and in making referrals to those groups most actively involved in this work. At this point it seems fair to say that the activities of the Labor Project continue to grow and the prospects for the immediate future are good that its services will not only be needed but sought after.

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Education Project

Labor Program Report Annual Rep. 1966

The Labor Program has continued to attempt to make as broad a contact with intermediate labor leadership in the South as possible. A variety of techniques are used in relating to top state leadership, regional staff, and local central bodies and local unions leaders. A primary means of reaching such union people is through offering labor education services to them.

The Labor education programs center primarily on perspectives on the changing South, race relations, civil rights development, and union relations with the civil rights movement. Frequently, however, such programs are coupled with subjects of direct interest to the union as an on-going organization such as Union Administration, Grievance handling, leadership development and labor legislation. Combining these two different kinds of subject matter gives the total program broader appeal and greater entree.

The direct labor education efforts have varied from participation in single sessions, through participating in week-end and one week institutes, to the direction of the one month staff training institute in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education. Needless to say these programs also vary in intensity and the degree of attention given to the region's problems. The guiding principle here, quite frankly, is to attempt to know at what level a given group is and to move them along and challenge them as fully as seems possible in a given situation.

The labor education activities have included three institutes with the steelworkers in Florida, Louisiana, and ~~Kentucky~~ Tennessee; the one month NILE Southern Union Staff Training Institute, on loan function; three weekend institutes in cooperation with the Alabama State AFL-CIO, two (including planning) institutes with the ILGWU and two class sessions with the local union of the ILGWU; participation in the one week TRI-State Labor School; participation in the one week Rubber Workers School, and participation in Kentucky Labor School. Besides this the Alabama AFL-CIO's Annual Convention was addressed by the

Planning, Faculty, Recruitment, Teaching -

Director, and he appeared before the Southern Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. Further, he participated in a one-day legislative conference sponsored by the Georgia State AFL-CIO and in a weekend education program sponsored by the Virginia State AFL-CIO.

Some of the more interesting things that the program does are difficult to report in concrete terms. They consist of consultation and on the spot advice to labor leaders and others in the region. In this connection there are a couple of oddities that deserve some mention. One is the development of ~~the organization~~ of an organization of domestic workers with which the ~~director has~~ consulted on several occasions and to which he has provided some materials. The other efforts was one involving migrant workers in the Florida area who enter the east coast migrant labor stream. Our original involvement in this matter was in a successful attempt to settled some differences that had arisen between an agency with which SRC cooperates and an arm of the labor movement. Both of these efforts obviously deal with special deprived persons. The Labor Program has also worked with a project involving minimum wage legislation enforcement which in a special way touches the disadvantaged. This project is still in development.

Our efforts have led to a fairly wide variety of consultation with other organizations, usual directed toward improving their relations with the Labor Movement or the Labor Movement's relations ~~with the~~ them. These other organizations have included the AFSC, Urban League, Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the Mississippi NAACP, Fisk University, the Anti-Defamation League, Miles College, Atlanta University, University of Georgia, Georgia State,University (at least on these last two, admittedly working with just individuals in some official capacities in those two institutions), and with the Southern Student Organizaing Committee.

Several of these efforts involving schools have been in the interest of establishing Labor Education Programs in the region. This effort also included the University of Kentucky. In the case of SSOC we contributed to conferences in which the relations between the New Student movement and labor movement were discussed. The outcome of one of these conferences was the actual employment of students by the labor movement.in some experimental organizing

situations.

There have been a number of occasions to cooperate with Departments of government. This has been especially true of the Labor Department's regional offices in Atlanta and has involved a number of individuals exchanges of information but also included a regional conference designed to assist the Labor Department's programs to increase their effectiveness in reaching the disadvantaged. SRC was a co-sponsoreof that program and the Director was on the planning committee. There have been several occasions to cooperate with the Post Office Departmentincluding particpation in an orientation institute for the Regional Personnelpeople as regards the Post Office's policy for fair employment practices.

The Director also served as a member of the Task Force of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights". An outgrowth of that task was to be selected as the spokesman for a panel which appeared before four sessions of the White House Conference itself. There have been several occasions to cooperate with the EEOC and especially with its regional office. We have assisted the Office of Liason in Washington in making contact with the State Councils On Human Relations. There have been a number of occasions to cooperate with the various state councils on Human Relations. This has been true in a special way with Alabama regarding domestics and minimum wage, with Mississipp regarding a proposed program stressing the union-civil rights coalition, with Georgia on employment problems and their annual meeting, with Tennessee regarding some proposed civil rights-union coalitions and with an annual meeting, with the South Carolina Council in their Operation Speed-Up, Virginia in terms of union relations and with a conference of theirs on Virginia religion and the changing South, with North Carolina and with Florida on migrant labor problems. All State Councils have recieved a variety of mailings instigated by the Labor Program and suggestions of proposed cooperative projects between the State Councils and the Labor Program.

A variety of things have been done in the area of employment opportunity. We have served as a contact for individual complaintants in some cases and also a contact by a few companies seeking advice or seeking minority group member employees. There have been a number of occasions to consult with specific groups about programs aimed at the elimination of discrimination in employment and the Labor Program has worked quite closely with a small grpup in an attempt to develop a project which will serve as something as a pilot for the successful ending of discrimination and opening of full opportunity for Negro youths in apprenticeship training in the Atlanta area. This project is still midstream and is not being given wide publicity at this point.

Throughout the year the Labor Program has had repeated occasion to have successful and detailed collaborative undertakings with the Southern Office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department. This relationship has proved quite valuable to both parties concerned. Many individualsconsultation with Labor Movement personnel involve both offices.

It might be worth for our own internal consumption just to remark briefly on some items of cooperation between various programs of SRC. A quick listing would include a variety of "think sessions" with Smith, Boone, Adams, Anderson, Ulmer, and Jordan. It would also includecooperative efforts with Stanfield especially regarding the SIAC, but also regarding the State Councils in general and a few State Council's in particular. Cooperation with Ulmer in a variety of ways but especially in connection with the interest in domestic workers and in some cases in credit union problems. The cooperation with Jordan has extended to matters relating to unions and some special programs, an outstanding example which was the recent VEP Legislator's seminar in which the Labor Program did a special presentation regarding protective labor legislation (this meant especially workman's compensation, unemployment compensation and minimum wage). This latter may prove to be something of a continuning responsibility as request have already come in for further information

The year has been something less than all progress and accomplishment. A quick listing of what might be described as "lost efforts" would include at least seven days spent on the Unemployment Project, three days spent on an Exhibit which never got shown at the IUE convention, eight days on the NILE Disadvantaged Union's project which will perhaps never see the light of day, and five days spent in attempting to interest universities in establishing Labor Education Programs on their campuses. This latter effort was admittedly a first round, informational attempt.

Paul, I am sorry for the state of all this, but time and circumstance got away from me. I am also sorry not to have a bit more of an opportunity to develop the human interest side of the program. There is plenty of it there and sometimes I even tell about it under the right circumstances.

File — Lab Proj Reports

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Labor Project Report -- January-June, 1967

Emory F. Via, Director

The six months period just ended was a time of slightly different emphases than during previous periods for the Labor Project. Substantially more time was spent on two special projects related to equal opportunity in employment and, of necessity, less time was given to labor education activities. This does not reflect a change in the basic orientation of the Labor Project, but a happenstance of timing and the Council's interest in responding to an opportunity to meet special needs.

The report will reflect the Project's activities in labor education, liason and consultation, and employment opportunity.

LABOR EDUCATION

The project director has taught in two week-long educational institutes during the report period. These have been with the Tri-State Labor School (AFL-CIO sponsorship in the states of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina) and in a regional United Rubber Workers School. Four classes were held in two different localities with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Two weekend institutes were planned and conducted in joint sponsorship with the Arkansas State AFL-CIO.

Although the specific subject matter varies from one institute to another, an opportunity is provided to discuss with the union group the changing South, and the union's relation to civil rights or particular problems in the community or state. For example, in teaching local union administration it is pertinent to get into the union's relation to the community and its problems as well as to the specific responsibilities of the union to its own members. In either case such a discussion is likely to touch racial relations. Frequently, the main presentation by the project director is under a very general heading such as "The South Today." In such cases worker interests can be related to the changes taking place in the economy, in politics and in social relations. Relevant factual information is brought

into the sessions. Such information may vary from facts and figures on the educational standing of the various southern states, to data reflecting the economic condition of states or regions, to a consideration of special reports such as the recently published "Hungry Children," to a careful reading of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Our effort has been to get union members to think, to accept the significance of important social developments and to begin to view the changes about them in a new perspective. It is hoped that they can begin to shake away from a negative and antagonistic view of civil rights progress and find an understanding that can hold some promise of a South of decency, equality and mutual progress. This result, happily, is sometimes achieved. More frequently another important goal is attained: working whites discover that there is a reasoned and reasonable "other view" of events in the South and Nation. They may discover that the Supreme Court is not always villainous, that the Constitution and democracy have a certain compatibility and that Negro gains do not necessarily mean white losses. Simple lessons, but it is often the first exposure to such an approach for many in a society where few efforts are made to reach working whites. (A major focus, even though most of the groups are integrated.) It is true that those who attend the sessions already have come through a process of "natural selection" -- they usually represent some level of local union leadership. Most of them still work in factories or at a trade. Overwhelmingly, their general response has been a positive one.

In the Arkansas Institutes, local labor leaders from eastern Arkansas were brought together with local civil rights leaders from their own communities. The subjects discussed ranged from perspectives on the changing South and East Arkansas through a consideration of tax and consumer problems, to the problems and possibilities of unions and Negro action groups cooperating locally and in the state.

A further labor education activity has been the distribution of selected materials to appropriate persons within unions, human relations councils, or other groups. Occasionally materials have been

sent to human relations councils and others where it might be suggestive of common interests and joint programs. Our materials distribution provides specific information, the knowledge that a particular item is available for wider distribution, and continuing contact with those with whom we work. The most frequent targets for materials are the various State AFL-CIO bodies in the South and the state councils on human relations. The education or civil rights directors of national unions or their regional counterparts hear from us with some regularity. The same is true for regional directors of national unions.

Among the materials that have been distributed are the following:

American Federationist (Issue on Civil Rights), November, 1966. This was an additional distribution to a large mailing at the end of 1966.

"Statement on Employment Practices in the Textile Industry", prepared by the project director for a forum sponsored by the E.E.O.C.

Occupational Quarterly Outlook, "The Negro's Occupational Progress", December, 1966. Published by the U. S. Department of Labor.

Changing Education (American Federation of Teachers magazine), Fall, 1966. Special issue on "The Negro in American Education".

American Teacher (American Federation of Teachers newspaper), January, 1967. Special supplement on "Rascism in Education".

"Wages, Insurance, and Growth". Reprint from the New South by Raymond Munts on the role of unemployment insurance in the Southern states.

"The Freedom Budget" (A. Phillip Randolph Institute)

"How to Conduct a Registration Campaign" (VEP)

"Voter Registration in the South" (VEP)

"Hungry Children"

Beyond these general distributions and the supplying of specific materials either on request or as a need is seen, the program developed a major special purpose material of its own. A "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit" was produced to be used by unions, human relations

councils and others to assist in understanding and enforcing the law. The kit was designed specifically to assist low wage workers and to offer one tangible way for interested groups to more effectively relate to low income persons in their communities. It was hoped that such projects might prove to be the occasion for joint activity between one or more unions and one or more groups interested in civil rights. Approximately 1,800 of the kits have been distributed to date. In addition, a special minimum wage pamphlet for popular distribution, "More Money for You", has had a distribution of over 6,000.

Liason and Consultation

Although the work of the Project which comes under this heading is of great importance, it frequently is of a nebulous character. Activities here vary from on-the-spot advice to mediating differences between groups that should be working with each other. This is also that portion of our work where the Project reaches beyond its more immediate clientele to other private and public agencies. Some of the activities have included working on an employment conference with the Virginia Council on Human Relations and a minimum wage workshop with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, participating in a VISTA orientation program, leading a discussion with the national community services conference of the American Friends Service Committee, taking part in a Miles College manpower conference, working with the regional offices of the Urban League, relating to student groups interested in civil rights and organized labor, and serving as a consultant to a conference sponsored by the EEOC and the University of Michigan for key staff and policy people of the state agencies working on fair employment.

Participation in regional and national conferences where the topics are closely related to the work of the Project has been another portion of "liason and consultation" as has the contact with representatives of the regional and national press with a special interest in employment or unions.

An important part of the Project's activities has been the continued close cooperation with the Southern office of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Employment Opportunities

Two projects have dominated the time devoted to SRC's interest in furthering equal employment opportunity. Each has been an inter-agency undertaking in which the Labor Project was a prime mover.

In Atlanta several agencies joined together to launch a concerted effort to urge Negro youths to enter the skilled trades and bring pressure to bear on those responsible for recruiting and hiring to insure that jobs would in fact be open. This joint effort in recent weeks has focused primarily on the recruitment of potential apprentices and providing them with prepratory training for the testing and interviewing process for apprentices. Gradually, the staff function for this project has been assumed by the Labor Education Advancement Project of the Atlanta Urban League. SRC's Labor Project has provided a substantial portion of the initiative (though most certainly shared with others), factual material and consultative help. Beyond this, we have helped push the project along by bringing in outside consultants from the Joint Apprenticeship Project of the Workers Defense League and the Randolph Institute in New York. Their visit, at our suggestion and with our financial assistance, led to a very helpful and practical re-energizing of the local efforts, including a valuable demonstration with local recruits of the training process. It is our hope, and that of other agencies, that what is learned in the process in Atlanta can be used elsewhere.

The second employment project joins SRC with five other agencies in an effort to increase the employment of Negroes in the textile industry in terms of both numbers and quality of jobs. We have worked closely with the relevant federal agencies in developing our plans and have consulted with them, and supported and prodded their own efforts to develop what appears to be a most significant undertaking in the employment opportunity field. Our group has played an important

role in encouraging the government agencies to cooperate with each other in this joint undertaking. We work on the national and regional level in developing ideas, securing administrative support, and assisting in community contacts with the government agencies.

The private agencies, with SRC again as one of the chief initiators, have secured special funding to allow us to have a full-time staff person as an action arm in South Carolina (not yet in the field). Such a person will be in touch with public and private agencies within the state that relate to training or recruitment that might affect textile employment; he will secure the cooperation of local organizations in motivating and recruiting Negro workers for employment in the textile industry; he will maintain contact with the field operations of the federal agencies. Our aim is to show what a collaborative project with a developed strategy can accomplish in a one-year period. We hope that the project will introduce large numbers of Negro employees into entry level jobs and will achieve a substantial sprinkling of Negroes into clerical, technical and managerial positions. Further, it is our aim to encourage, through consultation, watch-dogging and administrative pressure, the on-going agencies such as local employment service offices and training programs to establish reasonable routines to insure that adequate recruitment of Negroes for employment of all kinds becomes a fact.

Labor Project

PROPOSAL ON HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION

WITHIN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

PROPOSAL ON HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION WITHIN LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

I. Introduction:

Having played a very important part in the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the labor movement now faces the equally crucial task of assisting in the implementation of the Act itself. In particular, the provisions of Title VII, dealing with employment on a non-discriminatory basis, will affect labor most directly across the country. This responsibility presents the labor movement with a most serious challenge, since it no longer requires merely the genuine support of top leadership, but the willing and skillful cooperation of secondary union leadership, and in the final analysis, of rank-and-file members of unions. Among the latter, as might be expected, discriminatory attitudes are still not uncommon, and have to be dealt with. There is a desperate need to build bridges between the Civil Rights movement and the rank and file of organized labor.

Soon after the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the AFL-CIO engaged in a major effort to assist in its implementation. The first step was the adoption of a five-point program by the Executive Council in early August, 1964. It called for the education of union members, and other citizens, on the rights and obligations of the Civil Rights Act; a broadening of the work of the AFL-CIO Community Task Force aiming at achievement of integration of schools, public facilities, and public accommodations; efforts toward the voluntary compliance with fair

employment practices (Title VII); adequate funds for vigorous administration of the Act; and, finally research into further legislative needs in the field of civil rights. In adopting this resolution, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO acknowledged that discrimination within trade unions presented a continuous problem, on the national as well as the local level.

The next step involved the summoning of a national trade union conference for September 2, 1964, in the District of Columbia. It was attended by some 300 delegates from international unions and state and local bodies. At this meeting President Meany outlined the following grass roots program:

A. Each National and International Union should:

assign one officer to the task of developing an effective equal employment opportunity program, including non-discriminatory clauses in collective bargaining agreements; and

assign a competent staff person to assist central labor bodies in developing an effective community campaign on civil rights - in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

B. Each Central Labor Body should set up a committee on human rights or civil rights.

C. Assistance to non-union workers in filing complaints against discriminatory practices.

D. Sponsorship of regional area conferences to further discuss - and plan - programs on the implementation of the Civil Rights Law.

The third step pertained to the production of a series of pamphlets and leaflets on the Civil Rights Act such as:

a leaflet titled "Civil Rights: Fact or Fiction" of which some three million copies were distributed;

a 22-page pocket size question and answer booklet titled "Equal Rights for All";

copies of the civil rights statement adopted by the AFL-CIO Council in August, 1964;

a catalogue of films on civil rights prepared by the education department of the AFL-CIO;

a manual on civil rights providing details on the Leadership conference on civil rights and other pertinent information; and

a brochure detailing the various provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

The above is ample evidence of the very serious interest and determination of the American labor movement to join with other groups in an all-out effort to assure full compliance with the Civil Rights Act, and to eliminate all vestiges of racial discrimination.

Yet these efforts, impressive as they may seem if compared to the past, still leave many needs unmet. Most union staff and officers lack knowledge as well as skills to deal with minority problems. Errors in approach caused by insensitiveness to delicate human relations factors may prove very costly, and in fact strengthen and harden prejudices and build new barriers rather than remove old ones. Local union officers badly need assistance in developing effective tools for dealing with racial and religious prejudices. They need to know about habits of behavior, and how they can be changed, and they need to know how they can involve workers in practices of human relations. While union staff in the South has been increasingly involved in civil rights matters, hardly a beginning has been made to train local union officers for their very difficult responsibilities.

Moreover, in order to have lasting impact, an educational program will have to address itself to more than merely the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and come to grips with the whole impact of civil rights on unions, local communities, and the nation itself. The time is ripe, and opportunities greater than ever. Programs which only a year ago may have seemed like mere wishful thinking and dreaming, have suddenly moved into the realm of possibility.

II. What is Proposed:

The National Institute of Labor Education jointly with the Southern Regional Council, proposes to undertake the following three-year program of education in the South:

A. Human Relations Institutes for Union Staff and Local Union Officers:

We propose to hold a number of workshops, each of approximately one-week's duration, which would deal with all aspects of human relations, minority history and minority problems; timing and approach; use of skills; knowledge of organization and resources; legal and historic concepts; and the new provisions of the Civil Rights Law.

In addition to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, these institutes will provide white and Negro trade unionists with valuable opportunities for social and recreational contacts. Few people can fail to grow when they experience friendships and pleasant associations across racial and religious lines. The institutes will also, it is hoped, improve Negro representation in other educational activities of the labor movement. In the past, Negroes have been noticeably under-represented in labor education activities, perhaps because they were uncertain as to just how welcome they would be. It is also possible

that some of them felt that unions were not ready, even in the context of educational activities, to face squarely the whole gamut of race relations, particularly such crucial in-plant problems as promotions, apprenticeship training, and job classification.

It is to be hoped that these Human Relations Institutes would provide the labor movement not only with a cadre of leaders trained in handling human relations problems and techniques, but also contribute significantly to the quality and quantity of labor education in the South. For years we have been training policemen, social workers, and teachers in human relations. These programs and experiences may suggest useful patterns for developing practical educational programs for union officers.

B. Preparation of Case Studies on Handling of Minority Problems:

It is on the plant and local level that problems of discrimination have to be met and studies on the local level will assist union leaders in developing effective approaches in their educational efforts. These studies would serve as the core of the materials to be used for instructional purposes in the Human Relations Institutes. The studies should be varied, and pertain to actual problems and situations, whether they have been handled well or badly. They should include problems which arose in the plant, union, or in the community, as, for instance, housing, transportation, school, etc. Furthermore, they should cover northern as well as southern communities.

Other materials, including pamphlets and discussion guides, may also be useful, provided they are keyed to workers' vocabulary, interest and to specific local situations.

The case studies would be useful, obviously, also in other labor education classes across the country, as well as presumably in adult education programs generally.

Also explored will be the production - and financing - of films, depicting successful treatment of minority problems. These would be useful in reaching into areas which can not be gotten to through other media because of distance and costs involved.

C. Training of Speakers:

The lack of competent speakers on civil rights problems and racial discrimination has been generally recognized as a very serious handicap in the development of union education programs. This lack is felt especially in the South, where the need is greatest and most urgent.

A few teacher training projects would quickly increase the supply of speakers on which labor organizations - or other interested groups - could draw, and thus provide the basis for substantially enlarged consideration of the subject matter in labor education offerings.

The speakers training institutes will focus, for recruitment purposes, primarily on the intermediate level of union leadership, though this will not preclude the attendance of other persons interested in the civil rights movement.

III. Conduct of Project:

The Southern Regional Council will be responsible for the implementation of this program. Headquarters for the project staff will be established in the offices of the SRC, and all staff will be administratively responsible to the Director of the SRC, which will also make available to the project staff its rich experience and skills in the area of race

relations. Selection and appointment of the Project Director will be by mutual agreement of both NILE and SRC. NILE's responsibilities will include: assuring labor participation; liaison in D.C. to labor, and if necessary, government; advising on education programs, teachers, materials, methods; and responsibility for case studies.

An Advisory Committee composed of people knowledgeable in the field, will be established to advise on program developments and engage in a continual evaluation of the program.

IV. Cost and Financing:

The major cost of this program will be financed from contributions by labor organizations and/or individual union members, charged as tuition fees to students. These payments will cover cost of teaching, loss of income and, where necessary, cash outlays for travel, room and board, and other incidentals.

Outside support is sought for the cost of the administration and promotion of the project, which includes program planning, contacts with appropriate affiliates of the labor movement, arrangements for faculty, class rooms, and other administrative details, and the preparation of case studies and other materials. These expenditures are estimated at $132,780 for a three-year period. Included in the above figure is a modest amount for a scholarship fund to allow for the meritorious attendance of some union officers where neither the unions nor the students themselves are able to participate in the program without outside help.

A breakdown of the budget estimates will be found on the following page.

BUDGET ESTIMATE FOR PROPOSAL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

	1 Year	3 Years
Salaries: Project Director, Secretary/ Research Associate:	$ 20,500	$ 61,500
Health and Welfare (10 percent):	2,050	6,150
Travel:	5,000	15,000
Office Supplies, Telephone:	2,000	6,000
Preparation of Case Studies, plus Duplicating Expense:		10,000
Contingency:	1,000	3,000
Scholarship Fund:	1,500	4,500
Advisory Committee (8 people, 2 Meetings):	1,500	4,500
Overhead:		22,130
	$ 33,550	$132,780

March 8, 1965

SLEP

SUMMARY REPORT ON JOINT ULEA-GOVERNMENT AGENCY CONFERENCE

September 18-19, 1964

HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

October 22, 1964

Participants in
Joint ULEA-Government Agency Conference

September 18 and 19, 1964

Jack Barbash	University of Wisconsin
Duane Beeler	Roosevelt University
Irving Brotslaw	University of Wisconsin
Art Carstens	University of California (Los Angeles)
Herman Erickson	University of Illinois
Jack Flagler	University of Minnesota
Phillips Garman	University of Illinois
Helmut Golatz	Pennsylvania State University
Bill Goode	United Auto Workers
George Guernsey	AFL-CIO
Mary Heineman	University of California (Los Angeles)
Fred Hoehler	Michigan State University
Al Humza	West Virginia University
Robert Jensen	University of Connecticut
Paul Junk	University of Missouri
Hy Kornbluh	University of Michigan
Harry Kranz	U. S. Department of Labor
Harry Kurshenbaum	Roosevelt University
William Lewis	U. S. Dept. Health, Education and Welfare
Mel Lieberthal	University of Illinois
Herbert Levine	Rutgers State University
John MacKenzie	West Virginia University
Frank McCallister	Roosevelt University
Samuel Merrick	U. S. Department of Labor
Roy Minnis	U. S. Department of Labor
Joe Mire	National Institute of Labor Education
D. W. Murphy	Indiana University
Robert Ozanne	University of Wisconsin
Oscar Pascal	Wayne State University
Herbert Perry	University of California (Berkeley)
James Robinson	University of Missouri
Theodore Ruhig	Roosevelt University
Stanley Ruttenberg	U. S. Department of Labor
Brendan Sexton	President's Task Force
Anthony Sinicropi	University of Iowa
Owen Tapper	University of Wisconsin
Haines Turner	Indiana University
Walter Uphoff	University of Colorado
A. J. Wann	Ohio State University
Morris Weisz	U. S. Department of Labor
G. W. Zinke	University of Colorado

SUMMARY REPORT ON JOINT ULEA-GOVERNMENT AGENCY CONFERENCE
SEPTEMBER 18-19, 1964
HIGHLAND PARK, ILLINOIS

The joint ULEA-Government Agency Conference was opened by host Frank McCallister, Director of the Labor Education Division of Roosevelt University and Chairman of the University Labor Education Association, who gave some of the background of the meeting. He described the cooperation extended by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, his assistant, Stanley Ruttenberg, Morris Weisz of the U. S. Department of Labor, and other government officials. The meeting was arranged to survey current government programs in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the U. S. Department of Labor, in research job training and related activities and the funding of labor education projects from these sources.

First Session - Friday morning

Speaker: Harry Kranz, Assistant Administrator for Training Operations, Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Department of Labor.

Topic: "Counseling Service and Youth Opportunity Centers."

Mr. Kranz described briefly the following three programs operated by the Manpower Administration under MDTA. (A fourth program, the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) will be added shortly to the responsibilities of the Manpower Administration and will be discussed in the Second Session.) (See Below.)

BAT (Bureau of Apprenticeship Training), Director Murphy, administers the apprenticeship system and on-the-job training programs (OJT).

OMAT (Office of Manpower, Automation and Training), Director Wolfbein, is responsible for research on manpower problems; evaluation of all training programs; and experimental and demonstration projects.

BES (Bureau of Employment Security), Director Goodwin, is responsible for the usual function of an employment service and, more recently, for all MDTA and ARA (Area Redevelopment Agency) training and youth activities.

Division between HEW and the Department of Labor: BES makes decisions on training needs. HEW develops the educational portion of the program, that is, curriculum, length of training, etc. BES selects participants, provides allowances, and tries to find jobs for trainees.

Total appropriation for MDTA operations, about $307 million, of which one-half has already been spent. Bulk of these funds are spent by BES.

ARA can only train in areas of high unemployment and programs are limited in duration. MDTA can train anywhere and can go up to 52 weeks, plus an additional 20 weeks under certain conditions.

Query: What's the difference between OJT and NYC? Answer: OJT has no age restrictions and training might be done by anybody, including private employers. NYC eligibility is limited to youngsters aged 16-22, and the contracting agency must be either a public agency or a non-profit organization.

Query: How much basic education can be included in training proposals? Answer: In the past, very little, but from now on a good deal more. This will be especially true for youth programs. Adult education has now been approved as coming within basic education.

Query: Does basic education include citizenship education? Answer: It is not specifically mentioned in the Act, but it can easily be covered by way of content, as, for instance, teaching of educational skills.

Query: Who determines what to train and how well are we doing in forecasting future job needs? Answer: Determination is made by State employment services. OMAT does a lot of research to assist the States. Long-run manpower needs are the concern of the vocational education people. Currently emphasis is on training (a) disadvantaged youth, whether or not there is a job waiting for them; and (b) rejected draftees, almost all of whom are disadvantaged youth .

Some 60,000 people have completed training under MDTA, of which some 43,000 have been placed in jobs.

BES is setting up in the states Youth Opportunity Centers, (YOCs). They will be administered by BES, but out of separate offices. Their purpose - to find and recruit youngsters for the Job Corps and other programs.

We are now training about 2,000 counselors to work in the YOCs. Twenty-seven universities are participating in the training. Seventy percent of the 2,000 trainees are college graduates. The essential function of the YOCs is one of coordination.

Second Session - Friday morning

Speaker: Samuel V. Merrick, Special Assistant to Secretary for Legislative Affairs, U. S. Department of Labor.

Topic: "Neighborhood Youth Corps (Title 1 B of the Economic Opportunity Act)."

The Economic Opportunity Act added two new programs for disadvantaged youth: (a) Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC); and (b) the Job Corps.

Administration of NYC has already been delegated by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to the Department of Labor. (It will be directed there by Jack Howard.)

Emphasis will be on work rather than training. The Government will finance up to 90 percent of the cost, and the remaining 10 percent need not be in cash, but could be contributed in kind. If projects are continued beyond a year, the Federal contribution will presumably decrease. Participants will be essentially youngsters who are school failures, those who dropped out, or those who may drop out. They will get work experience, coupled with some educational program. Sponsors may be hospitals, settlement houses, community organizations, or a labor union. Part-time employment will be preferred to full-time jobs. Youngsters have to be paid at a rate of pay which is appropriate and reasonable in relation to their performance. Care will be taken that the programs do not resolve in displacement of workers. The powers given to the Administration are rather broad and discretionary. Guidelines for project applications have

been developed at NYC and are available on request.

The Job Corps will be administered by OEO. It will serve primarily youngsters who need to go away from home for a variety of reasons. Conservation camps and training centers will be established, in agreement with public or private agencies. The selection of participants is a responsibility of BES.

The trainees may be employed in developing, managing, and protecting public recreational areas; they may receive also basic vocational training.

Query: Are Federal agencies eligible? Answer: Not quite certain.

Query: Can local youth groups combine to initiate a project? Answer: Yes. In fact, the Act requires that priority be given to community action programs.

Query: Can a program be initiated for one or two people only? Answer: Yes, but larger projects will presumably be preferred.

Query: Can small cities apply? Answer: Yes, especially if big cities don't move. The Act does not provide for State allocations; therefore, we shall be able to move wherever a project is ready.

Query: What safeguards are there to separate industrial development projects from projects with a genuine social purpose? Answer: NYC has to make that determination.

Query: Could a local union develop a program or would they have to be working as a part of a broader community action program? Answer: This should not really matter.

Third Session - Friday afternoon

Speaker: Stanley H. Ruttenberg, Special Assistant to Secretary of Labor, U. S. Department of Labor.

Topic: "Research Programs of the U. S. Department of Labor in Field of Automation and Technology - Problems of Relocation and Mobility."

Mr. Ruttenberg discussed the following programs:

(1) Contract research under MDTA. Two million dollars are available for research covering a wide range of subjects, a listing of which is available from the U. S. Department of Labor. Research projects are particularly welcome in two areas: (a) How to determine future occupational needs in order to ascertain areas where training should be undertaken. Examples: long-range projection of occupational demands; research into classification of occupations; how to establish an early warning system on changes brought about by automation, that is, how to estimate changes in the making and to determine their impact on skills becoming obsolete, or which will be needed. (b) Job vacancy statistics by industry and wage rates are badly needed for use at the local level. Such information could become a useful tool for employment services and in turn for development of appropriate

training programs.

(2) Demonstration projects in labor mobility and relocation.

A sum of $4 million has been authorized by the 1963 amendment to MDTA to test different approaches designed to induce labor mobility and facilitate relocation of workers. Under exploration are such measures as transportation costs, tax write-offs, assistance in selling or buying homes. Any kind of research project that would be directed at finding an answer to labor mobility would be most welcome.

(3) Research on how to make U. S. aid to labor in foreign countries more effective may be financed under grants available through AID and the Department of Labor. Project proposals may be directed to Harry Weiss, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, U. S. Department of Labor, Room 3219 Main Labor Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Query: Is there any interest in research on establishment of a national manpower policy? Answer: There is in existence a Committee on Manpower appointed by the President and composed of the heads of various Government Departments involved in manpower. Some university specialists are participating in this work. The Committee tries to find an answer to long-range problems of manpower policy.

Fourth Session - Friday afternoon

Speakers: Dr. Roy Minnis, Adult Education Branch, Office of Education, HEW.
William L. Lewis, Manpower Training Representative, HEW.

Topic: "Implications of Vocational Education Act of 1963 - HEW Programs in Adult Education, Cooperative Research, Manpower Training and Fundamental Education."

Institutional training under MDTA can be done by private or public schools and institutions. Programs have to be approved by State vocational agencies and then by the regional office.

Universities could participate either (a) by conducting an actual institutional training program (e.g., problems of adjustments to living in urban areas), or (b) doing teacher training.

Query: Could executive training of trade union leaders be done under the Act? Answer: If participants are already employed, such a program can be supported only if the States approve and provide matching funds. If the participants are not now employed, the Department of Labor has to determine (a) the need, and (b) opportunities for employment.

Query: Could courses on unionism be included in the curriculum for MDTA programs? Answer: Yes.

Query: Could a union operate a vocational training program? Answer: Yes, provided the State vocational agency approved the program and provided, further, that BES will be selecting the trainees. Approval may also be given to an experimental training program, or MDTA may approve an educational program if it is designed to serve as a preliminary

to participation in a training program. For instance, a program to explore motivation - or to examine and test the quality of instructional materials - or to determine content to be used in teaching writing or arithmetic - or to train people for teaching and leadership functions.

Query: How about training of labor education specialists? Answer: This, again, would depend on State law, that is, whether the law requires that such programs be certified by the State agency.

The Economic Opportunity Act has several potential sources for adult education, especially for disadvantaged groups.

Query: Do these programs have to be tied in with training? Could a union qualify by conducting a program for its own disadvantaged membership? Answer: Yes, if the participants qualify for training programs and need basic education first.

Query: What procedure would a union have to follow? Answer: Under MDTA the union would have to go to the Voc. Ed. people. The proposal should be tied in with some definite occupation and selection must be left to BES.

Query: Must a person take occupational training in order to qualify for literacy education? Answer: Yes, under MDTA. Under the Equal Opportunity Act, however, the training can be of any kind, except that here the project must be included in a State plan and be presented as a part of a community action program.

The new Vocational Education Act permits Federal grants to the States (a) to evaluate present programs; (b) to build new programs and provide part-time employment for Voc. Ed. students; (c) for vocational training and retraining geared to labor market needs, which would include basic education; (d) equipment for vocational schools; (e) financial support for part-time students; (f) to shift funds so that they may be used where most needed - for example, from agricultural to industrial education.

Query: Is there any provision for improving the quality and performance of vocational education? Answer: There are funds available for teacher training and in-service training and for additional State supervision. Universities could perform a very useful function here, and also offer testing of materials used in vocational education. Research could be done on the relation of labor education to vocational education in the light of the 1963 legislation, or on the role of advisory committees, or on the effective use of available funds.

The National Defense Act makes available scholarships for individuals or institutions for the purpose of training people for college teaching. Scholarships are given for three years and are quite substantial. This provision covers adult and labor education, but so far only one application has been approved for training in adult education, and none has ever been received for labor education.

Applicants must have at least a B. A. and be full-time students. They could work in any graduate department. All educational institutions have appointed an officer to work with HEW on applications.

Cooperative research under Public Law 531. Minnis elaborated on information transmitted by NILE to all universities prior to the conference. Eligibility is limited to universities and State educational agencies. A total of $11 million is available and very few applications for projects in labor education have ever been received.

There are six categories, and money for some of these has run out for 1964, but the Department is accepting and processing applications in all categories, though with the understanding that in some instances funds may not be available until July 1965.

Query: What about applications for small grants? Answer: We ran out of funds there, but we are trying to refer, wherever possible, such applications to "basic and applied research," where funds are still left. Small grant applications have to stand the test like any other research project.

Funds cannot be given for operational purposes, but only for research or a pilot or demonstration project.

(The speaker mentioned as an example where funds are still available, "basic and applied research" and as an example where funds are out, "small grant" contracts. He did not elaborate on the status of finances of the other

four categories.

Query: Could HEW set up a special panel for projects in labor education? Answer: This is up to the Commissioner of Education. Not likely to be done. However, it may be that the Commissioner will appoint someone versed in labor education as field reader if number of applications justifies.

Fifth Session - Friday evening

A. LABOR EXTENSION SERVICE.

Mr. Ruttenberg reported on the possibility that the Administration might revive plans for a labor education extension bill which might be charged with the following responsibilities: (1) make funds available to State educational institutions for important programs in labor or management education; (2) production of pamphlets and other materials for use in education programs on labor and management; (3) assist companies and unions in grappling with the serious and difficult problems arising from the rapid pace of technological change.

The plan has the preliminary and tentative approval of the Secretary of Labor and the Bureau of the Budget.

The following points were made in the ensuing discussion:

"We ought to go all out for such a bill provided the labor movement is also for it."

"It is hard to see how such a bill could be passed by Congress now, when an earlier attempt under more favorable political conditions failed."

"The bill will have a chance only if university presidents are willing to go to Washington and support it."

"Labor is unlikely to support the bill unless university cooperation at the top level is assured."

"If we believe an extension bill useful or necessary, we should support it, irrespective of whether or not it is politically feasible."

"We ought to be prepared for the possibility that a more favorable political climate might exist after the November election."

"Union leadership seems to be indifferent to labor education and therefore an extension bill at this time would be inadvisable."

"We should push, perhaps, for urban extension rather than labor extension."

"There is nothing wrong with the universities taking the initiative rather than the unions. Much of the social legislation in the 30's was pushed by sources other than labor."

"We have no evidence that labor would not support the extension bill. All we know is that they are skeptical about university support and consequently about chances of approval by Congress."

"An extension bill could be useful if used, not so much for steward training - for which there is a declining need and demand - but for long-term training programs in broad areas of urban education."

"Steward training is still badly needed in many areas, although other needs are rapidly coming to the forefront."

In response to a question by the Chairman, a dozen or so university representatives indicated that they would need Federal funds in order to expand their programs, as needed. It was finally agreed by the majority that ULEA should go on record in favor of a labor extension bill.

B. FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR LONG-TERM TRAINING PROGRAMS.

Jack Flagler reported that since Russ Allen's report on the subject matter was not yet available, this item should be placed on the agenda for the Spring 1965 meeting of the ULEA.

C. OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR FEDERAL SUPPORT.

Ted Ruhig reported on the following grant possibilities:

1. Small Grant Program - Educational Media Branch, U. S. Office of Education. Title VII, NDEA, P. L. 85-864. $5,500 plus indirect costs. One-Year projects to encourage pilot research in the educational uses of new media such as television, film, radio, programmed instruction, etc.

2. Institutional Research Program. Title VII, NDEA, P. L. 85-864. (a) Total grant not to exceed $10,000; (b) project not to exceed 18 months;

(c) for research by institutions into new techniques for the direct improvement of instruction in terms of the newer media of instruction, such as film strip, films, etc.

3. Federal assistance for projects in Aging - demonstration and research. Cooperative Research Program of Office of Education.

Also available (under this program) other research areas in education. Eleven million five hundred thousand dollars ($11, 500, 000) was available in year 1963-1964; average grant $50, 000 for two years.

Joe Mire provided additional information on grants available under P. L. 531. After some discussion the meeting approved the following:

1. The Steering Committee of ULEA should prepare a document on workers' education designed to inform the members of the review panels and of other Federal agencies on philosophy, objectives, techniques, etc. of labor education.

2. Joe Mire should arrange a meeting with officials of HEW to explore the possibility that a fixed amount of funds available under P. L. 531 be earmarked for labor education and be awarded on the basis of recommendations of a special review panel on labor education. The matter ought to be explored first with the AFL-CIO Education Department.

D. ULEA-NILE RELATIONSHIP.

Frank McCallister reported on instructions by the Steering Committee of the ULEA to seek increased representation on the Board of NILE. Responding to the request, the Executive Committee of NILE has approved

in principle the addition of two university labor education representatives to the Board of NILE and requested recommendations for nominations from the ULEA. These recommendations have been made and will be considered by NILE at a meeting scheduled for September 29, 1964.

There have also been some preliminary and quite tentative discussions on other matters designed to establish a more intimate relationship between NILE and ULEA. Matters under consideration are: the possibility of NILE serving as the administrative agency for ULEA; assisting universities in a variety of matters, especially in respect to grant contracts in D. C. Initially such cooperation will not affect the separate structure of both organizations, although the possibility of a merger at a later date will be explored and should not be entirely excluded.

Summary of discussion on McCallister's report:

"A merger of the two organizations would require approval by the labor movement."

"There is in existence an orderly procedure for the representation of labor on the Board of NILE. Why should not a similar procedure be established for representation of universities?"

"Universities can and wish to make a contribution towards the objectives of NILE and should be put in a position to do so most effectively."

"Universities should also be willing to assume a financial responsibility towards NILE which would follow naturally from a more intimate

relationship."

"At least one ULEA representative should be an officer of NILE."

It was the consensus of the meeting to seek closer relationship between NILE and the ULEA, and the Steering Committee was authorized to continue its discussion to seek adequate representation on the NILE Board and also to explore the possibility of cooperative arrangements which would make available the facilities of NILE to the ULEA and its constituent universities.

E. SUBCOMMITTEE ON LATIN AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION.

A recommendation to appoint such a subcommittee has been made as a follow-up on the ORIT Conference held in Mexico City early this year. After a brief discussion the recommendation was approved and McCallister asked to appoint the members of the committee.

F. FEDERAL EMPLOYEES PROGRAM.

Bob Repas of Michigan State, in a communication, recommended sponsorship by the ULEA of a one-day conference to consider materials needed for teaching in connection with the implementation of Executive Order 10988.

It was agreed that such a conference would be useful to those engaged in teaching programs for Federal employees. Approval was given to

proceed with the planning of such a conference and for use of the facilities of the ULEA to whatever extent necessary. It was further suggested that the labor movement be kept informed - and possibly be involved - in the conference.

G. SUBCOMMITTEE ON FILMS.

Lew Carliner (UAW), in a communication, requested names of a few university representatives who would be interested in and willing to serve on a subcommittee on films. The following were suggested:

Jim Stern (Wisconsin)
Bob Steffen (Rutgers)
Duane Beeler (Roosevelt)
Gene Brook (Michigan)

H. SPRING MEETING.

The following recommendation was made for the Spring 1965 meeting:

1. Meeting place - Atlanta, Georgia or Montreal, Canada.
2. Agenda: Civil rights (if meeting is held in Atlanta); labor colleges (if meeting is held in Montreal). Consideration should be given to any topic which might assume importance in the next few months. A half-day should be set aside for consideration of long-term programs and another half-day for a joint meeting with union

education directors.

3. Date: ULEA prefers May, but will go along with any date the AFL-CIO Education Department suggests.

First Session - Saturday morning

Speaker: Brendon Sexton, Member, President's Task Force.

Topic: "Job Corps, Youth Conservation on Poverty and Community Action Programs."

Mr. Sexton reminded the group that the neighborhood youth center was not the sole instrumentality of the Economic Opportunities Act. Because of the early emphasis on youth, he pointed out, it was easy to mistakenly conceive of the program as a Youth Act -- it is, of course, a broad approach Anti-Poverty Act.

Labor educators have a singular contribution to make to the attack on poverty. One of the mind sets which stand in the way of successful action is lack of confidence in the poor on the part of some professional social workers and educationists. Labor educators, on the other hand, from solid experience have a belief in the possibilities of self-development -- in the ability of adults to learn and to grow.

Working with the unions throughout the country gives the labor educator a channel into the poverty areas. Unions have an organized

membership among the poor, some more than others -- Hospital Workers, Culinary Workers, Retail Clerks, Laundry Workers and many others.

Even unions whose wage levels are substantially higher, such as Autoworkers and Steelworkers, have members who live with and among the poor.

Labor educators working with union leadership may be better equipped to do more significant work in the war on poverty than any group in the country. We have access to the professional resources of schools of social work at universities, but an orientation which can implement effective programs of training and development.

Specific areas where action can be started include:

Organization of a mechanism which makes sense for your locality. This may be an organized program with those unions having some substantial membership in blighted areas.

Take a page from the community Service Counselor pattern -- but rather than organizing on a departmental basis, organize on a block basis. Train referral agents in each block to perform a variety of services. These services could include the range from referral service, through educational activity to representational functions. The block worker could perhaps handle "grievances" with landlords, city councils, governmental agencies.

At present a group is working in the Department of HEW

to develop a policy to get truly effective adult education programs established in blighted areas throughout the U. S. These programs should include not only literacy training but personal and social skills.

Union stewards and other local union activists may well qualify to be trained to provide literacy and other skills training to the educationally deprived.

Query: What can the poverty program do about the 25 million post-war "babies" who are excluded from our insurance schemes and largely are outside of our educational processes? What can be done about the poor who often live on land zoned for industry where housing development often becomes prohibitively expensive?

Answer: Many of the problems of the poor are, of course, beyond remedies available in the Anti-Poverty Program, but this program can be used to demonstrate to the country what can be accomplished and thereby set the basis for a major anti-poverty program.

We have many additional ancillary problems. The poor are often victimized by landlords, cheated by loan sharks, brutalized by police, cheated as consumers. This program promises, at a minimum, to make life less burdensome for the poor.

Query: Can and will the mind set of top union leadership be changed to recognize their responsibilities to the poor and unemployed who are not union members?

Answer: Organization of the TULC in Detroit has provided leadership for the negro community. This kind of thing can be done wherever there is good will and imagination.

The Women on ADC program of Michigan-Wayne State was extremely successful. Here one of the least likely adult education audiences in the country was recruited and most successfully trained as stenos and typists.

Note: A general discussion followed with several examples offered of program possibilities with unions having substantial numbers of members, below the poverty level, including AFSCME. Even unions such as CWA and the Steamfitters who are thought of as representing higher paid workers have members in substantial numbers who are among the poor.

Brendan Sexton (Summarizing)

How many union members in the U. S. are living on less than $1.50 an hour? Millions? If they are heads of households, they are by definition among the poverty stricken.

Query: Do we work through local government agencies or go directly to the Anti-Poverty Program administrators with proposals?

Answer: Actually, proposals can go to several sources. Priority will be given to coordinated community projects and new community wide organizations will come into being to oversee the grants.

The Office of Economic Opportunity can make direct grants for training demonstrations and research, particularly to institutions of higher education.

The kinds of projects should range from pre-school education, through organized study clubs for teenagers to adult education programs of personal and social development.

Direct grants can be made up to 15% of total appropriation under OEO. Remember, you don't have to go through the community action organization and you don't need the approval of the governor of your state -- though both these could be most helpful.

Query: Is it time that OEO may concentrate in southern regional areas?

Answer: No. Some communities geared up early in anticipation of the Act and are off and running -- hence they are getting the attention. There is no regional concentration planned, however.

Final Summary of Session

Sexton:

You might think in terms of the following organizational pattern: "Block stewards" who would organize the following kinds of activity:

A pre-school education center

After school study clubs for kids with no place to study

Tutorials for potential drop-outs

Adult education program for parents:

Consumer education

Health education

Citizenship study

Leadership Training

And others to equip people for the world of work

Job counseling

An omnibus proposal or single aspects of this overall program is appropriate. The organizers may be volunteers or may be an occupation under a work training grant. University students on work study grants may be assigned to this work.

The possibilities are quite broad. Imagination, good will, a proper orientation and considerable energy can combine to produce significant results.

Closing Session

Topic: Plans of Action and Inter-University Cooperation.

Chairman: Herb Perry

The following specific proposals and suggestions were offered by various members of the group:

1) Develop a kit of materials on how to apply for grants. Joe Mire agreed to consider this possibility as a NILE contribution.

2) ULEA members will be asked to use the ULEA quarterly reports to describe involvement of university labor education programs and personnel in anti-poverty activities.

3) The matter of Community Services Committee interest and jurisdiction is an important matter to be clarified. AFL-CIO will offer the services of its educational staff to state federations and central bodies involved in anti-poverty programs.

4) Labor educators, through their knowledge of community power structure, should help unions participate meaningfully in these programs. Reciprocally, they should help communities relate properly to the realities of trade union structure and procedures.

5) HEW is encouraging regional conferences on the poverty program. We should seek support for regional meetings of AFL-CIO staff, CSC people, Advisory Committee members,

government agency personnel and selected community leaders.

Herb Perry agreed to organize such a program for the west coast and Rocky Mountain states. Helmut Golatz volunteered to sponsor the eastern regional conference and Frank McCallister will consider hosting the midwestern group.

Joe Mire informed the group that meetings with various government groups including HEW have been held and future meetings are planned. He will explore what monies may be available and where. Joe Mire feels that proposals in the HEW small grants classification should stand a good chance for approval. He advised the group that questions concerning cooperative research should be directed to Roy Minnis of HEW.

In response to questions concerning NILE's role under Public Law 531, which seems to exclude non-university groups such as NILE, Joe Mire suggested that any university can include in its proposal a provision for program evaluation and/or coordination. This service can properly be provided by NILE.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:00 with the understanding that minutes of all sessions would be provided to participants.

FM:ey
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10/22/64

Resource People

VISITING FACULTY
FOR SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE
SPONSORED BY NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION
January 9 - February 4, 1966

(Please note dates when individuals are expected on campus. See attached sheets for brief notes on these persons.)

VIA, Emory F. Institute Director. Director of Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

GUERNSEY, George. Institute Co-Director. Associate Director, Education Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

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Jan. 10-14 ALLEN, Russell. Michigan State University. Arbitration.

Jan. 11 ANTHONY, Paul. Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. The South in the Mid-Sixties.

Jan. 31 CLEGHORN, Reese. Associate Editor, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voter Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 20 DAVIS, Walt. Labor Liason, Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Washington, D.C. Civil Rights and Equal Employment.

Jan. 10-14 FRIEDMAN, Marvin. Associate Director, Research Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Economics.

Jan. 24-27 HENDERSON, Vivian. President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. Southern Economic Problems.

Jan. 27-28 HOBBY, Wilbur. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Durham, North Carolina. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 31 JORDAN, Vernon. Director of Voter Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 31-Feb. 3 KIRCHER, William. Director, Organizing Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Organizing.

Jan. 16-25 MARSHALL, Ray. Department of Economics, University of Texas. Southern Labor History. Labor's Future in the South. Trends in Collective Bargaining.

Jan. 25-28 POLLITT, Daniel. School of Law, University of North Carolina. Labor Law.

Jan. 27-28 POWELL, Dan. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Memphis, Tennessee. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 17-20 SLAIMAN, Donald. Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Civil Rights and the Labor Movement.

Jan. 31 WATTERS, Pat. Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 27-28 WEIGHTMAN, Phil. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 18 WILKINS, Roy. Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York. The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights.

Jan. 19 YOUNG, Andrew. Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia. Civil Rights.

SLEP

PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF MANPOWER POLICY EVALUATION AND RESEARCH, MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, FOR THE CONDUCT OF A RESEARCH PROJECT UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE I OF THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT, P.L., 87-415

Project Title: The Impact of Education on Selected Craft Union Officials with Respect to Implementing Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

Submitted By: The Institute for Labor Studies, Center for Appalachian Studies and Development, West Virginia University.

Address: Morgantown, West Virginia.

Telephone Number: 293-3323, Area Code 304.

Initiated By: Dr. Frederick A. Zeller, Director, Institute for Labor Studies.

Transmitted By: Dr. Paul Miller, President, West Virginia University.

Date: June 10, 1966.

Different ratios of attitudes tested
1) When both components are in the course —
2) Do you rely on the time factor alone —

Size of group — difficult to get and to hold

How would control groups to make comparable
When ~~also~~ project groups will be self selected —

PART I: ABSTRACT

(1) Objectives -- to determine the behavioral and attitudinal impact of an education program followed by consultative and advisory services for building and construction trades union leaders in terms of their abandonment of discriminatory practices contrary to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Additionally, to empirically investigate the relationship, or interrelationship between attitudinal and structural variables, and the impact of these variables on behavior, especially insofar as these issues are important for the formulation of action manpower policies and programs.

(2) Procedures -- the design of a program of instruction, the design of a research plan to accomplish the stated objectives, selection of participants in the education program and a comparable sample of non-participants for control purposes, "pre-program" measurements of attitudes and behavior, "post-program" measurements of attitudes and behavior of both groups, continuing counsel and consultation services to program participants throughout the life of the project, and analysis and evaluation of the program in behavioral and attitudinal terms.

PART II: PROBLEM

In 1964 Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act, which provides that neither employers nor unions could engage in discriminatory employment practices. Craft unions, particularly those which have organized the construction and building trades, utilize apprenticeship training programs to replace or expand the number of qualified workers in those trades. Traditionally, these programs have discriminated against Negroes or, according to George Strause and Sidney Ingerman,

they have discriminated in favor of "relatives and friends". (The Hastings Law Journal, Vol. 16, No. 3, p. 329.) There are reasons for believing that racial discrimination practices continue to exist, thus contributing to the higher-than-average unemployment and under-employment rates of Negroes even though there are reports of shortages of qualified workers in some of the building and construction trades. The relationship and importance of this proposal relative to Title I of the Manpower Act stem from this factor.

Specifically, it is proposed that the Institute for Labor Studies design and offer an educational program dealing with the legalistic requirments, and social-psychological factors, related to discriminatory behavior for a group of union officials drawn from crafts and building trades unions. The objective of the program would be to educate these officials of the need to end discriminatory practices in selection of candidates for apprenticeship training programs. At the same time, a research project would be designed to measure the success or failure of such training in terms of eliminating or reducing discriminatory behavior.

PART III: OBJECTIVES

The basic objectives of this proposal are as follows:

(1) to determine whether or not craft union officials are willing to attend a program of instruction designed to change their behavioral patterns in an area of extreme political sensitivity insofar as their official positions are concerned;

Is this what they will be told?

(2) to determine whether or not formal training, followed by counseling and other follow-up activities, is effective in reducing discriminatory practices in apprenticeship training programs;

(3) other objectives, stated in the form of hypotheses, are stated in Part IV.

PART IV: RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER RESEARCH

The suggested research focusing on the feasibility of altering patterns of discrimination in apprenticeship training provides a unique opportunity to explore certain important theoretical issues in fields of social psychology.

There are currently at least two somewhat opposed views concerning the types of variables which are most useful in explaining the occurrence of discriminatory behavior. One of these views, represented in the work of Gordon Allport, reflects a predominantly psychological bias. This view locates the chief source of variance in discriminatory behavior within the individual, in the form of prejudice. Thus, the cause of discrimination is prejudice, an inner predisposition to react in predictable ways when confronted by the object toward which prejudice is felt. The concept of prejudice as so employed is equivalent to an extreme rigid attitude. This general position would support the prediction that discrimination in apprenticeship training would be associated with anti-negro attitudes.

The opposing view, reflecting a sociological bias, suggests that discriminatory behavior can best be explained as a product of the social context. Thus discrimination occurs when political, social, legal, and economic traditions and trends support it. The sociological approach holds that the concept of prejudice is unneccessary, does not lead to improved prediction, and focuses attention on the wrong locus of causation. Thus, useless attempts may be made to alter attitudes of individuals, when the more profitable way to end discrimination is to change the structure of law and society. Whether the latter approach changes attitudes is inconsequential to these sociologists if it changes behavior.

Turning to the research in question, measures of attitudes and discriminatory behavior in experimental and control locals could be taken before and after educational programming. Since the education would stress the law and patterns of

Prepare brief at leader or at members how fit into part 3 "Objectives"

How balance the elements so that you know what you are testing — Situation is already changed — project simply favorably informs time of fact — also almost necessary to argue why accept which is part of change attitude not of situation

legal constraints on the locals with respect to discrimination, and would also attempt attitude change, resulting alterations of patterns of discrimination, if any, could be tested against changes in attitude. Hypotheses would be:

How separate from situational change?

(1) Before tests will show the presence of both prejudice and discrimination patterns.

(2) The experimental treatment will reduce discrimination but will not reduce prejudice.

(3) A follow-up post test will show a change toward reduced prejudice in conformity with changed organizational patterns emphasizing non-discrimination, as practiced over time.

Hypothesis (3) follows from now classic research which demonstrates that enforced integration results in more favorable attitudes towards Negroes. The research referred to has shown this result in the armed forces and has been confirmed in studies of public housing projects.

This research may be productive of determining the better general approach, attitudinal or structural, upon which future action programs in the manpower area are constructed when these programs have the objective of changing labor market behavioral patterns.

PART V: PROCEDURE

Phase I. Development of a course of instruction and supporting materials for an education program offered one night per week for a two hour period for eight weeks. The course will emphasize the legal requirments of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the economic, psychological, and social aspects of discrimination, and proper and effective personnel practices within union organizations. The first hour of each period

will consist of presentations by professionals drawn from the fields of trade unionism, economics, law, sociology, psychology, and personnel management. The second hour of each period will be utilized for discussion with the participants divided into small groups.

Phase II. Development of a research plan to test the hypotheses set forth in preceding parts of this proposal. The research will be based on attitudinal and behavioral data in the areas of discrimination and prejudice obtained from individuals and union organizations records. With regard to the latter kind of data, attention will be given to racial composition of the locals, and racial patterns and policies with respect to admission to the apprenticeship training programs.

Phase III. Approximately 75 participants for the course will be selected from about seven or eight different local organizations. While the group will be composed primarily of executive board members, business agents, international representatives and stewards may also be included. In addition, another seven or eight locals, comparable in relevant ways to the first group, will be selected as a control group for research purposes.

Phase IV. Collection of "pre-course" data from both groups of locals.

Phase V. Presentation of the course to the class of seventy-five members.

Phase VI. Following six months and twelve month intervals after completion of the training, "post-course" data will be collected from both groups of locals.

Phase VII. Provision of consultative and counseling services on implementing equal economic opportunity to training program participants throughout the duration of the project.

Phase VIII. Report of the project, including a complete description of the project's work, statements and analysis of behavioral attitudinal changes, evaluation of the project itself including suggestions as to the merit of possible modifications, and recommendations as to the value of similar, future efforts.

General. Progress reports will be made at four month intervals. The research would be planned and carried out by the project director and the Institute's consultant to the project.

PART VI: PERSONNEL

Director: Frederick A. Zeller; Director of the Institute for Labor Studies; Experienced in adult education and research dealing with labor and unions; Ph.D. in Economics; Recent research reported in 1964 and 1965 Volumes of Labor Law Journal, Industrial Relations, Labor and Industrial Relations Review, and Local Union Leadership (co-author) Columbus: O.S.U. Press, 1965; in addition to other duties is Director on a part-time basis of a $247,000 O.E.O. education-research project, "Leadership Training for Community Action."

Associate Director: John MacKenzie; M.A. in Industrial Relations; Experienced in labor leadership and adult education; Recent research is centered on worker's rehabilitation; in addition to other duties, is part-time

consultant to the Institute's "Leadership Training for Community Action".

Consultant: Robert Miller; Assistant Director, Research, of the Institute for Labor Studies; PhD in Psychology; Experienced in adult education and research dealing with labor and unions; Most recent major research reported in Local Union Leadership (co-author; Columbus: O.S.U. Press, 1965; is full-time Associate Director of the Institute's "Leadership Training for Community Action."

PART VII: FACILITIES

The Institute's staff has a demonstrated capacity for both research and adult education. It can call upon faculty from various departments of the University for additional support and, also, has access to the University's research equipment, library and other facilities. Additionally, the Institute has a good working relationship with organized labor in West Virginia, especially the West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, Miles Stanley, President.

PART VIII: DURATION

(1) Funding date plus three months, Phases 1 - 4.

(2) Funding date plus five months, Phase 5.

(3) Funding date plus seventeen months, Remaining Phases.

PART IX: OTHER INFORMATION

a. The educational content of this program has been discussed with the executive-secretary of the West Virginia Building Trades Council and

he has indicated his support of it. However, the key to securing the necessary cooperation from the union organizations is the labor contacts of the project's associate director. The locals will have to be recruited one at a time, stressing the benefits the project will have for them. The difficulties of this aspect are recognized and they may comprise a research component in themselves.

The project has been discussed with Mr. J. B. Archer, Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, U.S. Department of Labor. He has indicated the Bureau will provide certain supporting services of a legal nature during the design phases.

b. A certain amount of financial support for the project would be provided from the Institute's regular budget. (See Budget Section.)

c. This proposal is unrelated to any other project supported by the Department of Labor or other Government Agency.

e. Neither this nor a similar proposal has been submitted to the Department of Labor, or other Government Agency.

Part 10

BUDGET

	Funds Requested	Institute's Contribution
1. Direct Costs		
A. Personal Services		
Project Director, Frederick A. Zeller, 1/5 time, 17 months		$4,335
Associate Director, John MacKenzie, 1/4 time, 17 months		4,641
Project Associate, full-time, 17 months	$17,000	
Consultant, Robert Miller, 3 months		3,576
Stenographer, full-time, 17 months	4,539	
Stenographer, part-time, two months	600	
Payroll Benefits Costs, @8% of payroll	1,771	
Instructional Personnel, 16 hours, @$25		400
Consultants, 10 days @$75		750
B. Materials and Supplies		
Office Supplies	1,200	
Text Materials	300	
C. Travel		
Mileage	3,400	200
Subsistence	2,160	140
D. Communications		
Telephone and Telegraph	1,700	
Postage	510	
E. Services		
Cost of union officials' time for providing necessary data from organizationsl records, etc.	640	
F. Other		
Computer Time	750	
Classroom Space	100	
Printing and Other Reproductions	1,050	
Typewriter - 1	400	
Sub-Total	$36,120	$15,046
2. Indirect Costs 15.4% of direct costs.	5,562	
TOTAL	$41,682	$15,046

File — Resource People

23rd ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

June 27-July 9, 1966

Theme: Race Relations to Human Relations--A New Agenda

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

A joint project of the race relations agencies of
THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST and FISK UNIVERSITY

in cooperation with

THE DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST

Park-Johnson Hall
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

INSTITUTE STAFF

HERMAN H. LONG, Ph.D., Director
President, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama

LEWIS W. JONES, Ph.D., Sociologist and Writer
Research Coordinator, Race Relations Department
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries

CARROLL G. BARBER, A.M., Anthropologist
Staff Associate, Race Relations Department
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries

MRS. H. M. PERRY, Administrative secretary

Clerical Staff

MRS. RUTH T. FORDE
MRS. CORDELIA JONES
MISS SANDRA KAY WOOLARD

CLINICS

Community Action — Director:
JOSEPH T. TAYLOR, Ph.D.
Assistant Director
Indianapolis Downtown Campus
Indiana University

Race and the Church — Director "Zan"
THE REVEREND L. ALEXANDER HARPER
Secretary for School and Community Integration
Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ

Employment — Directors:

VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, Ph.D.
President
Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia

EMORY VIA, Ph.D.
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Monday, June 27

8:00 - 10:00	Registration
10:00 - 11:30	Introduction
	Keynote Speech Herman H. Long, President Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama
2:00 - 3:30	Organization of Clinics
7:30	Greetings James R. Lawson, Vice President Fisk University
	Other to be announced
9:30	Get Acquainted Reception

Tuesday, July 28

8:00 - 9:30	To Be Announced
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"Ending Segregation in Housing" Morris Milgram Modern Community Developers, New York, N.Y.
2:00 - 2:30	Clinics
7:30	"Human Resource Development Programs in Communities" Tom Seessel Community Progress, Inc., New Haven, Connecticut

Wednesday, June 29

8:00 - 9:30	"A Case Study in Urban Tension" John A. Buggs, Executive Director County of Los Angeles Commission on Human Relations
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"White Mountaineers and Black -- Prejudice, Poverty and Progress in the Southern Hills" Harry M. Caudill, Attorney and Counselor at Law, Whitesburg, Kentucky Author: Night Comes to the Cumberland
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	To Be Announced

Thursday, June 30

8:00 - 9:30	"Educational Programs for the Disadvantaged* Wesley A. Hotchkiss, General Secretary Division of Higher Education and The American Missionary Association United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"The Jewish Community and Race Relations" Rabbi Arthur Gilbert Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	"Negro Families: Continuity and Change" Hylan Lewis Office of Community Studies Howard University, Washington, D. C.

Friday, July 1

8:00 - 9:30	"From Custom to Power and Policy" Paul Foreman Department of Sociology The Pennsylvania State University
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"The Indian Minority" Wendell Chino Mescalero Apache Reservation Mescalero, New Mexico
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	"The Problematic of Christian Encounter at the Cultural Frontier: Puerto Ricans and Continentals" Senator Hipolito Marcano Professor at Inter American University of Puerto Rico Law School

Saturday, July 2

8:00 - 9:30	Panel -- Review of the Week Institute Staff
10:00 - 11:30	"New Perspectives and Strategies of Organized Labor" Don Slaiman Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO Washington, D. C.

Sunday, July 3

9:30	Morning Worship Fisk Chapel
1:30	Tour -- The Parthenon, The Hermitage, Old Hickory Dam, etc.

Monday, July 4

8:00 - 9:30	"Roles for Women in New Patterns of Human Relations" Mrs. Vera Foster Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"The Ballot as an Equalizer" Wiley A. Branton, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, U. S. Department of Justice
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	CHARLES S. JOHNSON MEMORIAL LECTURE AND AWARD TO MISS LILLIAN SMITH "Race Relations to Human Relations - A New Agenda" Joseph H. Douglass, Chief Office of Interagency Liaison National Institute of Mental Health Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Tuesday, July 5

8:00 - 9:30	"Do Our Economic Policies Reflect Human Needs" Leon H. Keyserling, Former Chairman Council of Economic Advisers, Consulting Economist and Attorney; President Conference on Economic Progress
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	Clinics
2:00 - 3:30	"Economic Policy, Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities" Dale L. Hiestand, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University. Author: <u>Economic Growth and Employment Opportunities for Minorities</u>
7:30	"An American Plan to Join the Planet" Joseph P. Lyford University of California, Berkley, and Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

Wednesday, July 6

8:00 - 9:30	"Contribution of Federal Education Programs to Psychological Strengthening of Minority Groups" Dr. Regina Goff, Assistant Commissioner, Office of the Disadvantaged and Handicapped, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington D. C.
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"Equal Rights Now - Equal Opportunity When?" Richard A. Graham, Commissioner Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Washington, D. C.
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	"Municipal Government Process and Human Relations" John G. Feild, Director Community Relations Service U. S. Conference of Mayors

Thursday, July 7

8:00 - 9:30	"What Is God Doing Today About Human Relations" The Reverend Bryant George, Director of Internal Operations and Administration, Board of National Missions United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	To Be Announced
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	"Education and Civil Rights - New Perspective" Robert L. Green, Citizens Education Program, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Friday, June 8

8:00 - 9:30	"The South 1966: Progress and Prediction" Paul Anthony, Executive Director Southern Regional Council Atlanta, Georgia
9:30 - 10:00	Coffee Break
10:00 - 11:30	"Social and Legal Processes in Community Renewal" Daniel R. Mandelker, Professor of Law Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri
2:00 - 3:30	Clinics
7:30	"The Problems of the Mexican: Those That Are Generally Overlooked in Anti-Discrimination Laws" Congressman Henry B. Gonzales

Saturday, July 9

8:00 - 10:00	Clinic Reports
10:00 - 11:30	An Overview Lewis W. Jones

Contacts

April 3, 1967

Mr. James W. Robinson
Coordinator
Labor Education Program
School of Business and Public Administration
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your note and congratulations on your new appointment at the University of South Carolina. My current plans are to return to the University of Wisconsin in September. However, I feel confident that the Southern Regional Council and a number of unions will be quite interested to know that you will be at South Carolina.

Although I do not know Bill Wesson I am sure that he can serve as a good guide to the human relations groups in South Carolina itself.

I much appreciate your offer to work with the Southern Regional Council's Labor Program and I feel confident that there will be ways in which your good services can be used.

Best personal wishes in your new position.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

SLEP

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Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 7. COMPONENT PROJECT: CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

This form is to be used to apply for a conduct and administration grant under Section 205 of Title II-A Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*
Charlotte Area Fund	7.10	

7.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT
Community Development Component

7.1.1 SUMMARY OF PROJECT *Describe the component project, using only the space below*
Creation and supervision of training of indigenous workers and organizational and development of currently unserviced areas in the county and city.

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM *Attach a description of the work program for this component project, following the requirements for such a work program contained in the CAP GUIDE.*

7.1.3 AREA AND GROUP TO BE SERVED

7.1.4 LOCATION AND TYPE. *Describe the location within the community of the people to be served directly by this component project and the type of population to be served (pre-school, aged, families with children, etc.)*
Census tracts in Mecklenburg County previously unserviced by the CAA

7.1.5 POPULATION TO BE SERVED *How many people will be served directly by this component project?* | *How many of these are poor?*

7.2 DELEGATION OF ACTIVITIES TO OTHER AGENCIES

The following information is to be provided if any part of this component project is to be carried out by an agency or organization other than the applicant.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE AGENCY

TYPE OF AGENCY *Is the delegate agency a (check one):*
☐ PUBLIC AGENCY ☐ PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION ☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

7.2.1 SCOPE OF DELEGATION *Attach a statement describing:*
a. *The degree of responsibility that the delegate agency will have in carrying out the component project.*
b. *The qualifications of the delegate agency to undertake and complete the component project.*
c. *The way in which the applicant agency will supervise and/or coordinate the activities of the delegate agency.*

7.2.2 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS *Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for each delegate agency.*

7.3 PREVIOUS APPLICATION

Has this component project, in substantially its present form, ever been the subject of a previous application for Federal financial assistance?
☐ YES ☒ NO *If "Yes", attach an explanatory statement.*

7.4 BUDGET

COST CATEGORY	ESTIMATED COST
1. PERSONNEL	$ ~~64,490~~ 66,695
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	1,272 APPROVED
3. TRAVEL	~~2,766~~ 2,596
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	6,040 APPROVED
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	~~1,150~~ 950
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	1,448 APPROVED
7. OTHER COSTS	4,442 APPROVED
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF PROJECT	$ ~~81,608~~ 83,443
NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION	0
FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED UNDER TITLE II-A	$ ~~81,608~~ 83,443

7.4.1 BUDGET DETAIL *Attach a statement giving the basis for estimating the cost of this component project, in accordance with the instructions set forth in the CAP GUIDE. Where convenient, the cost estimates should be shown on CAP Form 23 (Budget for Component Project).*

7.4.2 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will this component project be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
May 1, 1966-July 31, 1967

NUMBER OF MONTHS
15

CAP FORM 7 JAN 65 GSA DC 65-11593

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7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM - COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

a. Purpose and Beneficiaries

This is a component which is aimed at assuring that low-income residents of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County actually participate as fully as possible in the activities of the Charlotte Area Fund and its related agencies. A wide base of involvement is required. Target area residents should share in the major powers and decisions such as:

1. Selection of Charlotte Area Fund Board members.
2. Formulation of programs.
3. Selection of priority geographic areas to be served.
4. Employment of Charlotte Area Fund staff.
5. Implementation of programs geared to target area needs.
6. Evaluation of programs.
7. Initiation of new programs.

The exercise of these powers takes place at both the Board of Directors level and at the neighborhood level. Training of leaders is needed if this participation is to be more than tokenism. The poor and their representatives come to the Board meetings without adequate backgrounds to understand the complexities of operating a non-profit corporation. They know little about the public and private agencies involved in anti-poverty activities. In fact, they are not comfortable with the parlimentary procedures used to conduct meetings.

At the neighborhood level, the poor are often psychologicaly isolated from neighbors and distrustful of others. They are not accustomed to joining a group so as to work towards achieving a goal. They are easily frustrated and disappointed when success is slow and only partial. They are easily manipulated and controlled by a few skilled leaders.

The beneficiaries of this program will be the low-income residents of the entire Charlotte area. In particular, there will be two leadership groups who will be worked with. There are those low-income residents who serve on the Board of Directors of the Charlotte Area Fund or its related agenvies and those persons who have leadership roles or potentials in the neighborhoods. Since leadership development is now being conducted as intensively as possible with a limited staff in the two target areas served by the two neighborhood centers, the aims of this program are focused on the smaller low-income areas in the city and particularly in the rural parts of the county.

The Community Development Supervisor will assume major responsibility for organizing and developing a community organization program of continuous training for the staff of the CAF and neighborhood workers. Also, Board members will be brought up to date at least quarterly regarding programs of community action.

He will guide the Supervisor's of Neighborhood Workers in providing resource leadership to the Neighborhood Councils, where requested and needed.

b. Scope and Content

The staff of this component will assist residents of all the low-income areas of the city and the county (especially those areas not being served) to identify the causes of their dissatisfactions and to organize to achieve satisfying constructive goals. In the city, block by block organizational plan with block representatives formed into neighborhood councils will be used. This is similar to the plan now in operation in the two target areas.

In the rural parts of the county, organizations will consist of representative of the low-income communities, several of which exist adjacent to small towns. Where there is no sizable community, isolated families will be reached through their churches and their schools.

Successful organization will depend on the identification of common issues and concerns. To do this informal meetings with existing groups and leaders will be held. In addition, house by house visits will be made to take the pulse of a sampling of residents.

Once a block or rural community association is formed, the residents will be asked to set priorities for action to improve their economic, social, and physical well being and to chart a course of action. The Staff of the component project will provide technical assistance in organizational activities and in planning and carrying out a course of action. Residents will be asked to prepare proposals to be submitted to the Charlotte Area Fund and to other community agencies such as the Urban Redevelopment Agency for appropriate study and action.

In short, residents will develop and increase leadership skills through the actual carrying out of meaningful community activities under the guidance of community development staff.

Attached to this staff is one Intake Counselor, of the description found in the Neighborhood Centers component. This Counselor will be assigned initially to the Neighborhood Centers component for the first 6-9 of the 15 months involved. Gradually he will be phased out of the two existing Centers, and will be available full time for the use of the Director of Community Development, as need for an Intake Counselor in the outlying areas develops. This Counselor will work on development of effective methods of intake and identification of problems which need professional attention in the previously unserviced areas of Mecklenburg County. The purpose of attaching this sixth Intake Counselor to this component is to increase

the flexibility of the staff as it develops, so that no one center receives more staff than it can absorb and continue to use.

When the Intake Counselor is assigned to a particular Neighborhood Center, he will be under the supervision of the Supervisor of Neighborhood Workers. However, assignment and overall supervision will be accomplished by the Director of Community Development.

The Community Development Supervisor will plan, with the assistance from appropriate other staff, a program of orientation for sub-professional workers and aides. He will plan and conduct programs of in-service training for aides and workers on a regular basis, keeping the nature of the irresponsibility constantly in mind.

He will also plan and conduct orientation for professional staff. He will work closely with North Carolina Fund's Training Personnel and will be the liason person between North Carolina Fund and the Charlotte Area Fund for training purposes.

c. Timetable

As soon as this proposal is approved, staff will be recruited and employed. A two-week training session will be conducted including site visits to community action agencies which have developed successful ways of developing community leadership. Next, the process of identifying existing leaders and existing community organizations, which do or can take an active role will be started. This identification process will begin two weeks after the staff have been employed.

Following this, the process of discovering interests and needs which are common to each rural community and smaller inner city, pockets of poverty will be started. This will take considerable time and will vary from area to area. It is anticipated that a minimum of three months will be involved in finding areas of primary concern around which organizations and community associations will be formed. Leaders will be selected by the residents and well-trained by the staff of the project. Regular meetings will be scheduled by the community organizations to discuss ways in which they can move toward a better share of the communities goods and services. Staff members will assist elected officers in preparing for meetings and following up on planned action. At the end of twelve months, the unorganized areas of the county and city would be fairly well organized but continuous technical support and guidance would be required by staff for several years.

Provision is made in the budget for consultative services. Consultants will be employed to assist the Director of Community

Development in planning and carrying out effective training programs. A specific work program and budget for use of these fees will be submitted to the Regional Office for approval prior to expenditure of these funds. The director of Community Development, in consultation with the Central Office administrative staff will work out the most effective use of this sum.

d. Administration and Organization

This component will be directed by a Community Development Specialist who would be a person who had considerable training and experience in the organization of individuals to achieve short and long term goals. He will have four neighborhood organizers assigned to assist him in identifying and contacting leaders and in providing assistance to organizations once they are formed. In addition, he will supervise three supervisors of neighborhood workers as well as neighborhood workers and aides.

Each target area council (made up of block organization representatives) and each rural community association will have the full or part-time services of a neighborhood organizer. Two full-time secretaries will be employed to assist in communicating by phone or by mail with residents and they will help prepare notices of meetings, duplicate minutes and prepare and send out newsletters developed by organizations.

The Community Development Specialist will be an employee of the Charlotte Area Fund and will work directly under the supervision of the Deputy Director of the Charlotte Area Fund.

Under the Director of Community Development will be the four Neighborhood Workers assigned to the Neighborhood Centers (described in those components).

e. Evaluation

The effectiveness of this component will be ultimately gauged on the question of how much self responsibility low-income residents are able to assume in solving common problems - especially those involving inadequate public and private agency services.

Intermediate evaluation will be accomplished by keeping records to answer these questions:

(1) What are the residents able to accomplish prior to the initiation of this project?

(2) How many organizations were in existence and what has been their attendance (participation) record?

(3) Who are the present leaders?

The project would then have a bench mark against which to judge its value. It is assumed that their would be a significant number of new organizations started as a result of the project and that these organizations would be able to make definable progress in solving problems pertaining to their members. It is also anticipated that the base of leadership would be expanded so that more persons would be accepting leadership responsibility.

Three percent (3%) of component total added for objective third party evaluation of component activities.

f. Resident Participation

This project is aimed at increasing resident participation in the community especially in anti-poverty programs such as Public Housing, Urban Renewal, Employment, Education and all programs operated by the Charlotte Area Fund.

Each major low-income population organization will have representation on the Board of Directors of the Charlotte Area Fund.

Residents of the areas to be involved will be given every possible opportunity to be employed as secretaries and neighborhood organizers on the staff of this component.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT

This form is to accompany each component project form (CAP 6, CAP 7, or CAP 8) in applying for a grant under Sections 204, 205, or 206 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Applicants are not required to use this form -- they may substitute a typed budget which contains the same information in the same order as on the form.

NAME OF APPLICANT: Charlotte Area Fund

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

BRIEF TITLE OF PROJECT: Community Development

COMPONENT PROJECT NO.: 7-10

B-1.0 PERSONNEL

B-1.1 PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST
1	Directorr of Community Development	875	100	15	~~13,175~~ 13,125
1	Counselor	500	100	12	6,000
		515	100	3	1,545
1	Neighborhood Organizer	500	100	2	1,000
		515	100	13	6,695
1	Neighborhood Organizer	460	100	5	2,300
		474	100	10	4,740

~~COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS (Indicate basis for estimate)~~

~~SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY~~ $

B-1.2 ~~PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCIES~~

NUMBER OF PERSONS		SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	
2	Neighborhood Organizers	500	100	12	12,000
		515	100	3	~~1,545~~ 3,090
2	Secretary I	300	100	12	7,200
		309	100	3	1,854

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

12% on all 100% employees for social security, retirement, hospital, Disability Income and Life Insurance ~~6,966~~ 7,146

~~SUB-~~TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY ~~DELEGATE~~ AGENCY ~~(NEC)~~ $ ~~65,020~~ 66,695

TOTAL, PERSONNEL $ ~~65,020~~ 66,695

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APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT *(Continued)*

B-2.0 CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES

B-2.1 CONSULTANT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR FEE ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
Consultant Fees	~~6 Days at $100 Per Day~~ 48 hrs. @$12.50	$ 600
Consultant Travel	3 at $100; 3 at $60 per hour	480
Consultant Per Diem	12 Days at $16	192
	SUB-TOTAL CONSULTANT SERVICES	$ 1,272

APPROVED

B-2.2 OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
		$
	Not Applicable	
	SUB-TOTAL, OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES	$
	TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	$

B-3.0 TRAVEL

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Local Mileage	See Attached Description	$ 1,920
Out-of-County Mileage	See Attached Description	280
Air Travel	See Attached Description	~~596~~ 396
	TOTAL, TRAVEL COSTS	$ ~~2,766~~ 2,596

B-4.0 SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Rent	See Attached Explanation	$ 5,925
Renovation	See Attached Explanation	115
	TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$ 6,040

APPROVED

B-5.0 CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Consumable Supplies	$100 Per Yr. Per Empl. 8 Empl. for 15 Mos.	$ ~~1,000~~ 800
Postage	$10 Per Month for 15 Months	150
	TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	$ ~~1,150~~ 950

B-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Desk Items	See Attached Listing	$ 245
Equipment	See Attached Listing	1,203
	TOTAL, RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	$ 1,448

APPROVED

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Telephone, File Equipment, References, Advertisements, Conference Tuitions, Evaluation	See Attached Breakdown	$ 4,442
	TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	$ 4,442
	GRAND TOTAL, COST OF COMPONENT PROJECT	~~$81,608~~ 83,443

APPROVED

XERO COPY

B-3.0 TRAVEL

Note: Mileage - 8¢ Per Mile Per Diem - $16 Per Day

LOCAL MILEAGE

Employee	Per Mo.	15 Mos.	Total
Community Development Supervisor - 200 Mi. Per Mo.	$16	$ 240	
4 Neighborhood Organizers - 300 Mi. Ea. Per Mo.	96	1,440	
Counselor - 200 Mi. Per Mo.	16	240	
Total, Local Mileage			$1,920

APPROVED

OUT-OF-COUNTY TRAVEL

	15 Mos.	
300 miles every two months for seven periods to conferences on community organization, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee	$ 168	
7 Days Per Diem	112	
Total, Out-of-County Travel		$ 280

APPROVED

AIR TRAVEL

	15 Mos.		
$500 for travel for the exploration of new ideas, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee	$ 500		
6 Days Per Diem	96		
Total, Air Travel		~~$ 596~~	396
TOTAL, TRAVEL		~~$2,796~~	2,596

B-4.0 SPACE COST AND RENTALS

RENT

1,900 square feet of space at $2.50 per square foot annually is $395 per month;for 15 months it is $5,925.

This space and that of the Central Office shall be together. The total square footage is approximately 3,800; and the total monthly rent is $790. Since there are eight staff persons in this component and nine in the Central Office component, the total space and cost has been divided equally to $395 each per month.

Total, Rent	$5,925

APPROVED

RENOVATION

Likewise, one-half of the total estimate for renovation has been divided equally between the Community Development and the Central Office components. The total estimate is $230 per 15-month period, each component containing a request for $115.

Total, Renovation	$ 115
TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$6,040

XERO COPY

B-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

DESK ITEMS

6 Fully equipped desks at $25 per desk for items such as: Staplers, staple removers, scissors, rulers, waste baskets, card files, list finders, trays, calendar stands, etc. NOTE: THIS FIGURE OF $25 HAS BEEN OBTAINED BY LISTING THE ITEMS NEEDED FOR DESKS AND THEN DETERMING THE GSA PRICES ON THEM.	$ 150
$10 each for additions for two previous staff members for maintenance of their desk items - for the entire 15-month period	$ 20
Other items to be used by all staff such as rite-liners, pencil sharpeners, map boards, bulletin boards, handbooks $5 per month for 15 months	$ 75
Total, Desk Items	$ 245

APPROVED

EQUIPMENT

2 Royal Manual Typewriters - GSA Price $215 Each	$ 430
2 Secretarial Chairs - $25 Each	50
2 Secretarial Desks - $78 Each	156
1 Steel Double-Pedestal Desk	68
1 Swivel Desk Chair	35
2 Wooden Tables - $55 Each	110
2 Steel Work Tables - $30 Each	60
2 5-Drawer File Cabinets With Lock - $55 Each	110
1 Storage Cabinet	40
1 Waring Apparel Rack	19
7 Side Chairs $15 Each	105
10 Pendaflex Frames - $2 Each	20
Total, Equipment	$1,203
GRAND TOTAL, EQUIPMENT	$1,448

APPROVED

NOTE: ALL OF THE ABOVE ARE AT GSA PRICES AND REPRESENT ONLY ITEMS NEEDED AS DETERMINED BY THE WORKLOAD AND PERSONNEL INVOLVED

XERO COPY

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

TELEPHONE

The following system has been suggested by the Marketing Division of Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company as that which will serve our needs adequately for the Central Office and Community Development components and will only supply equipment as needed. It is felt that the private line is needed to keep a line available for our officers and the Office of Economic Opportunity Staff of Washington.

One half of this amount is being requested in this component; and the other half is being requested in the Central Office component.

	Installation	Monthly
3 Central Office Lines	$ 24.00	$ 48.00
1 Central Office Line (Private Number)	8.00	16.00
8 Extension Telephones	32.00	14.00
1 Small Call Director for Receptionist - Equipped with Station Identification Lamps	30.00	13.00
1 Station Selection Inter-Communication Line Common Equipment for System	20.00	12.00
11 Station Equipments for Eight Stations at $2.85	-	31.35
3 Station Equipment for 3 Executive Stations at $3.25 Each	-	9.75
11 Six-Button Telephone Sets	110.00	-
	$ 224.00	$156.75

APPROVED

Local Service for 15 Months at $156.25	--	$2,351
Long-Distance for 15 Months at $30.00	--	450
Installation Charges	--	224
15 Month Total		$3,025
One Half Applicable to this component		$1,512

Total, Telephone $1,512

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS CONTINUED

FILE EQUIPMENT

1,000 Pendaflex Files at $18 Per 100	Total	$ 180

REFERENCES

Books and Pamphlets on Community Organization	Total	$ 150

ADVERTISEMENTS

Advertisements for available positions through sources thought to be appropriate. This will involve the positions of the Supervisor, 2 Neighborhood Organizers, and 1 Counselor	Total	$ 100

CONFERENCE TUITIONS

National Association of Community Development	Total	$ 150

EVALUATION

3 Per cent of total Federal component cost for an objective third-party evaluation of the component.	Total	$2,350

TOTAL, OTHER COSTS $4,442

Revised

SLEA

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 7. COMPONENT PROJECT: CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

This form is to be used to apply for a conduct and administration grant under Section 205 of Title II-A Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.	7- 12	

7.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT
Homemaking Education for Low-Income Families

7.1.1 SUMMARY OF PROJECT *Describe the component project, using only the space below:* To upgrade the homemaking skills of target area residents through intensive work in the homes by aides and through classes, group discussions, demonstrations and clubs designed to meet the needs and interests of the residents.

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM *Attach a description of the work program for this component project, following the requirements for such a work program contained in the CAP GUIDE.*

7.1.3 AREA AND GROUP TO BE SERVED

7.1.4 LOCATION AND TYPE. *Describe the location within the community of the people to be served directly by this component project and the type of population to be served (pre-school, aged, families with children, etc.)*

See details in work program

7.1.5 POPULATION TO BE SERVED *How many people will be served directly by this component project?* 18,000 ind. in Area A; 12,000 ind. in Area B; 5,000 ind. in Area C.

How many of these are poor? 50 per cent

7.2 DELEGATION OF ACTIVITIES TO OTHER AGENCIES

The following information is to be provided if any part of this component project is to be carried out by an agency or organization other than the applicant.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE AGENCY
Mecklenburg County Extension Service
723 East Trade Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

TYPE OF AGENCY *Is the delegate agency a (check one):*
[X] PUBLIC AGENCY [ ] PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION [ ] INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
[ ] OTHER *(Specify)*

7.2.1 SCOPE OF DELEGATION *Attach a statement describing:*
a. The degree of responsibility that the delegate agency will have in carrying out the component project.
b. The qualifications of the delegate agency to undertake and complete the component project.
c. The way in which the applicant agency will supervise and/or coordinate the activities of the delegate agency.

7.2.2 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS *Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for each delegate agency.*

7.3 PREVIOUS APPLICATION

Has this component project, in substantially its present form, ever been the subject of a previous application for Federal financial assistance?
[ ] YES [X] NO *If "Yes", attach an explanatory statement.*

7.4 BUDGET

COST CATEGORY	ESTIMATED COST
1. PERSONNEL	$ ~~114,741~~ 115,086
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	--------
3. TRAVEL	1,292
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	~~2,385~~ 1,290
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	2,180
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	~~4,626~~ 4,526
7. OTHER COSTS	~~8,437~~ 6,437
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF PROJECT	$ ~~133,661~~ 130,811
NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION	~~14,286~~ 54,757
FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED UNDER TITLE II-A	$ 119,375 76,654

7.4.1 BUDGET DETAIL *Attach a statement giving the basis for estimating the cost of this component project, in accordance with the instructions set forth in the CAP GUIDE. Where convenient, the cost estimates should be shown on CAP Form 23 (Budget for Component Project).*

7.4.2 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will this component project be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
July 1, 1966 through September 30, 1967

NUMBER OF MONTHS
15

XERO COPY

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM - HOMEMAKING EDUCATION FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

A. PURPOSE AND BENEFICIARIES

The purpose of this program is to teach homemakers in three low-income target areas of the Charlotte Area Fund the basic homemaking skills which will include management of their time and money, foods, clothing, house furnishings, and family relationships. There will be a great deal of emphasis placed on consumer education - the selection, use, and care of goods and services for family living.

This will be done by training non-professional homemaker aides in the basic principles and skills of home economics who in turn will carry the information into the homes of the target area homemakers. As the aides are in the homes of the individual homemakers teaching and demonstrating to them such things as methods of cleaning furnishings in a home, the use of a family budget, and the importance of nutrition through the planning of a weekly menu; and as interests and needs are determined through the home visits of the aides and the neighborhood workers attached to the service centers, the home economists in each target area will plan and develop workshops, classes, and demonstrations in such things as care and construction of clothing, housekeeping, drapery making and slip covering, furniture refinishing and upholstering, beginning sewing and clothing renovation (alterations), nutrition and foods, and good grooming. Eventually, it is hoped homemaker clubs will develop ability in the planning and execution of programs as well as in the teaching of their newly acquired skills to their neighbors.

The staffs of the two neighborhood service centers now in operation have identified a large number of homemakers who are in great need of this kind of service.

The Charlotte Area Fund, the Agricultural Extension Service, the City Housing Authority, and other local government and social service agencies are particularly concerned about the large numbers of families being relocated from slum area where urban renewal is taking place into both the public and private housing of the three target areas. These families, for the first time, are experiencing living in clean, standard housing and need considerable counseling and "leading by the hand" in making this adjustment. Emphasis will be placed on working with these families in terms of consumer practices, home management, cleanliness and hygiene, and nutrition.

The homemaking education programs will begin in the three selected target areas of Charlotte where neighborhood centers have already been or soon will be established. Target Area "A" covering census tracts 48, 49, 50, and 51 and served by the Westside Center, includes 1,761 families with incomes of less than $3,000 or approximately 50% of the total families. Target Area "B" covering census tracts 6, 7, and 8 and served by the Eastside Center includes 1,571 families with incomes of less than $3,000 or approximately 55% of the total. Target Area "C" covering census tract 37 and served by Bethlehem Center, includes 546 families with incomes of less than $3,000 or approximately 53% of the total number of families.

Each of the target areas includes a public housing project and a second project is scheduled to open in the fall of 1966 in Target Area "B". In all three areas, there is a high incidence of unemployment, functional illiteracy, school drop-outs, illegitimate births, and other social problems. A large number of the young married couples are still in their teens and have very poor conceptions of homemaking or child care.

As the staff of the community development division moves into undeveloped target areas, families with identified homemaking problems will be referred to the home economists and homemaker aides for home visits and eventually, it is expected that homemaking education programs will develop in these areas.

B. SCOPE AND CONTENT

The Agricultural Extension Service of Mecklenburg County, in an effort to extend its programs into the low-income areas of Charlotte and thus, better meet the needs of all the people of Mecklenburg County, has contracted with the Charlotte Area Fund to supervise one home economist working out of its office, three home economists in the neighborhood service centers, and fifteen homemaker aides in a homemaking education program for low-income families.

The Cooperative Extension Service is a joint effort of N. C. State University, the U. S. Department of Agriculture and Mecklenburg County to teach useful and practical information on subjects related to agriculture and home economists and to encourage the application of the same. Its purpose is to initiate change and to help people adjust to new situations. This is done by using educational

techniques to help people acquire knowledge and make sound economic decisions, sound economic decisions, solve critical problems and plan wisely for the future.

Specifically, the Mecklenburg County office, in operation for 50 years, has eight professional agents, four in the division of agriculture and four in the division of home economics, and is attempting to serve all of the people of Mecklenburg County but has worked most with rural and suburban families. Extension programs can be divided into four main groups - Agricultural, through a program related to management, marketing and production; Youth, through 4-H groups advised by trained adult volunteers; Home, through clubs, demonstrations, workshops, and leadership development; and Resource and Community Development. Both its staff and programs are now integrated.

A Supervisor of Homemaking Education will work out of the extension office, under the direction of the Home Economics Agent, as director of the overall program. She will work very closely with the staff of the Mecklenburg Home Extension Service and the special staff in Raleigh in developing literature on good homemaking practices including food preparation, nutrition, consumer education, house cleaning hints, etc., in setting up in-service training programs and workshops for both the professional and non-professional staff; and in adapting the monthly programs planned by the extension service for use with low-income groups. In short, she will attempt to bring to bear on the program all of the many resources and consultative services available to county extension services through North Carolina State University.

The three home economists in the field will maintain offices and regular office hours in Westside Center, Eastside Center and Bethlehem Center - in order to be available to the aides for supervisory purposes, to answer questions from the residents, to plan and execute weekly workshops for the aides as a means of continuing their in-service training, to conduct classes and demonstrations in foods, clothing, home management, child guidance, consumer education, housing and furnishings, etc. Under the direction of her supervisor, she will also be expected to conduct in-service training workshops for other members of the Neighborhood Center staff and to make presentations, when called upon, to neighborhood councils, block organizations, advisory councils, etc.

A concerted effort will be made to involve the male residents of the neighborhoods in classes of interest to them such as lawn and shrubbery care, household budgeting and money management, and furniture refinishing and upholstering. Through these classes and through the involvement of male speakers, agricultural agents, and outside consultants, it is hoped attitudinal changes can be effected in terms of the low-income male's perception of his role in the family. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized when considering the matriarchal nature of most of our low-income families.

Space is available in the three neighborhood service centers, in substations, and in an apartment unit in Piedmont Courts Housing Project including fully-equipped kitchens for demonstrations and classes. The apartment unit in Piedmont Courts will be used extensively for demonstration and display purposes as well as for classes and workshops.

Fifteen aides assigned to the target areas in proportion to the varying populations (probably 7 in Westside, 5 in Eastside, and 3 in Bethlehem Center) will participate in an intensive training program in principles and skills of home economics and will benefit from a weekly workshop conducted by the professional home economists in order to go into the homes of the target area homemakers to teach them the skills necessary for good home management and improved family living. They will spend as much time as necessary with the homemakers and families assigned to them in helping to prepare family budgets, shop for groceries, clothing, and household furnishings and cleaning supplies and make best use of these in order to acquire good consumer practices; to assist the homemaker in learning how to manage her time and money; and to plan menus and prepare food in order to provide the best possible diet in terms of nutrition for the family. The Homemaker aides should be thoroughly familiar with the total services of the neighborhood centers in order to make referrals as they identify employment, educational, health, emotional, and problems of family relationships so that referrals can be made. Approximately 75% of the aides' time will be spent in the field with individual homemakers and in contacting leaders to encourage the planning and development of classes and group workshops. The remainder of their time will be spent in in-service training, staff conferences, and planning sessions, and in assisting the home economist with classes and demonstrations.

Individuals will be referred to the homemaking education staff by neighborhood workers who have specific responsibility for assigned geographic sections in the target areas as they identify needs and interest on the part of the clients in accepting services. Other referrals will come from public health nurses, public welfare workers, housing project managers, and other professionals working in the target areas. All referrals should be channeled through the intake procedure of the service centers.

The final schedules and case loads of the aides will be determined as this program is implemented.

As interest and motivation develops through the home visits of the aides, more emphasis will be placed on group activities because of the limitations of the individual approach in terms of numbers to be served. It is hoped that homemakers in the neighborhood will be encouraged to meet together for discussions of mutual problems and that eventually, these groups will become homemaker clubs, active in the total community development processes of the neighborhoods.

C. TIME TABLE

The professional staff will be recruited during June and will be hired the first of July. They will participate in a two weeks orientation program conducted by the special staff from the N. C. Agricultural Extension Service Office at Raleigh, by the Mecklenburg County Home Economics Agent, and by staff members of the Charlotte Area Fund in order to familiarize them with the total programs and resources of these three agencies. In particular, they should have knowledge of the programs operating out of the neighborhood service centers as their programs should be a coordinated part of the total neighborhood approach. The professional staff will spend the next two weeks gathering educational materials and teaching aids, developing forms for record keeping, and planning the training programs for the aides.

Aides will be hired August 1 and will spend four weeks in training before assuming their duties. Their training will be conducted by specialists from Raleigh, the Mecklenburg Extension Service staff and the staff of the Charlotte Area Fund. Speakers from other agencies such as the Health Department, Department of Public Welfare, Family and Children's Service, etc. and field trips to these agencies will be included in the training program.

Their training will include subject matter related to foods and nutrition; purchase, construction, and care of clothing; budgeting of time and money; child guidance; housing and home furnishings and cleaning; consumer education will be the primary focus in all this. Some attention will be given to the principles of working with people in terms of community organization, motivation, etc. The aides will be given a great deal of practical experience under supervision, in doing many of the things they will be expected to teach in the field. Roleplaying, lectures, and visual aids and demonstrations will all be used as teaching devices. After their initial field experiences, aides will reconvene for discussion and evaluation.

Aides will begin working in the field on September 1. Weekly workshops will be conducted for them by the home economists in the center.

D. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

See attached chart of organization

E. EVALUATION

The aides will be expected to keep a daily record of their activities as well as a progress report on each family with whom they work. This will be done under the supervision of the neighborhood home economist who will maintain a file for all records pertaining to this component.

The Home Economists will be responsible for maintaining records of all classes, group sessions, and demonstrations.

All record keeping will be in coordination with the family folders maintained by the Coordinators of the Service Centers.

A maximum of 3% of the budget is reserved for evaluation by a third party. A work program and budget for expenditure of these funds will be submitted to the regional office for approval prior to spending of the budget items.

F. RESIDENT PARTICIPATION

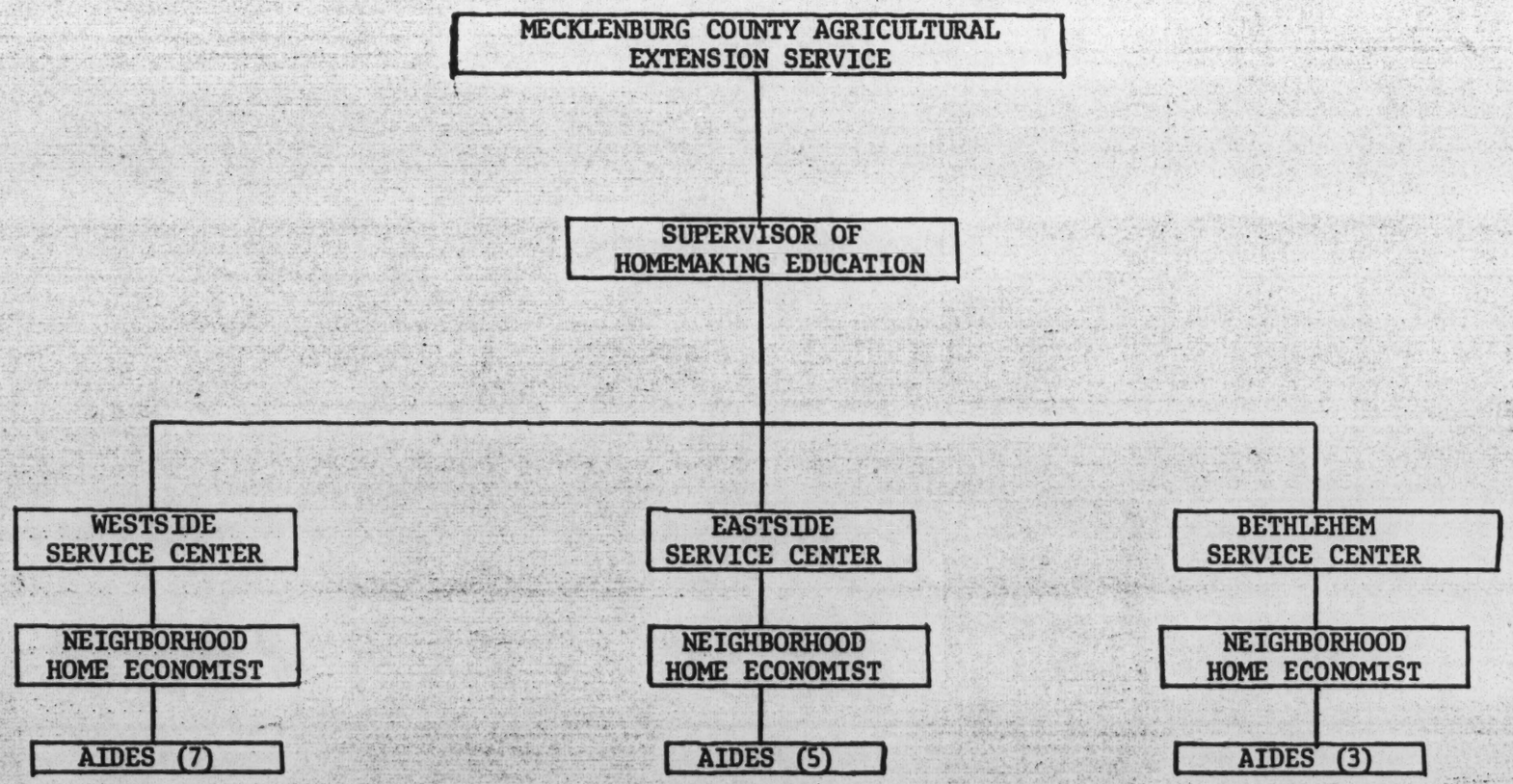
The staff of the Homemaking Education Program will be community organization oriented and will encourage participation in organizations and neighborhood councils as they become involved with residents of the target areas.

The Homemaker Clubs which will be developed in the neighborhoods will be focused on community improvement and will work very closely with other neighborhood groups.

The Neighborhood Advisory Council to each neighborhood service center will appoint a Home Management Committee to deal with the problems of the neighborhood homemakers, to advise the Homemaking Education staff, and to encourage participation in their programs and services.

This proposal is being developed to meet the expressed desires of residents for a program dealing with home management and house-keeping skills.

HOMEMAKING EDUCATION FOR LOW-INCOME FAMILIES



OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM
COMPONENT AMENDMENT

(FOR OEO USE) APPLIC. NO. | MONTHS APPR.

Budget Bureau No. 116-R044
Approval expires June 30, 1967

NAME OF GRANTEE	PROG YEAR ENDS	GRANT NO.	PROG. YEAR	AMEND. NO.
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.	9-30-67	CG-3001/A/6		

NAME OF ADMINISTERING AGENCY	TITLE OF COMPONENT	COMP. NO.
Mecklenburg County Extension Service	Homemaking Education	7-12

COST CATEGORY	(FOR GRANTEE USE) A. CURRENT APPROVED BUDGET	B. EXPENDED THROUGH MONTH ___ YR. ___	C. REQUESTED CHANGES (INDICATE + OR -)	D. REQUESTED AMENDED BUDGET	(FOR OEO USE) E. APPROVED AMENDED BUDGET
1. PERSONNEL	$ 114,741	$ 0	$ +345	$ 115,086	$
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	0	0		0	
3. TRAVEL	1,292	0		1,292	
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	2,385	0	-1,095	1,290	
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	2,180	0		2,180	
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	4,526	0		4,526	
7. OTHER COSTS	6,437	0		6,437	
TOTAL COST OF COMPONENT	$ 131,561	$ 0	$ -750	$ 130,811	$
NON-FEDERAL SHARE	14,286	0	+40,471	54,757	
FEDERAL SHARE	117,275	0	-41,221	76,054	

Changes in this amended budget may be made only in accordance with the appropriate provisions of the CAP GUIDE - (Financial Instructions).

EXPLANATION OF CHANGES REQUESTED IN BUDGET OR WORK PROGRAM: *(If additional space is required, continue on blank paper.)*

(See Attached Budget Detail - CAP 23)

Changes:

1. Personnel - Allowances were made for the 13% in fringe benefits paid by Mecklenburg County to its employees as opposed to the 12%, paid by the Charlotte Area Fund. This accounts for the additional $345 in personnel costs.

2. Space Costs and Rentals - An error was made in the original calculation of the square footage of space available in the Piedmont Courts Housing Project. It should have been 700 sq. ft. rather than 1400 sq. ft.

3. Non-Federal Share - The City and County has made available to this component the amount of $56,435 of which $53,467 has been budgeted for on an itemized basis to be submitted for approval as Non-Federal Matching.

4. Federal Share - $41,221 in federal funds no longer needed by this component will be replaced into components 7-3 and 7-2.

REQUESTED BY: *(Typed name and title)*	SIGNATURE	DATE
John E. Zuidema, Executive Director Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.	John E. Zuidema	9/12/66
OEO ACTION: *(Typed name and title)* APPROVED ☐ DISAPPROVED ☐	SIGNATURE	DATE

CAP FORM 43 FEB 66 ☐ GRANTEE ☐ REGIONAL FILE ☐ CENTRAL FILE ☐ AUDIT ☐ PROG. REVIEW DIV. GSA DC 66-15848

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT

This form is to accompany each component project form (CAP 6, CAP 7, or CAP 8) in applying for a grant under Sections 204, 205, or 206 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Applicants are not required to use this form -- they may substitute a typed budget which contains the same information in the same order as on the form.

NAME OF APPLICANT: Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

BRIEF TITLE OF PROJECT: Homemaking Education for Low-Income Families

COMPONENT PROJECT NO.: 7-12

B-1.0 PERSONNEL

B-1.1 PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST
15	Homemaker Aides	300.00	100%	12	54,000.00
	Homemaker Aides	309.00	100%	3	13,905.00

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

12% for Social Security, Workmen's Compensation, Life, Disability and Hospital Insurance	8,149
SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY	$ 76,054

B-1.2 PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST
1	Supervisor of Homemaking Education Non-Fed.	600	100%	12	7,200
	Supervisor of Homemaking Education Non-Fed.	618	100%	3	1,854
3	Home Economists - Non-Federal	463	100%	12	16,668
	Home Economists - Non-Federal	477	100%	3	4,293
1	Secretary - Non-Federal	300	100%	12	3,600
	Secretary - Non-Federal	309	100%	3	927

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

13% for Social Security, Workmen's Compensation, Life, Disability, and Hospital Insurance - Non-Federal	4,490
SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)	$ 39,032
TOTAL, PERSONNEL	$115,086

APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT *(Continued)*

B-2.0 CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES

B-2.1 CONSULTANT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR FEE ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
		$
	SUB-TOTAL CONSULTANT SERVICES	$

B-2.2 OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
		$
	SUB-TOTAL, OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES	$
	TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	$

B-3.0 TRAVEL

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Local Mileage - Non-Federal	See Attached Description	$ 840
Out-of-County Mileage -NF	See Attached Description	320
Air Travel - Non-Federal	See Attached Description	132
	TOTAL, TRAVEL COSTS	$ 1,292

B-4.0 SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Space Cost - Non-Federal	See Attached Description	$ 1,290
	TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$ 1,290

B-5.0 CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Consumable Supplies - NF	$75 per yr. per employee - 20 employees	$ 1,500
[illegible]	$19 per 3 mos. per employee - 20 employees	380
Postage - Non-Federal	$5 per office (4) per month for 15 months	300
	TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	$ 2,180

B-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Desk Items - Non-Federal	See Attached Description	$ 175
Equipment - Non-Federal	See Attached Description	4,351
	TOTAL, RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	$ 4,526

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Program Supplies - Non-Fed.	See Attached Description	$ 623
Food Supplies - Non-Fed.	$20 per wk. per 3 centers for cooking demonstrations for 64 weeks	3,840
References - Non-Federal	Books, pamphlets, etc.	200
Evaluation - Non-Federal		1,774
	TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	$ 6,437
	GRAND TOTAL, COST OF COMPONENT PROJECT	$ 130,811

B-3.0 TRAVEL

Note: Mileage - 8¢ Per Mile Per Diem - $16 Per Day

LOCAL MILEAGE

	Per Mo.	15 Mo.	Total
Supervisor - 200 miles per month	$16	$240	
3 Home Economists - 500 miles per month	40	600	
Total Local Mileage			$ 840

OUT-of-COUNTY MILEAGE

600 miles for each of four staff persons for the 15-month period for conferences, training sessions, etc.	$192	
8 days per diem (2 Each Per 15-Months)	128	
Total Out-of-County Mileage		$ 320

AIR TRAVEL

Travel for the exploration of new ideas and visitation to other projects, subject to approval of Executive Committee for the 15-month period	$100	
2 days per diem	32	
Total Air Travel		$132

TOTAL TRAVEL $1,292

B-4.0 SPACE COSTS

RENT

NON-FEDERAL SHARE

Apartment in Piedmont Courts Housing Project - 700 sq. ft. at $1.25 per sq. ft. per year equals $875.00 per year or $73.00 per month for 15 months	$1,095.00
Space in County Extension Offices for Supervisor - 120 sq. ft. at $1.25 per sq. ft. per year equals $150.00 or $13.00 per month for 15 months	195.00
Total, Non-Federal Rent	$1,290.00

NOTE: Other space will be utilized in the Eastside and Westside Centers and Sub-Stations.

B-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

DESK ITEMS

5 fully equipped desks at $20 per desk for small desk items such as: waste baskets, staplers, staple removers, calendars, list finders, scissors, rulers, letter openers, etc.	$ 100.00
Allocation for 15 Aides who will not have need for a fully-equipped desk @ $5 each for a 15-month period	75.00
Total Desk Items	$ 175.00

EQUIPMENT

1 Steel Clerical Desk @ $101 each	$101.00
1 Typist Chair @ $22.00	22.00
4 Steel Double-Pedestal Desks @ $68.00 each	272.00
4 Swivel Desk Chairs @ $77.00 each	308.00
4 Straight Side Chairs w/arms @ $35.00 each	140.00
1 Typewriter	100.00
4 Five-Drawer File Cabinets @ $55.00 each	220.00
1 Stove	300.00
1 Refrigerator	350.00
6 Port-A-Table Cutting Tables @ $10.50 each	63.00
9 Portable Sewing Machines @ $275.00 each	2,475.00
Total Equipment	4,351.00

NOTE: Prices for above items are those of GSA, if available through GSA.

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

PROGRAM SUPPLIES

3 Sets of Shears @ $19.40 per set	$ 58.20
3 Sewing Scissors @ $3.20 each	9.60
3 Ironing Board Cover Pads @ $2.93 each	8.79
3 Pressing Clothes @ $1.00 each	3.00
3 Pressing Arms @ $3.58 each	10.74
3 Dress Forms and Stands @ $7.00 each	21.00
30 Basic Sewing Kits @ $1.98 each	59.40
30 Tape Measures @ $.17 each	5.10
36 Envelopes of Tracing Paper @ $.35 each	12.60
36 Chalk Pencil @ $.26 each	9.36
12 Box Machine Needles @ $.29 per box	3.48
10 Box Needles @ $.29 per box	2.90
12 Box Straight Pins @ $.98 per box	11.76
12 Box Thimbles @ $1.08 per box	12.96
30 Pin Cushions @ $.10 each	3.00
3 Steam Irons @ $12.00 each	36.00
3 Ironing Boards @ $10.00 each	30.00
3 Pressure Canners @ $18.00 each	54.00
3 1 qt. Sauce Pans @ $1.72 each	5.16
3 3 qt. Sauce Pans @ $2.25 each	6.75
3 Double Boilers @ $3.00 each	9.00
3 8" Fry Pans @ $2.46 each	7.38
3 12" Fry Pans @ $ 3.74 each	11.22
3 6 qt. Kettle @ $10.00 each	30.00
3 1 qt. Casseroles @ $3.46 each	10.38
3 2 qt. Casseroles @ $3.74 each	11.22
9 Cookie Sheets @ $.59 each	5.31
9 Six-Cup Muffin Pans @ $.37 each	3.33
9 Two-Layer Cake Pans @ $1.05 each	9.45
3 9" Pie Pans @ $.67 each	2.01
18 Custard Cups @ $.10 each	1.80
3 Loaf Pans @ $.97 each	2.91
3 Utility Pans @ $2.62 each	7.86
2 Sets Measuring Articles @ $ 3.00 each	6.00
2 Sets Small Kitchen Items @ $30.00	60.00
3 Sets China @ $12.00 per set	36.00
3 Sets Stainless Silver @ $15.00 per set	45.00
Total Program Supplies	$622.67

NOTE: Other Equipment reverted from Health Project (Component Project No. 7-4) such as furniture, kitchen items, etc.

HOMEMAKING EDUCATION FOR LOW INCOME FAMILIES

SALARY COMPARABILITY

Positions	Agency	Annual Salary
Supervisor of Homemaking Education for Low Income Families	Mecklenburg County Extension Service	$7,216.00
	COMPARABLE TO	
Senior Public Health Educator	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Health Department	$7,176.00
Clinical Psychologist I	Charlotte Mental Health Clinic	$7,176.00
Homemaker Services Supervisor	Mecklenburg County Welfare Department	$7,200.00
Home Economist	Mecklenburg County Extension Service	$6,000.00
	COMPARABLE TO	
Neighborhood Organizers	Charlotte Area Fund	$6,000.00
Caseworker II	Family & Children Service	$5,880.00

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REVISED

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 7. COMPONENT PROJECT: CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION

This form is to be used to apply for a conduct and administration grant under Section 205 of Title II-A Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.	DO NOT FILL IN *(For Administrative Use)*
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.	7-13	

7.1 BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE TITLE OF PROJECT

Comprehensive Manpower Program

7.1.1 SUMMARY OF PROJECT *Describe the component project, using only the space below:* A comprehensive manpower program involving recruitment of unemployed individuals through the neighborhood centers and the placement, counseling, motivation, and training of these individuals.

7.1.2 WORK PROGRAM *Attach a description of the work program for this component project, following the requirements for such a work program contained in the CAP GUIDE.*

7.1.3 AREA AND GROUP TO BE SERVED

7.1.4 LOCATION AND TYPE. *Describe the location within the community of the people to be served directly by this component project and the type of population to be served (pre-school, aged, families with children, etc.)* This project will serve all low-income people in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area, focusing essentially in the target areas served by the neighborhood service centers but expanding into the rural areas of the county as possible.

7.1.5 POPULATION TO BE SERVED *How many people will be served directly by this component project?* 18,000 ind. in Area A; 12,000 Ind. in Area B; 5,000 in Area C

How many of these are poor? 50 per cent

7.2 DELEGATION OF ACTIVITIES TO OTHER AGENCIES

The following information is to be provided if any part of this component project is to be carried out by an agency or organization other than the applicant.

NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATE AGENCY
Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement
124 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

TYPE OF AGENCY *Is the delegate agency a (check one):*
☐ PUBLIC AGENCY ☒ PRIVATE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION ☐ INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION
☐ OTHER *(Specify)*

7.2.1 SCOPE OF DELEGATION *Attach a statement describing:*

a. The degree of responsibility that the delegate agency will have in carrying out the component project.
b. The qualifications of the delegate agency to undertake and complete the component project.
c. The way in which the applicant agency will supervise and/or coordinate the activities of the delegate agency.

7.2.2 ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS *Attach a fully executed copy of the Civil Rights Assurance Form for each delegate agency.*
See Attachment

7.3 PREVIOUS APPLICATION

Has this component project, in substantially its present form, ever been the subject of a previous application for Federal financial assistance?
☐ YES ☒ NO *If "Yes", attach an explanatory statement.*

7.4 BUDGET

COST CATEGORY	ESTIMATED COST
1. PERSONNEL	$ ~~245,885~~ 245,885
2. CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES	~~9,740~~ 8,740
3. TRAVEL	~~10,943~~ 9,830
4. SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	~~17,802~~ 12,070
5. CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	~~3,348~~ 4,000
6. RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	~~6,508~~ 6,020
7. OTHER COSTS	~~15,223~~ 9,785
TOTAL ESTIMATED COST OF PROJECT	$ ~~309,449~~ 296,330
NON-FEDERAL CONTRIBUTION	~~30,944~~ 27,850
FEDERAL GRANT REQUESTED UNDER TITLE II-A	$ ~~278,505~~ 268,480

7.4.1 BUDGET DETAIL *Attach a statement giving the basis for estimating the cost of this component project, in accordance with the instructions set forth in the CAP GUIDE. Where convenient, the cost estimates should be shown on CAP Form 23 (Budget for Component Project).*

7.4.2 PERIOD OF GRANT *How long will this component project be financed by the grant requested in this application?*
July 1, 1966 through September 30, 1967

NUMBER OF MONTHS
15

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A. PURPOSE AND BENEFICIARIES

The general purpose of this project is to assist persons of low socio-economic status to secure and maintain employment that will help them to raise their economic level. This will be accomplished by providing placement, recruitment, counseling and training programs designed to assist a person in acquiring a skill and "marketing" that skill to employers. The project will also demonstrate to employers and labor unions that lack of education, lack of training, and lack of occupational exposure does not necessarily indicate that a person cannot do a job. Motivation in the cases of low-income and disadvantaged persons is a prime factor in their employability and will be taken into consideration. All of society, including business, industry, and labor, will benefit from employment programs that assist the poor to raise their economic levels.

People to be served by this project include residents of the central northwestern part of the city of Charlotte and of the "hardcore" areas to be serviced by the two neighborhood centers of the Charlotte Area Fund, parents of children in "Head Start" and enrollees of the Basic Adult Education classes. In addition, the program will serve through one additional neighborhood center several other blighted areas of Charlotte with unemployment and underemployment problems: Oakview Terrace, Cherry Heights, Grier Heights, Southside (served by Bethlehem Center), and the area north of Johnson C. Smith University, where Negroes from the Brooklyn Urban Renewal Project are being relocated. The program will serve recepients of welfare programs in the Charlotte area. The program will also reach out into the low-income "pocket areas" of Mecklenburg County.

The beneficiaries of this program will be the low-income residents of the City of Charlotte and the County of Mecklenburg. Most of the persons reside in the three target areas of the inner city served by the three neighborhood service centers of the Charlotte Area Fund. These centers are Eastside, serving the First Ward area; Westside serving the Greenville area; and Bethlehem Center serving Southside. As the program develops, a plan for extending manpower services to the rural areas of the county will be developed in conjunction with the Community Development Component of the Charlotte Area Fund.

Most of the beneficiaries of this program will be youth and adults who are currently unemployed, underemployed, or unsatisfactorily unemployed. Every effort will be made to reach and serve all persons through the neighborhood centers.

The program involves the expansion of a program begun on a pilot basis under a grant from the Stern Family Fund which has already achieved considerable success under the existing skeletal staff.

B. SCOPE AND CONTENT

During the course of the project, the following program will be undertaken:

1. Job Development

a. Business firms will systematically be approached to open new job opportunities for applicants. Cooperative working relationships are being established with individual employers and employee associations to develop job opportunities for low-income and disadvantaged persons.

The Chamber of Commerce has established a Manpower Committee to work with the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training, and Placement, the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, and local businesses. The Committee will assist in opening doors of employers who are seeking employees. The Committee will also assist in developing on-the-job training programs and in the direct placement of low-income persons in employment. (See Attached Sheet)

Associated General Contractors, an association representing 50 local contractors, has agreed to contact its members and to assist the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement, Inc. in placing persons in On-the-Job Training Programs. Central Piedmont Industries, Inc., a non-profit association of 190 area employers, has an agreement with the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement to provide employment opportunities and job training for the client group. Applicants have been placed with participating members of this association. (See Attached Letter)

Employment counselors (CBETP), after consultation with other professional staff in each center and subsequent follow-up conferences with the applicant, will attempt to either place him directly in employment or in an On-the-Job Training Program, or a Manpower Development Training Act Vocational Course at Central Piedmont Community College, or in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. All persons will receive some remedial or basic adult education, depending upon their academic level; and all persons shall participate in preparedness for employment pre-vocational training programs. In view of the labor shortage problem in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, the job developers will confer with employers concerning the standards used in the selection process to make job requirements more flexible and realistic. Hard-to-place persons will be assigned to the job developers for individual marketing by the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement employment counselors.

b. Labor unions will also be systematically approached by job developers in an attempt to stimulate the development of new opportunities for persons desiring to become apprentices or journeymen in craft, industrial, and trade unions.

c. Meetings, seminars, and workshops will be held with heads of businesses and industry, as well as with personnel and

industrial relations staffs to familiarize them with the objectives of the program and to encourage their cooperation. Job market clinics will be conducted in each center. Persons interviewed, screened, and evaluated will be interviewed by representatives of local businesses and industries. Also, the business representatives will discuss at a general meeting the availability of jobs, working conditions, rules on regulations, and will provide any other pertinent data on their employment needs.

d. The Bureau is already working closely with the North Carolina Employment Security Commission to obtain labor market information that will be helpful in fulfilling its objectives.

Such information includes:

1. Number employed (decreasing and increasing)
2. Nature of work
3. Working conditions
4. Preparation and training needed
5. Personal qualities needed (i.e., intelligence, strength)
6. Advancement possibilities
7. Compensation

To whom responsible

e. Employment Security personnel at the centers will participate in disposition conferences and advise the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement staff of available Manpower Development Training Act training programs and direct placement opportunities. Disposition conferences shall be held as needed. There will be one placement person in each of the three centers.

2. <u>Recruitment</u>

After thorough training and orientation in manpower procedures, the neighborhood workers employed by the Charlotte Area Fund's neighborhood centers will provide recruitment and some follow-up services.

The neighborhood workers will systematically contact homes in neighborhoods designated as having high unemployment rates to discuss jobs and training opportunities with individuals and their families. (inner city and poverty pocket areas in county) They will discuss the program with persons found on street corners, in bars, in pool rooms, in barber shops, and in other places where people might congregate. Referrals will be made to the nearest neighborhood center.

Applicants will be encouraged to walk into the offices provided by the Charlotte Area Fund in three neighborhood centers.

Referrals will be sought from any organization (religious, civic, or service) concerned with the problems of the low-income individual. Regular and "irregular" office hours will be maintained in the neighborhood center by the staff working out of these offices, in order to offer job information and counseling when it is needed.

3. Assessment

Low-income clients are reluctant to undergo formal testing; but, this is a fact of academic and vocational life. An applicant must be test wise rather than test wary. However, some verbal and non-verbal testing will undoubtedly have to be given. For instance: (1) SRA - Verbal (2) SRA - Non-Verbal Form (3) Purdue Non-Language Test (4) Chicago Non-Verbal Examination.

Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement counselors will be trained by the CBETP consulting psychologist to administer and interpret commonly-used tests of achievement, interests, vocational aptitudes, and learning abilities. Performance tests similar to those used by civil service or merit system offices will be used when appropriate, especially to measure clerical and secretarial skills. The counselors will be trained to objectively rate the clients on such items as grooming, speech, self-confidence, and desire to better oneself.

? Clients will also be assessed by placing them in actual work situations in the community to determine their abilities and their vocational interests. If possible, the local Good Will Industry will be used for work evaluation purposes.

When the employment counselor deems it appropriate, clients will be referred to the local Employment Security counselor for the G.A.T.B.

Job development specialists will be especially benefited by assessment results as they attempt to place the hard-to-place clients.

4. Direct Placement

The employment counselors employed by the CBETP will each have a list of current unfilled job orders which were obtained by the job developers. There will be four copies of the job order form--one for each neighborhood center office and one for the job development section of the Central Office. These job orders will be filed according to the latest Dictionary of Occupational Titles system.

An applicant form will be completed by the employment counselor on each applicant who is unemployed or underemployed. If he has a vocational skill or skills, his form will be coded with the Dictionary of Occupational Titles system so as to make quick cross-matching with the job order list possible. Results

of academic and vocational testing will be included on the form, as well as other pertinent data.

What incentives to trainee

Every adult and most youth applicants will be interviewed by the placement interviewers; and, if the applicant's background and qualifications are such that the applicant cannot be referred directly to a job, the interviewer, in consultation with the other staff, will refer the applicant to the appropriate training program.

Job developers will also attempt to develop jobs for applicants in the event the applicant has not been referred directly to a job and cannot or should not be placed in a training program. All 1,000 program participants will eventually be placed on jobs.

Emphasis in placement will not be strictly based on present standard criteria or on results of present verbal and non-verbal tests, but rather on interest, motivation, levels of aspiration, needs, etc.

Hiring practices and job requirements in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area have not yet been developed to the highly-mechanized state that can be found in highly industrialized centers in the urban North. The nature of the industry in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area is such that many persons now unemployed and underemployed can, with proper guidance, motivation, and acquisition of basic skills successfully fill the present job needs of business and industry. Following employment, many of these people, through in-service training programs, basic adult education classes, and institutional training programs, can obtain the additional academic and occupational skills necessary for long-range employability.

In this case, the employment counselor, after determining the client is interested in OJT and is a likely successful trainee, refers the client to the OJT section of CBETP for final arrangements.

An employment counselor who finds a client interested in learning a skill through course attendance and knows of an available MDTA course will refer the client to the Employment Security Commission counselor for evaluation of the client's potential for such training. If the client is found qualified, he will be enrolled; and if eligible, a training stipend will be paid.

Placement as an enrollee in the out-of-school or the in-school Neighborhood Youth Corps can be accomplished by CBETP employment counselors. The in-school NYC program is administered by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools; and they will accept referrals for in-school enrollees.

The out-of-school program is administered by CBETP. Employment counselors will play a major role in placing out-of-school,

low-income youth in NYC work. It is important that the NYC counselors and the CBETP employment counselors work closely together with NYC youth so that they can be counseled toward training or more permanent employment at the end of their six-month enrollment.

Funds?

Central Piedmont Community College currently operates a Basic Adult Education Program and a high-school level program. Every client who is found to be deficient academically will be referred to an appropriate and a convenient center for additional classroom instruction. It is planned that NYC out-of-school enrollees will participate in this academic program. In addition, all persons awaiting direct placement and those enrolled or awaiting enrollment in institutional or on-the-job training who need further academic education will be encouraged to participate in academic training.

Institutional training will be provided through the MTDA in cooperation with the local Employment Security Commission. A job training center will be established under the direction of Central Piedmont Community College which will involve a multi-occupational MDTA program with stipends available for those who are eligible.

An on-the-job training program is currently being administered by the CBETP through a grant from the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor. Current data shows the following placements:

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAM PLACEMENTS AS OF 3/29/66

Machine operators - Apprenticeship Entry	6	
Mechanic - Apprenticeship Entry	2	
Pump Operators	3	
Ashphalt Workers	5	1
Poultry Processors	9	25
Assembly of Appliances	12	12
Stock Clerks	3	21
Cashiers	4	12
Clerks	14	19
Carpenter-Trainees	12	
Press Operators	2	89
Salesgirl	1	
Salesman	2	
Truck Drivers	1	
Fiberglass Technicians	6	
Maintenance Engineers	3	
Processors	4	
TOTAL	109	89?

5. Pre-Vocational Preparation and Motivation

Most of the beneficiaries of this program lack a realistic awareness of the types of work not available to persons regardless of race, creed, or color. It is of little value to open employment on an equal opportunity basis if the prospective employee feels he will be denied a job because of his race. In addition, increased mechanization and automation are eliminating some jobs and creating others. Clients should have a current picture of the labor market so as to avoid dead end jobs, if possible. A full awareness of job opportunities will enable the client to apply for a job which is in line with his vocational interests and aptitudes rather than taking the first job that comes along.

Although this program is client centered, it would be a doomed failure if the needs of the employer for dependable, well-motivated employees was not given proper weight. The client must know that regular work habits, cleanliness, and grooming are important adjuncts to job skills. Unless an employer can conform to job rules and safety regulations, he is a liability, not an asset.

An employee who does not understand the purpose of payroll deductions and withholdings may feel that he is being cheated. He should be aware of the value of fringe benefits for himself and his dependents.

The client should know about resources in the community which can assist him with his legal, emotional, or health problems. In many cases, professional staff assigned to the neighborhood centers will be available to help him. If a referral to another agency is required, the counselors at the neighborhood centers will assist. Pre-vocational sessions will generally be held in group sessions with some information presented via lectures, films, and slides. Sessions of a small group type involving discussions and role playing will also be scheduled.

Motivation to achieve, to obtain health, happiness and a better standard of living must in the final analysis come from within the individual. People can be inspired by those who have obtained a better life. Clients can be supported by their counselors and by their peers as they reach out for this better life. Ministers, personnel specialists, and teachers will be involved in the pre-vocational program to increase the motivation of the unemployed to find a richer life for themselves and their dependents.

? 4

Motivational training and counseling will be the responsibility of the Opportunity Industrialization Center staff who will hold individual and small group sessions with all clients who are:

(a) awaiting direct placement
(b) enrolled in a NYC program
(c) enrolled in On-the-Job Training
(d) enrolled in an MDTA course

They will also hold training sessions with the above groups of clients to help them improve their social poise, their ability to relate to others, and their dress, grooming, and manners. Sessions on the management of money and the use of leisure time will be included. Volunteers recruited by the Volunteers Service Coordinator of the Charlotte Area Fund will assist the OIC teachers, as will the employment representatives. A description of the OIC program is attached.

THE MOTIVATION AND PREPAREDNESS FOR WORK PROGRAM

PURPOSES

1. Through professional assistance, to seek and discover each client's aptitude, ability and need as he attempts to prepare himself for entry into the job market.

2. To help the client know himself, his capacity and potential and thereby establish realistic goals and to motivate him towards attaining them.

3. To help the client solve what personal problems he may have.

4. To help client plan his life educationally and vocationally to meet a more sophisticated job market.

5. To further assist client in marketing his abilities.

CLIENTS TO BE SERVED

This program will be geared to service all clients referred from the various program units of the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement, principally the Neighborhood Youth Corps (out-of-school), Direct Placement Unit, and On-the-Job Training Unit.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

I. Inventory

A. At various stations and centers throughout the city, initial contact with prospective clients will be made. Here a client will be interviewed and a profile sheet drawn up. The client will then be referred to the motivational and job preparedness unit, his profile sheet accompanying him.

B. At the motivation unit or center, the client will meet counselor who will conduct a personal counseling interview, discussing the client's family and work background in the framework of needs, anxieties, and hopes for employment and then make class assignments.

II. Personal and Attitudinal Adjustment

A. Concurrently with his job duties or prior to his job

CHARLOTTE BUREAU ON EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

MONTHLY TIME SCHEDULE (Varies with Individual)

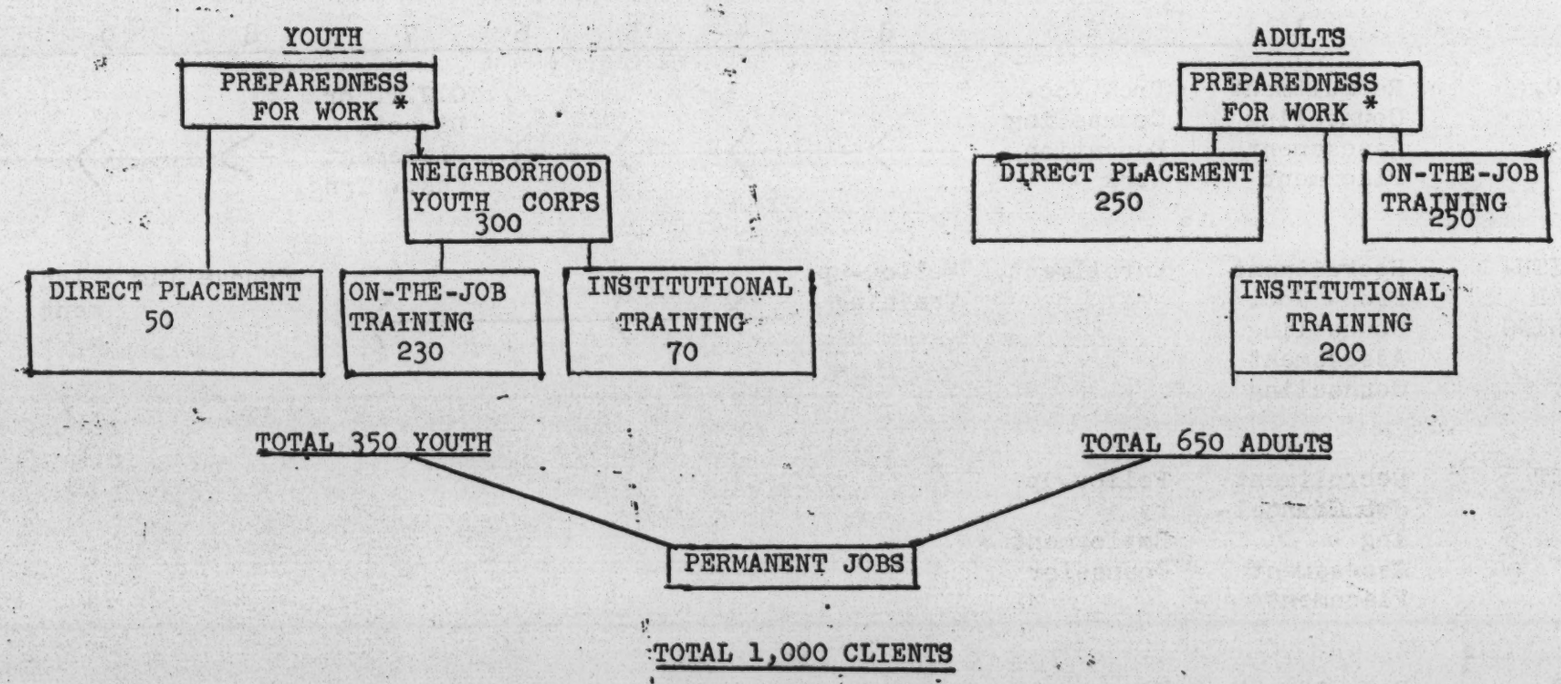
ADULTS

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ON-THE-JOB TRAINING	Recruitment Counseling Assessment Pre-Voc. Counseling	Placement Continued Pre-Voc. Counseling	Follow-up	→	→	→	→	Job Counseling	Final Employment Determination
INSTITU-TIONAL TRAINING	Recruitment Counseling Assessment Counseling	Enrollment Pre-Voc. Counseling	Follow-up Pre-Voc. Counseling	→	→	→	→	Job Counseling	Job Placement
DIRECT PLACEMENT	Recruitment Job Counseling Assessment Placement	Follow-up	→	→	→	→	→	→	→

→ Indicates continuation of previous process.

CHARLOTTE BUREAU ON EMPLOYMENT, PLACEMENT AND TRAINING

PROGRAM FOR PLACEMENT OF 1,000 CLIENTS



*Preparedness for work offered while awaiting direct placement, remedial education or basic education for all persons in need.

CHARLOTTE BUREAU ON EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

MONTHLY TIME SCHEDULES (Varies with Individual)

YOUTH

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Up to 24
N.Y.C.	Recruitment Counseling Assessment Placement	Pre. Voc. Counseling Education Work	→	→	→	→	O.J.T. or Direct Placement Inst. Trng.	→	→	→
INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING	Recruitment Pre - Voc. Counseling Assessment Counseling	Enrollment	Follow-up Training	→	→	→	→	Counseling	Placement	
DIRECT	Recruitment Job Counseling Assessment Placement	Follow-up by Employment Counselor								
O.J.T.	Recruitment Pre - Voc Counseling Assessment	Placement Follow-up	→	→	→	→	→	Job Counseling	Final Employment	

→ Indicates continuation of previous process.

assignment (depending on client's program) each client will attend regularly-scheduled classes in motivation and preparedness.

B. Such courses will cover

(1) grooming
(2) personal attitude
(3) courtesies
(4) speech improvement
(5) employer-employee relations
(6) personnel requirements and qualities
(7) help with family problems
(8) consumer economics

III. Educational and Vocational Opportunity (Class Continuation)

A. Job entry and adjustment problems

B. Industry demands

C. Job market survey

D. Need for training

E. Where training may be received

IV. Job Marketing and Long-Range Planning (Class Continuation)

A. Where to look for jobs

B. How to apply

C. Reappraisal of self in the light of new knowledge

C. TIMETABLE

As soon as this proposal is approved, professional and non-professional staff will be employed and trained. Most of the staff are currently on the payroll of the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement, although some re-assignment of job duties will be necessary.

The neighborhood center staffs, especially the neighborhood workers who will provide recruitment and some follow-up services, will need a one-week training program administered by the CBETP staff in the manpower field. This will enable them to understand their vital role and to function more effectively.

Employment counselors assigned to the neighborhood centers will need a two-week training course in how the Employment Security System

operates and what it can and cannot do. They should each take the General Aptitude Test Battery and have the results interpreted so as to be able to talk with a client about testing. The job developers should visit small and large employers to learn about their needs and why certain qualifications must be set for certain jobs.

Following the two-week training program, neighborhood workers will begin referring clients to the neighborhood centers. The files of the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement will be searched for persons who can be assessed, counseled, and referred for training or for direct placement on employment. Referrals will be made to the Employment Security counselor for placement when there are no job orders available for the client on the CBETP files.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (Out-of-School) Program will be about through its first six-month period of operation. Enrollees will be assigned to the pre-vocational program at this time and listed for placement or further training at the close of their six months as an NYC enrollee.

One month after the approval of this proposal, staff employment and training will have completed and the program will be fully operative.

D. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION

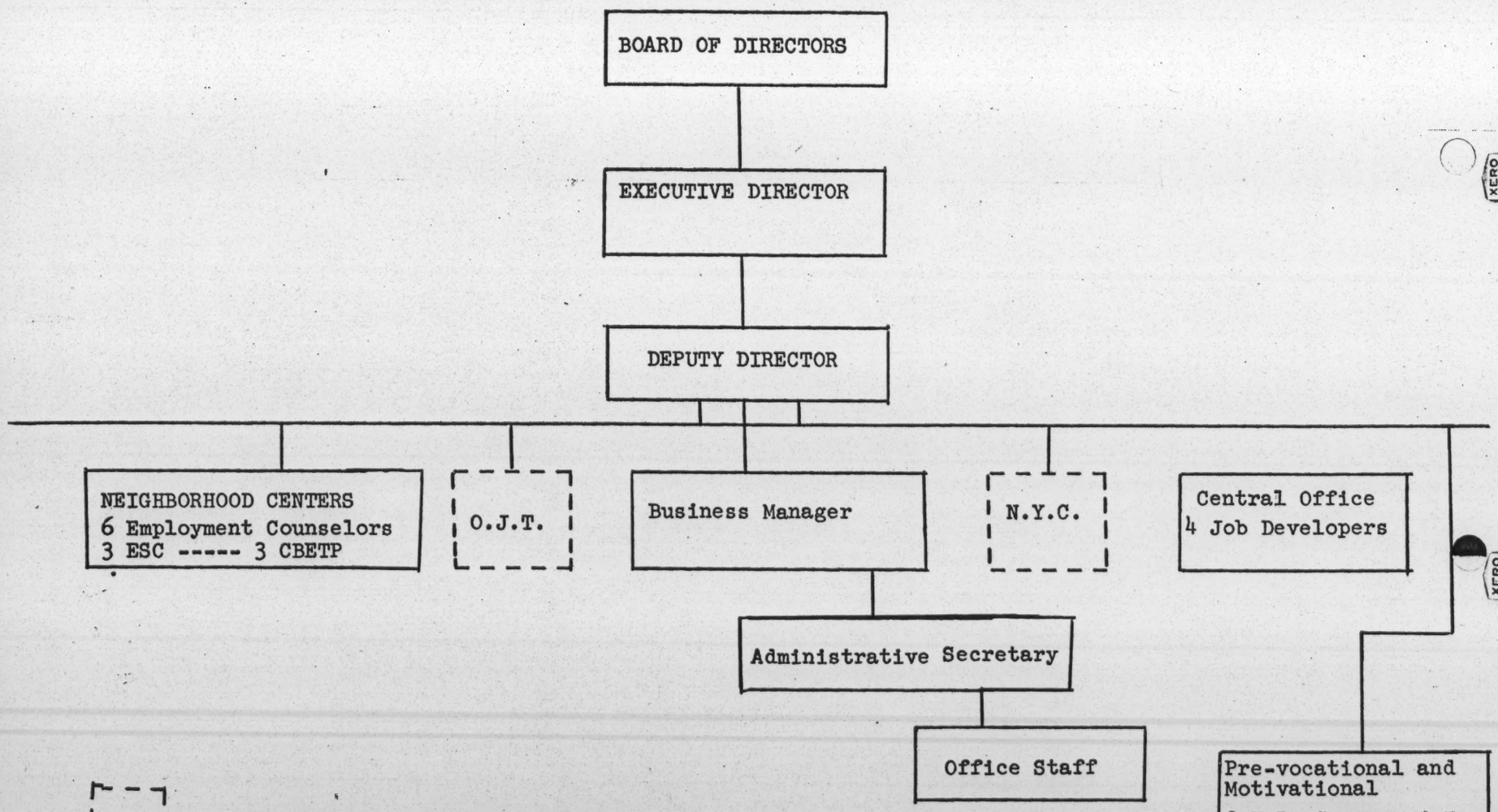
The project will be coordinated by the CBEPT which will be a delegate agency of the Charlotte Area Fund. The Bureau will coordinate the neighborhood workers of the neighborhood centers of the Charlotte Area Fund as far as recruitment and follow-up employment services are concerned. The Bureau will coordinate the Out-of-School Neighborhood Youth Corps and the On-the-Job Training Program, both of which are under the Bureau's administration. The Bureau will cooperate with the Employment Security Commission as far as placement and assessment are concerned. The Bureau will coordinate the proposed MDTA Institutional Job Center in cooperation with the Employment Security Commission and Central Piedmont Community College. The staff pattern of the Bureau is shown on the attached organizational chart.

E. EVALUATION

$7,830 of this budget has been earmarked for a third-party, objective evaluation of the program. This involves related records of every client served with special emphasis on gains in academic achievement, vocational skills, and income. Such records are essential to follow-up each client at regular intervals to determine how he is faring and to note problems which have developed. Employers will be asked to provide an evaluation of the clients referred to them by the project after a suitable length of time.

CHARLOTTE BUREAU ON EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND PLACEMENT

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



- - -Dotted lines indicates programs funded by the Labor Department.

F. RESIDENT PARTICIPATION

It is the desire of this component that "maximum feasible participation of residents and members of neighborhood organization be a fact."

Hiring of residents as program staff will serve to achieve closer identity with and better understanding of those served. This will also create new employment opportunities. Neighborhood workers along with receptionists and clerk-typists wherever possible will for the most part be residents of the poverty areas.

Advisory groups for the neighborhood centers are persons from the target areas. Meetings will be held monthly at each neighborhood center from residents.

The racial and ethnic composition of the Charlotte Area Fund Board of Directors and the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement, Inc., in addition to the two boards' relationship to the neighborhood organizations in the target area, assures maximum feasible participation in conduct and administration. An Advisory Board of agency heads will provide guidance to this program.

Following is a partial list of the organizations: Charlotte Area Fund, Chamber of Commerce, N. D. State Conference of Branches of the N.A.A.C.P., Charlotte Board of N.A.A.C.P., Mayor of Charlotte, Eastside Council on Community Affairs, Mayor's Committee on Community Relations, League of Women Voters, Clergymen's Christian and Civic Action Association, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Vocational Rehabilitation, Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs, Westside Council on Community Affairs.

G. STAFF TRAINING - SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION

All current employees of the Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement and the additional employees called for in this proposal will receive an intensive, comprehensive training experience as soon as possible after the approval of this grant application.

This training will be of a three-day duration, taking place in the vacinity of Charlotte but away from the regular press of family and job duties. The training program will be designed in cooperation with the Charlotte Area Fund's Director of Community Development and Staff Training. Also assisting in the design of the training program will be the Employment Security Commission professional staff and the Training Director of The North Carolina Fund.

Major points to be covered in the training include:

1. The nature of the labor market situation in the Charlotte area.

2. The role and function of the Employment Security Commission Office.

3. The role of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in Local manpower.

4. The role and function of the Manpower Development and Training Act as related to institutional training.

5. The manner in which counseling can be effectively conducted for low-income, disadvantaged individuals.

6. Assessment as related to low-income individuals. This will include psychological evaluation, academic testing, aptitude testing, and subjective evaluation of clients.

7. How the entire family of low-income residents can be served through the neighborhood service centers and the other community resources in Charlotte.

The training will be conducted by having various resource persons from community agencies and from The North Carolina Fund come in. These persons will present various aspects of the program in a well-illustrated, meaningful manner, followed by small group discussions and questions and answers. When appropriate, role playing devices will be used to illustrate certain points about communication and counseling in recruiting.

The neighborhood workers employed by the Charlotte Area Fund will participate in the training program so as to be able to effectively conduct the out-reach program which is the essential beginning step in the comprehensive manpower program. The entire staff resources of the Charlotte Area Fund will be made available to the Bureau in planning, organizing, and conducting the training program.

SCOPE OF DELEGATION

a. The delegate agency will have primary responsibility for carrying out the component project including the work of the OIC motivational program, while at the same time maintaining a close working relationship with the Charlotte Area Fund. This cooperative relationship is insured through joint staff meetings, and conferences, and the location of staff in the Charlotte Area Fund neighborhood centers.

b. The Charlotte Bureau on Employment, Training and Placement has been designated by the Charlotte Area Fund as the agency to administer the employment aspects of the Economic Opportunity Program in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County. Non-profit status has been obtained. The Bureau

is already engaging in activities related to job development and job placement.

c. The Charlotte Area Fund will supervise the activities of the delegate agency by requiring periodic progress and financial reports to the Program Planning Committee of its Board, through periodic consultations between the Executive Director and staff of the delegate agency. The activities of the delegate agency will be coordinated by the applicant agency through the neighborhood centers and other joint programs.

REVISED

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT

This form is to accompany each component project form (CAP 6, CAP 7, or CAP 8) in applying for a grant under Sections 204, 205, or 206 of Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Applicants are not required to use this form -- they may substitute a typed budget which contains the same information in the same order as on the form.

NAME OF APPLICANT	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*
Charlotte Area Fund, Inc.	

BRIEF TITLE OF PROJECT	COMPONENT PROJECT NO.
Comprehensive Manpower Program	7-13

B-1.0 **PERSONNEL**

B-1.1 **PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY**

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY APPLICANT AGENCY $

B-1.2 **PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES)**

NUMBER OF PERSONS	POSITION OR TITLE	SALARY PER MONTH	PERCENT OF TIME ON PROJECT	MONTHS TO BE EMPLOYED	COST
	SEE ATTACHED LISTING				
	Total Federal				245,885

COST OF FRINGE BENEFITS *(Indicate basis for estimate)*

APPROVED

SUB-TOTAL, PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY(IES) $ 245,885

TOTAL, PERSONNEL $ 245,885

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REVISED

APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

BUDGET FOR COMPONENT PROJECT *(Continued)*

B-2.0 CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES

B-2.1 CONSULTANT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR FEE ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
Training Consultants	See Attached Description	$ 1,740
Medical Exams	See Attached Description	3,000
	SUB-TOTAL CONSULTANT SERVICES	$ 4,740

APPROVED

B-2.2 OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES

NATURE OF SERVICES	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	FEE TO BE PAID
Psychological Services	See Attached Description	$ 3,000
Auditing	See Attached Description	~~2,000~~ 1,000
	SUB-TOTAL, OTHER CONTRACT SERVICES	$ ~~5,000~~ 4,000
	TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	$ ~~9,740~~ 8,740

APPROVED

B-3.0 TRAVEL

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Local, Out-of-County, Air, Client - For Staff	See Attached Description	$ ~~9,023~~ 9,830
~~Local~~	~~See Attached Description~~	~~1,920~~
	TOTAL, TRAVEL COSTS	$ ~~10,943~~ 9,830

B-4.0 SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Rent - Federal Share	See Attached Description	$ ~~11,602~~ 10,312
Space Costs	See Attached Description	~~6,000~~ 1,562
Renovation	Basic Estimate	200
	TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$ ~~17,802~~ 12,070

APPROVED

B-5.0 CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Consumable Supplies	See Attached Description	$ ~~2,156~~ 2,812
Postage	See Attached Description	1,192
	TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	$ ~~3,348~~ 4,000

APPROVED

B-6.0 RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Desk Items	See Attached Description	$ 485
Purchase of Furniture	See Attached Description	4,898
Rental of Equipment	See Attached Description	1,125
	TOTAL, RENTAL, LEASE, OR PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	$ ~~6,508~~ 6,020

APPROVED

APPROVED

B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

ITEM	BASIS FOR COST ESTIMATE	COST
Telephone, Conferences, Checks, Ins., Brochure, Evaluation, McBee System, etc.	See Attached Itemization & Descriptions	$ ~~15,223~~ 9,785
	TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	$ ~~15,223~~ 9,785
	GRAND TOTAL, COST OF COMPONENT PROJECT	$ ~~309,449~~ 296,330

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Revised

PERSONNEL EMPLOYED BY DELEGATE AGENCY

NO.	POSITION	SALARY PER MO.	% OF TIME	MONTHS	COST
1	Executive Director	$1000.00	100%	15	$15,000
1	Deputy Director	833.33	100%	15	12,500
1	Business Manager	700.00	100%	15	10,500
4	Job Developers	583.33	100%	15	35,000
3	Employment Representatives	500.00	100%	15	22,500
1	Administrative Secretary	375.00	100%	15	5,625
3	Clerk-Typist	300.00	100%	15	13,500
2	Record Clerk	250.00	100%	15	7,500
3	Employment Security Counselors	562.00	100%	15	25,290
1	Driver Messenger	333.33	100%	15	5,000
1	Senior Counselor	700.00	100%	15	10,500
2	Counselors	550.00	100%	15	16,500
3	Teachers	500.00	100%	15	22,500
2	Neighborhood Workers	300.00	100%	15	9,000
1	Secretary	325.00	100%	15	4,875
1	Record Clerk	250.00	100%	15	3,750
		Subtotal, Personnel			$219,540

APPROVED

Fringe Benefits

12% of total salaries for Workmen's Compensation, Social Security, Life Insurance, Disability Insurance, and Hospital Insurance	26,345
Total, Personnel	$245,885

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REVISED

~~B-2.1~~

CONSULTANTS AND CONTRACT SERVICES

CONSULTANT SERVICES

Consultants for Training

1 Day per Month at $100 for 15 months	$1,500
Per Diem - 15 Days at $16	240
Total, Training Consultants	1,740

APPROVED

Medical Examinations

$10 each for 300 examinations to be used in the event any client needs special medical care in order to be considered for a job and he cannot afford the examination.	$3,000
Total, Medical Exams	$3,000
TOTAL, CONSULTANTS SERVICES	$4,740

APPROVED

CONTRACT SERVICES

Psychological Services for Consultation on Counseling and Testing

The psychologist will assume professional responsibility for the psychological testing program. He will train professional personnel in the administration and interpretation of appropriate individual and group measures of interests, personality, and academic achievement. In addition, he will provide consultation in the matter of personal counseling.

Final arrangements have not been worked out with a psychologist; but it is estimated that daily consultation will be approximately $75 per day. This will permit 40 days of consultation within 15 months. $3,000

Total, Psychological Ser.	$3,000

APPROVED

Auditing

100 ~~200~~ hours of audit and consultation service at $10 per hr.	~~$2,000~~	1,000
Total, Auditing	~~$2,000~~	1,000
TOTAL, CONTRACT SERVICES	~~$5,000~~	4,000

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REVISED

B-3.0 TRAVEL

Note: All mileage cost are based on 8¢ per mile; and all per diem is based on $16 per day.

LOCAL TRAVEL

Executive Director	300 miles per month $24.00 X 15 months	$ 360
Employment Representatives, Accountant, Administrative Assistant	600 miles per month $48.00 X 15 months	720
4 Job Developers - 600 miles each (Mileage computed from past figures show that these people will drive an average of 150 miles per week)	2,400 miles per week $192.00 X 15 months	2,880
4 Motivational Counselors	200 miles each per month or 800 miles per month $64.00 X 15 months	960
2 Neighborhood Workers	200 miles each per week $128.00 X 15 months	1,920
	Sub-total, Local Travel	$6,840

OUT-OF-COUNTY TRAVEL

1,500 ~~10,000~~ miles at an average of ~~300~~ miles per trip to areas of: Durham, Raleigh and visits to other project areas, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.	$ ~~800~~ 120
20 days per diem	320
Sub-total, Out-Of-County Travel	$~~1,120~~ 440

AIR TRAVEL

~~$50 per month for 15 months~~	~~750~~ 400
~~13~~ 8 days per diem @ $16 /day	~~208~~ 128
Sub-total, Air Travel	$ ~~958~~ 528

CLIENT TRAVEL

Lease of Volkswagon Bus - $83 per month for 15 months	1,245
Transportation will be provided for clients in the hard core areas to and from designated areas in the neighborhood to the centers. Groups of clients who will attend group counseling sessions will be transported by bus to the counselors. Community groups will be transported to the central manpower office for public relations and to have a better understanding of the inter activities of the Bureau.	
Mileage - 600 miles per week for 65 wks. @.02 per mile - 39,000 miles	780
Sub-total, Client Travel	$2,025
TOTAL, TRAVEL	$~~10,943~~ 9,833

APPROVED

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B-4.0 SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS

RENT - FEDERAL SHARE

3.000 ~~3,375~~ square feet at $2.75 per square foot per year for 15 months	$~~11,602~~	10,312

Note: After checking local prices for office space per square foot, the average price is $2.75 to $4.50 per square foot. We hope to find space at $2.75 per square foot.

Total, Federal Rent	$~~11,602~~	10,312

SPACE COSTS---NON-FEDERAL SHARE

1,000 ~~4,800~~ square feet of space in the school building of the Brandon Presbyterian Church at $1.25 per square foot per year less $1,200 per year to be paid to the church for utilities and maintenance is $7,500 per 15-months minus $1,500	$ ~~6,000~~	1,562
Total, Non-Federal Space Costs	$ ~~6,000~~	1,562

RENOVATION - FEDERAL SHARE

Repairs and Renovations	Estimate of Cost	APPROVED $	200
	Total, Federal Renovation	$	200

TOTAL, SPACE COSTS AND RENTALS	$~~17,802~~	12,074

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B-5.0 CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES

30 ~~23~~ employees at $6.25 per month for 15 months	~~$2,156~~	2,812
Total, Consumable Supplies	~~$2,156~~	2,812

POSTAGE

Regular correspondence for letters - $30 per month for 15 months	$	450
Postal cards for contacting clients who cannot be reached by phone for jobs - $12 per month for 15 months		180
Newsletter postage - 300 per month at .01¼ each = $37.50 per mo. or $562 for 15 months		562
Total, Postage	$1,192	
TOTAL, CONSUMABLE SUPPLIES	~~$3,348~~	4,004

APPROVED

B-6.0 RENTALS, LEASE, PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT

DESK ITEMS

13 fully-equipped desks for new employees @ $25 per desks for items such as: desk pads, calendars, pens, staplers, etc.	~~$325.00~~
4 partially-equipped desks for new employees @ $10 each	~~40.00~~
$10 a month for items used by all and additions for present staff: for 15 months -- Example of items are: Bulletin boards, line riters flip charts, etc.	~~120.00~~
Total, Desk Items	~~$485.00~~

No Allowed

Note: All the following items are listed at GSA prices except used equipment. If purchased locally, these items will be purchased at prices equal to those of GSA. After taking inventory of all present furniture these are the only items needed to be purchased.

3	Single right pedestal desks @ $53each	GSA 7110-270-9842	159.00
3	Typewriter Stands @ $12.25 each	GSA 7110-663-6371	36.75
4	Secretarial chairs @ $21.65 each	GSA 7110-273-8791	86.60
1	Conference type desk	GSA 7110-687-8017	119.00
1	Auxilary table	GSA 7110-687-8988	29.50
64	Folding chairs @ $2.55 each	GSA 7105-269-8463	163.20
20	Side chairs @ $10.20 each	GSA 7110-082-6225	204.00
1	Swivel Posture chair	GSA 7110-262-6690	48.20
3	Steel office tables @ $20 each	GSA 7110-753-6356	60.00
6	Desk lamps @ $16.70 each	GSA 6230-643-2075	100.20
7	2-drawer filing cabinets with lock @ $30 each	GSA 7110-[illegible]5489	210.00
3	5-drawer filing cabinets with lock @ $55 each	GSA 7110-286-3796	165.00
5	Wearing apparel rack		
	1	GSA 7195-275-5825	19.00
	4	GSA 7195-275-5824	40.00
12	Folding tables @ $38 each		456.00
3	IBM Electric Typewriters @ $450 each	GSA 00S-54844 Item No. 47-9	1350.00
2	Royal Manual Typewriters, Empress No. MC-13, Item No. 47-11 @ $215 each	GSA 00S-54852	430.00
3	Used Royal Manual Typewriters @ $100 each		300.00
1	Remington Printing Calculator	GSA 50-103 Model 9912	500.00
4	Double Pedestal Desk @ $78 each	GSA 7110-753-6349	312.00
4	Posture Chairs @ $27.40 each	GSA 7110-089-6792	109.60
	Total, Purchase of Furniture		$4,898.00

APPROVED

RENTAL

$75 per month for 15 months Model 330 (GSA Contract) Xerox machine. This machine is used for the Manpower office for

making copies of employment articles that only one copy is received.

APPROVED

Total, Rental of Equipment	$1125.00
TOTAL, RENTAL AND PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT	~~$6508.00~~ 6,023.00

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B-7.0 OTHER COSTS

CHECKS

2000 two-fold snap-apart checks $ 120.00

INSURANCE

APPROVED

General Liability	20.00
Automobile Insurance (Travelers' Insurance Company	200.00
Total, Insurance	$ 220.00

RELATED COSTS FOR FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT

Repairs and service contracts on office equipment and machines such as: typewriters, calculator $ 200.00

APPROVED

Total, Related Costs for Furniture and Equipment $ 200.00

XEROX SUPPLIES

Webs, toner and cleaner $ 150.00

APPROVED

Total, Xerox Supplies $ 150.00

BROCHURE

For wide distribution to low-income residents and general public. The brochure will give a general idea of the services offered in the Bureau. To be run on mimeograph supplies. $ 300.00

APPROVED

Total, Brochure $ 300.00

CONFERENCES, REGISTRATION AND TUITION

Attending meetings of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission that will be held in the southern area and some in other areas. Any other conferences, seminars or meetings related to the employment situation in the immediate area $ 900.00

APPROVED

Total, Conferences, Registration and Tuition $ 900.00

BULK RATE PERMIT

The bulk rate permit will have to be purchased in order to mail the newsletter at .01¼ postage. $ 45.00

APPROVED

Total, Bulk Rate Permit $ 45.00

McBEE SYSTEM

McBee Filing System Contract #6S-00S - 56254 Dist. Code C-109

5000	Cards	$ 310.00	
3	Keysorter @ $4.20 each	16.80	
3	Alig. Block @ $3.70 each	14.80	
3	Handpunchers @ $7.95 each	31.80	
3	Cabinets @ $31.50 each	126.00	
4 sets	Alpha. guides @ $5.46 each set	21.84	
		$ ~~525.44~~	521.00
	Total, McBee System	$ ~~525.44~~	521.00

Note: The McBee filing system is needed to simplify the locating of clients to fill the job orders. It will reduce time and a cross-reference file system will not be needed.

EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL

Competent material in the field of motivation to be used for working with people from poverty areas, research materials to be used as guidelines to establish curriculum for motivational programs. APPROVED $ 200.00

Total, Educational Material $ 200.00

TEACHING AIDS

3	Portable Blackboards at $22.10 each	$ 66.30	
2	Gross White Chalk at .45 1/2 gross	1.90	
½	Gross Yellow Chalk at $1.30 ½gross	1.30	
12	Blackboard Erasers at .19 each	2.28	
1000	Writing Portfolios at .33 each	330.00	
39	Standard pkgs. White ruled Pads at $1.20 per pkg.	46.80	
3	Pencil Sharpeners at .77 each	2.31	
84	Dozen #2 Lead Pencils at .13 per doz.	10.92	
		$ ~~561.81~~	461.00

Note: All above prices as those of GSA
Note: These items will be used by all teachers and students for the entire 15-month period.

Total, Teaching Aids $ ~~561.81~~ 461.00

MIMEOGRAPH SUPPLIES

Ink, Stencils, Correction Fluid, Blotters, Reams of Paper - $10 per month APPROVED $ 375.00

Total, Mimeograph Supplies $ 375.00

MOVING

Estimate of Weathers Bros. - $28 per hr for 1 van and 2 men APPROVED $ 200.00

Total, Moving $ 200.00

EVALUATION

3 per cent of total Federal budget for an objective third-party evaluation and maintenance of records for such. (a maximum of 25 days @$100/day or various combinations of days and fees within the total amount allocated)	~~$7,830~~	2,500
Total, Evaluation	~~$7,830~~	2,500
TOTAL, OTHER COSTS	~~$15,223~~	9,788

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SLEP

LABOR'S PARTICIPATION IN

THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY

The labor movement has struck great blows against poverty since the day the first union was organized. By its growth in membership and its negotiation of contracts, it has raised the wages, lowered the hours of work and improved the living standards of all American workers. Today, through 150,000 contracts, it continues to drive for better conditions and to protect workers against the hazards of ill health, old age and unemployment.

On the legislative front, labor works with increasing effectiveness for the enrichment of the entire community and the abolition of insecurity and poverty from all corners of the nation. Education was one of its first public causes and holds high priority today. Minimum wages, unemployment and workmens compensation, housing, area development, social security, equal pay rates, civil rights, health facilities, medical care for the aged, and manpower development stand out as examples of labor's attacks on poverty through government. In addition, local councils and unions have worked with public and voluntary agencies everywhere to bring help to those in need.

Fundamental to all these efforts is labor's drive for an expanding economy. An increased gross national product, increased purchasing power and more jobs are essential if poverty is to be abolished. The Full Employment Act of 1946 stated basic policy and labor has supported many measures to bring it to fulfillment. The nation's success in this respect has been phenomenal, with record-breaking production and profits.

Despite today's prosperity, one-fifth of the population is poverty stricken, according to the Government's yardstick of a $3,000 income for a family of four and $1,500 for an individual. A year ago, President Johnson estimated their number at 35 million Americans. A recent Social Security Administration study finds that 50 million Americans "live within the bleak circle of poverty or at least hover around its edge."

Who Are the Poor?

Approximately one-third of the poverty-stricken families are made up of people past 65 years of age. For them the recent improvements in social security, the new provisions for hospital and medical care, and the pension improvements continually negotiated by unions are of great help, although no cure to the problem.

About 22% of the poor are Negro and minority groups. Poverty for them is twice as prevalent as among the whites. Hence the importance of civil rights legislation and of educational campaigns by unions and all citizens for better civil rights practices.

Approximately 61% of the poverty families are headed by a person with no more than an eighth grade education. Many of these people are functional illiterates. They need basic education, in reading and writing, as well as vocational training. Hence the importance of the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965 and of the special schools and grants offered by labor and other institutions.

One-fourth of the poverty families have no male head. The father has died, or deserted, or perhaps never assumed his parental responsibility. The mothers and children in these families often need long-term welfare, educational and guidance assistance.

Significantly, over half of the poverty families (55% by the 1962 census) are headed by persons working at relief level wages, or working intermittently due to seasonal work, plant shutdowns, sickness, etc., or seeking work unsuccessfully. For these people, the AFL-CIO seeks universal coverage by minimum wage legislation at higher levels, a shorter workweek with higher overtime rates, improved unemployment and workmen's compensation, more manpower training, an enlarged public works program and other job-creating measures.

The Economic Opportunity Act

In January 1964, President Johnson called for an "unconditional war on poverty in America" in his message to Congress. In March he transmitted his proposed bill, the Economic Opportunity Act, which declared that it is the "policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this nation." President Meany immediately congratulated the President and characterized the bill as imaginative, vastly important and praiseworthy. In his statement and in his subsequent testimony supporting the bill, Mr. Meany noted that additional measures, such as those mentioned above, were also needed.

On July 23, 1964, the Senate, after inserting two states' rights amendments, passed the bill with 61 votes (51 D and 10 R) for it and 34 votes (12 D and 22 R) against it.

On August 7, 1964 the House, after a hair-raising 170-135 teller vote to kill the bill entirely, reversed its action by a favorable roll call vote of 225-197. The final vote came the next day with 226 votes (D-204 and R-22) for and 184 votes (D-40 and R-144) against.

Appropriations were made available in October. The Office of Economic Opportunity immediately shifted into high gear, under the leadership of Director Sargent Shriver and Deputy Director Jack Conway, formerly Executive Director of IUD, AFL-CIO.

In 1965 President Johnson requested continuation of the program with an authorization for $1.5 billion for the next year. President Meany testified in April that the AFL-CIO was "encouraged by the imagination and vigor that have characterized the implementation of the Act thus far" and supported amendments to remove the states' right vetoes.

In July the House rebuffed a Republican attempt to save the governors' veto powers and reduce the money authorization by a vote of 227 to 178. It then passed the bill with an authorization for $1.985 billion by a vote of 245 (D-221 and R-24) for and 158 (D-48 and R-110) against. Similar favorable action was taken later by the Senate.

The title of the Economic Opportunity Act is significant. It does not attempt to meet all the causes of poverty. It is not an old-age bill, nor an educational, welfare or job-creating measure. It is intended primarily to help the poor obtain training, counselling and various kinds of assistance so as to take advantage of economic opportunity and thus become self-supporting. It is to help the "other America" break into the world of work and self-respect.

Thus the Job Corps camps are to teach young men and women better living habits and fundamental work habits. The Neighborhood Youth Corps teaches work habits to youth living at home by providing work in the public interest in the neighborhood. The Work-Study Program finances jobs for youth working their way through college. The Adult Work Experience Program finances state projects to give present and potential relief clients basic experience and training that will lead them to regular employment.

Grants to states are available for adult basic education, where needed for employment, and also for assistance to migrants. Low interest loans for farmers and cooperatives are financed through the Department of Agriculture. Similar loans for small business concerns are financed through the Small Business Administration.

The Community Action Programs are to be comprehensive, co-ordinated programs developed at the grass-roots level by local, community-wide committees which should include representatives from labor, minority groups and the poor themselves. Such programs may include neighborhood centers, day care centers, consumer counselling, legal aid, health assistance, home management classes, housing programs, neighborhood development, vocational rehabilitation, manpower development, etc. The scope of such activities is limited only by practicality.

Labor's Participation in OEO

Labor's importance in the poverty war was recognized immediately by President Johnson's appointment of two labor members to the 14 member National Advisory Council. They were A. Philip Randolph, Vice President of the AFL-CIO and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,

and Miles C. Stanley, President of the West Virginia AFL-CIO.

In December, Sargent Shriver created a special Labor Advisory Council. Its members are: David Sullivan, President of the Building Service Employees International Union, Chairman; Finlay C. Allen, Vice President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Milton Fried, Director of Research, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Nathaniel Goldfinger, Director, Department of Research, AFL-CIO; Max Greenberg, President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union; C.J. Haggerty, President, Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO; Leonard Lesser, Assistant to the President, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; Leo Perlis, Director, Community Services Department, AFL-CIO; W. Vernie Reed, Vice President, International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America; Lawrence Rogin, Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO; Barney Weeks, President, Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and, Peter Brown, Special International Representative, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The Labor Advisory Council met with Director Shriver in late January to receive a comprehensive briefing on the OEO organization and program. Since then it has had many additional conferences and has personally inspected a Community Action Program and a Job Corps center. In February, President Meany wrote all state and local central bodies and the national unions stating that our affiliated organizations should become integral and active parts of the anti-poverty committees and should help in the development of projects. He later appointed Miles C. Stanley to be his Assistant in the national AFL-CIO with special responsibility to the poverty field.

During the late spring, AFL-CIO staff officials met with some 1,500 officers of the state and local central bodies to explain the programs and urge participation. Written inquiries were sent to those bodies asking for reports on progress and labor participation where community projects had been started and also whether assistance was needed in starting projects. Replies indicated that 128 labor representatives were participating in 118 projects in 25 different states.

The AFL-CIO has also prepared and distributed 10,000 copies of a 44-page pamphlet describing all the OEO programs and giving suggestions as to what central bodies, labor councils and local unions can do to participate effectively. A shorter leaflet giving similar information is now available for wider distribution to our members and friends.

Labor's contribution to the poverty program has been of different varieties. On the level of national policy, AFL-CIO has followed through on President Meany's 1964 testimony that all work projects should pay at least the federal minimum wage of $1.25 for all hours worked. This has been accepted administratively by the agencies involved.

In many states, labor has instigated poverty programs by calling conferences of those who should be interested and helping them to develop their plans and requests for funds. It has always insisted on representation from all groups in the communities, including the minorities, the poor and labor itself. It has guided work projects to see that they do not displace employed workers, impair existing contracts for services or involve training in occupations that are already over-crowded. Unions have assisted in recruitment for the various OEO agencies and in a few instances have joined as sponsors of specific projects.

Labor's Future Role

Labor has sponsored all of the many measures directed toward the elimination of poverty, including the current Economic Opportunity Act, but we have just begun our part in the final campaign to eliminate the misery that still dominates the lives of one-fifth of our citizens. For the final victory we must sharpen our objectives and perfect our procedures.

President Meany has written the international unions asking them to designate specific officials for responsibility in coordination and development of the anti-poverty programs. State and local central bodies should do likewise, perhaps establishing committees whose members will specialize in respective anti-poverty undertakings. Some personnel will be desired in new skills for reaching the drop-outs, the unmotivated and those who have withdrawn from society into the psychological comfort of isolation. Seminars and state or area conferences will be needed to give our people the tools and information required for their leadership in their communities.

Labor has a unique opportunity to contribute from its heritage and its experience. It can work easily with community leaders and with the poor themselves, with benefit to labor as well as the nation. It can and will provide leadership and initiative at the local level throughout the country and, as the program comes to grips with specific problems, labor will participate in the solutions. When revisions or new concepts are needed, the labor representatives will help provide those ideas and develop the new programs. It is now within our grasp to wipe out poverty. Organized labor must help achieve that goal in our life time.

(Preliminary Draft)

A New Look at Workers and Labor Education Today

by Hy Kornbluh

The main thesis of this brief paper is that university labor education programs (and perhaps the education programs of the trade union movement) must re-examine their assumptions and initiate a broader view of their function than the now traditional "labor education" framework in which we operate. The need to readopt and adapt the "workers education" approach of the 20's and 30's - the education for effective leadership and citizenship of organized <u>and unorganized</u> workers' leaders and potential leaders - is now apparent in light of two recent major events:

a) the "rediscovery of poverty in the U.S. and
b) the Negro revolt - which, in substantial measure is, and will become even more, a revolt of underprivileged workers against economic deprivation.

It is the contention here that the university programs have a responsibility to begin to experiment with programs of educational service for the underprivileged fifth of the American labor force in their quest for economic, political and social representation in American society.

It is hoped that this draft will serve to open up a constructive discussion on its contents.

* * * * * * * * * *

<u>The Development of Workers and Labor Education in the U.S.</u>

The historical roots of workers education in the U.S. dating back to the mechanics institutes of the 1800's need not be reviewed here. Most important to our discussion is the workers education movement of the 1920's and 30's.

Among the early participants in worker education programs were the University of Wisconsin, the University of California, Bryn Mawr and some others. An additional source of leadership training was the summer schools and programs recruited for and developed by YWCA industrial secretaries like Hilda Smith and Alice Hanson Cook. The Workers' Education Bureau, which later evolved into the Education Department of the AFL, also started in this period. Brookwood College was a focal point as a long-term residential program. Finally, a major source of education

and training for workers and worker leaders was the WPA Workers Education Program which emerged in the early 30's and continued until the end of that decade.

All of these predated the emergence of the drive for industrial organization which started in the mid 30's. They formed the basis for the educational movement which developed along side of the unionism of the 30's. Out of this came the development of the educational arms of the unions of the late 30's and 40's. Some of the leaders of the new unionism in the 30's were products of the educational work done in the 20's and 30's.

In his book, Intellectuals in Labor Unions, Professor Harold Wilensky pointed out how heavily indebted a large number of present-day labor leaders are for their training to the early pioneering efforts in workers education.

Although its major objective was to provide work for unemployed teachers, the WPA program of the 30's was a good example of the adaptation to emerging and changing needs of the working population. To quote Lawrence Rogin, the program "worked on a community basis with a wide variety of programs, all the way from literacy to training in discussion leadership. This program worked with established unions which were growing, with new unions just being set up, with organizations of the unemployed, and with unorganized workers. It developed materials to meet the specific needs as they became apparent and found teachers, many of whom had never thought of teaching workers and others who had not been trained as teachers at all. It was a flexible program, and in its program planning and informal work it adapted to needs as they emerged and found ways to search for needs".

What's Happening Today

Now the nation is in the midst of another vast social and economic development, posing new problems and challenges to our present educational systems. Professor Andrew Hacker, of Cornell University summarized the social transofrmation in these words: "It may well be that two Americas are emerging, one a society protected by the corporate umbrella, and the other a society whose members have failed to affiliate themselves with the dominant institutions.

"What of the second America? In part it will consist of

small business men and other independent spirits who manage to do well without corporate attachments. But more importantly, it will be comprised of the unemployed, the ill-educated, and the entire residue of human beings who are not needed by the corporate machine."[1]

The sociologist, S. M. Miller, recently examined the extent and significance of this poverty in the "Other America", to use Michael Harrington's apt phrase, but Miller drew quite different conclusions than Harrington's portrayal of the poor as "passive, inert and apathetic, lacking generally the capacity for action". Professor Miller saw the underprivileged and low-income groups as forming a new "working class" which does participate in meaningful social action. Two examples which he cited are the movements of the aged from the Townsend Plan to the fight for Medicare, and the Negro revolution which has involved vast numbers from the "Other America".[2]

A significant characteristic of these movements is the drive to develop adequate economic and social and political representation. New organizations, new leaders and ideas emerge in this context. Far too frequently little, if any, attention is given to the task of educating the new leaders, aiding the social movements in creating responsible community organizations with meaningful orientation and widening the horizons of individuals in these groups. In terms of the Negroes, for example, Professor Miller made the point that, "We are consequently moving into a situation where we have, to a large extent, a white union movement which is declining in terms of its coverage of the labor force, and the emergence of a new "colored" labor force which is highly exploited economically and is outside of the unions, and the main economic structure of the United States."[3]

This problem currently, however, is not just a "Negro" problem. Professor Miller has pointed out that the poor in urban areas today are still predominantly white.

University Labor Education Today

The current program at universities find their roots in those pioneering efforts on the part of the University of Wisconsin and Bryn Mawr, and in the post World War II spurt in the setting up of

[1] New York Times, Sept. 7, 1963

[2] "Poverty, Race and Politics", S. M. Miller, Syracuse University Revised draft of mimeo paper, May 1963.

[3] op. cit

labor and industrial relations institutes paralleling the recognition of contemporary industrial relations problems on the part of America society generally.

The main framework for these programs emerged in a period during which consolidation, if not rapid expansion, of unionism was taking place. The needs of the trade union movement throughout the late 30's, the decade of the 40's and the early 50's, for leadership development and skilled training for local union and staff leadership continued to expand during this period. Unions emerged as the main channel to reach the broad mass of workers. As significant groups in the community, paralleling the farm and management groups which were already getting substantial services from the universities and its agencies, they rightfully asked for, and have received, educational services from universities.

In the last two years two important trends have developed. We have "rediscovered" poverty (and a substantial new literature is developing about it); and there has been the emergence of the civil rights of Negro revolution which, at least in part is a revolution of workers against economic deprivation.

These two developments have highlighted some extremely important problems for those concerned with the working population of the country.

Though unions still are a major channel to large sections of the underprivileged, low-income group in this country, and though unions spend a good amount of their resources on solutions to these problems, educationally they cannot reach all of the members and emerging and potential leaders of these groups.

Although some of the needs of trade union groups serviced by university labor education programs and groups in the lowest income categories of the population overlap considerably, a look at the lowest income group by itself indicates some more elemental needs than perhaps are met by the programs offered by the universities to trade union groups today.

Low wage Union Shops Serviced Textiles Small towns.

Therefore, a broader approach in the older workers education tradition now ought to be considered and experimented with. There is a clear responsibility on the part of the university programs to do this. We now have a substantial workers group that is beginning a long-term attempt to raise itself economically,

Is there plenty to do where we are?, or do individual labor ed. have a lagging interest in their jobs?,

politically, and socially into the mainstream of American society. Though currently the most highly visible attempts are on the part of Negro leadership organizations on behalf of the Negro population, this is not necessarily the long-run extent of the movement. Union and university labor education programes have had real experience with the type of individual who would be involved since they have worked with groups in low paid jobs in many labor education programs already.

An interesting precedent to this approach is also apparent in the history of workers education in Great Britain. A look at the book called "Oxford and Working Class Education" published in 1908 containing the agreement between a group of Oxford dons representing the university and representatives of the broad labor movement emerging in Great Britain at that time, indicates the will and the responsibility of the university for providing education for the leaders of this emerging group in British society. This agreement recognized that the labor movement at that time was moving into the position of potentially sharing leadership in British society. Out of this understanding emerged the three year tutorial class of the British WEA in co-operation with the Oxford University which then spread to other British Universities.

What Problems Emerge Therefore in Considering This Broader Approach?

Without being exhaustive the list would include problems of 1) identifying needs and the methods of servicing them; 2) recruitment; 3) financing the programs.

These will be only briefly and generally discussed, since much thought and consideration for local circumstances must go into any extended discussion on this. Some of these ideas are based on a preliminary survey of the Detroit area.

Needs

1) Just as with fledgling union leaders, the leaders in these groups feel the need for the tools of leadership: public speaking, parliamentary procedure, elementary group skills, and organizational administration.

2) The WPA workers education program of the 30's found itself doing literacy training as its program offerings adjusted to the needs of the worker of that period and his leaders. The need is obvious today, too, among the low income groups. Reading efficiency programs, tied in with substantive subject matter programs

will find an enthusiastic reception among those recruited.

3) Learning about the social, political and economic environment in which they find themselves was a need of those who sought to represent the unskilled and semi-skilled in the 20's and 30's and holds equally true today for the leaders and potential leaders of these groups. Finding decent jobs is the basic focus of the low-income groups as they attempt to secure a decent place in American society. Although currently the main thrust of Negro leadership organizations is for civil rights legislation, many of these leaders are already talking about the economics of expanding job opportunities.

Today, it is only a short step from the above-mentioned needs to the training and retrianing needs of a substantial portion of the low-income working population. This is becoming increasingly so among the youth and young adults. The view of the relationship of "workers" or "labor" education to this crucial problem may vary among practictioners but it warrants discussion nevertheless.

As to educational methods for servicing these needs, an approach of experimentation and flexibility if called for. The WPA programs developed materials, methods, and teachers as the needs arose. Certainly some of the materials developed for union groups will be very relevant. On the other hand, some significant differences in needs, approaches, and materials and methods to satisfy these needs are bound to show up.

Recruitment

The WPA program was a community-based program. It recruited participants through unions, social and fraternal organizations, and wherever it could. A major contact for recruiting students for the Bryn Mawr summer schools for working women were the YWCA Industrial Secretaries. Perhaps the YWCA still exists as a channel to working women potential leaders in today's urban areas.

In addition, there are basic channels into the Negro, Puerto Rican and Spanish-American populations in the urban areas today many of which did not exist a few years ago. The block-club movement which has developed in some cities, would be one such entry into working-class neighborhoods. It is apparent in Detroit that many of these contacts are eager to co-operate and are looking for just such an educational program. Given the social, economic and political problems their members face, they are aware of the educational needs described above.

Financing

Again this depends on the circumstances of each university program. At the very least, some initial experimentation in the directions set forth here is warranted on the part of university labor programs operating in major urban centers in the country. Some of the programmatic needs may be better satisfied through joint endeavors of labor education programs and other university service agencies or public and private community agencies and projects.

Time for a New Look

We are living in a new time of rapid change and perhaps upheaval. At times it has been incumbent upon voluntary and public agency to adjust to the needs of the situation whether it was the adjustment of the American education system to the needs of the immigrant family or the change in the government's view of its role in the organization of the unskilled. New groups are now on the industrial scene crying for attention. It will be both irresponsible and dangerous to overlook them.

School for Workers
University of Wisconsin

A Long-Range Non-Resident Seminar for Full-Time Union Representatives of the Milwaukee Area

What is Proposed

The School for Workers, University of Wisconsin proposes the establishment of a long-range non-resident seminar for full-time union representatives in the Milwaukee Area.

The general purpose would be to provide the participant with a wider perspective and a deeper understanding of the aspects of American development which are shaping the union environment in which he must operate. The seminar would examine those changes and developments in American economic, social political and personal life that are pertinent to the trade union movement, analyze the implications of these changes--especially their impact on the value systems of unions, workers and society--and discuss whether union policies, practices and attitudes are meeting the challenges of these developments.

The seminar would not be designed as a traditional academic course offering a particular body of knowledge or methodology. Rather, it would be an attempt to increase the participant's sensitivity to and understanding of the people and institutions to whom he must relate and the total environment in which he functions. The goal would be to instill and reinforce the reflective attitude.

Curriculum

The seminar would be problem-centered with an inter-disciplinary approach. Although the individual disciplines of the social sciences would not be taught as separate entities, their methods and analyses would be applied as tools in the process of exploring the problem under consideration. The following topics are illustrative of some of the problems around which the seminar can be structured:

--The changing nature of the work force and its implication for unions.

--Urban development and the industrial worker.

--The problem of education in the U. S. today.

--Approaches to meeting the health and medical care needs of the community.

--Industry economics as related to the collective bargaining process.

--Full employment and economic growth.

--Foreign trade and the problems associated with international economic development.

--The communication process in the union.

--White collar unionism.

--The impact of technological change upon the worker and his union.

--The democratic process in the community, in government and in the union.

From the above list, two problems could be selected for analysis and discussion in depth during the first term of the seminar. The next term would select two other problems for careful examination. Progression and continuity from one term to the next would be achieved by using more advanced tools of analyses from the social sciences which built on the more elementary tools offered in the previous term(s).

Eligibility of Students

Participation would be restricted to the full-time union representative for three main reasons:

1) The University has already established long-range training programs which provide educational opportunities for thenon-paid trade union leader or member in the Milwaukee area. (1)

2. The full-time union official is reluctant to participate in a trade union program with the volunteer. He tends to consider himself a professional and one whose experiences and needs are substantially different, thus requiring a program differing both in content and depth. Yet, almost no such education programs are available to him on a non-resident basis.

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1) See Appendix I, Footnote 1.

3) The full-time union official plays a key role in his union. It frequently depends upon him for guidance, leadership and inspiration.

Location

For the following reasons, the city of Milwaukee is particularly well-suited for such a program:

1) There is a high degree of diversified industrialization. The overwhelming proportion is organized by mature and responsible unions.

2) A large number of full-time union officers and representatives reside in Milwaukee and the adjacent Lake Shore manufacturing cities; several major unions maintain regional offices in Milwaukee, and one international union has its headquarters in the city.

3) Milwaukee has a particularly effective city central body, with an education committee which is already committed to a continuing program of education.

4) There is acceptance by the trade union movement of the educational role which the School for Workers plays in the Wisconsin labor movement. A Branch office of the school in the community makes its services easily accessible.

5) The School for Workers has already had experience with short-term resident training of full-time union representatives (2) as well as the previously mentioned long-term non-resident programs for union volunteers.

Seminar Organization

Participants

From 15 to 20 persons would be selected from the ranks of international union representatives, business agents and full-time local union officers in Milwaukee and adjacent communities.

Schedule

Each year, the seminar would consist of three terms, meeting in the fall, winter and spring. Each term would be comprised of from 8 to 10 weekly sessions, meeting from 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. This schedule has two advantages. It offers a continuing education opportunity, allowing enough breaks not to make it too burdensome given the responsibilities of the individual partici-

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2) See Appendix I, Footnote 2.

ants. The 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. schedule permits the participants to conduct necessary office work and telephone calls before the seminar opens, and leaves time for appointments after its conclusion.

Content

During each term, two or three of the problem topics would be selected for alalysis. For the initial term the selection would be made by a planning committee consisting of the University faculty and a special union advisory committee. In subsequent terms, the topics would be selected by the seminar and faculty participants.

Staff

A senior staff member from the School for Workers would serve as seminar chairman. He would participate in all aspects of planning and administration as well as in all the sessions of the seminar. At each session, qualified resource persons would present the facts and analyses on the topic under consideration and apply the tools of the appropriate disciplines. Following lunch, the seminar chairman would be responsible for conducting the discussion, utilizing the speaker as the resource person. Resource persons will be drawn not only from the University of Wisconsin, but also from other universities, unions, government agencies and other resources throughout the country.

References

Required readings of carefully selected materials will be assigned. Some of these readings will have to be specially prepared or edited for the seminar. Case problems and discussion questions would be prepared for each session.

Continuity

The seminar is conceived as one that will continue year-after-year. Once established and accepted, it would be continued permanently by the

School for Workers. The attempt would be made to instill the concept of continuing adult education rathan than "taking a curriculum" at the termination of which his education is "completed".

To accomplish this, each enrollee will be required to make a commitment to participate regularly for at least one year. No "single session" or irregular attenders would be enrolled.

Inevitably, there will be some drop-outs at the end of each year. We anticipate that at least two-thirds would continue the following year. Such drop-outs at the end of each year will be replaced by others who meet the selection criteria. Before becoming members of the group, however, they would be required to qualify by participating in orientation sessions during the summer and possibly, through supplementary readings.

Administration

The seminar will be administered by the University's School for Workers. Appendix II lists the staff members and their background. A senior staff member would be assigned to develop and administer the project. Other staff members, faculty members from other departments of the University and outside resources will participate in the teaching, materials preparation and other aspects of the program development. A special Union-Faculty Advisory Committee would be established to give direction and review progress.

Evaluation

Evaluation will be a continuing function of the faculty, the Advisory Committee and the participants. However, to provide objectivity and to give this aspect full attention, a qualified person outside of the School for Workers would be employed part time on a contract basis to be directly responsible for the evaluation.

The adequacy of the teaching materials and techniques and changes in the perception and sensitivity of the students will naturally be evaluated. However, the evaluation will concentrate on examining the following factors:

1) Does a seminar structured in this fashion meet the educational needs of the participants more adequately than traditional offerings?

2) Do the participants develop the skill to carry over the method of analyses to other problems not discussed in the seminar?

3) Does the seminar instill the reflective attitude in decision making?

Financing the Seminar

Tentatively, the University would charge a fee of $5.00 per session including the group luncheon. The annual fee per person would, therefore, be from $120 to $150 depending on the number of sessions.

No outside financial assistance would be required if this were an established seminar using existing University resources. However, the initial promotion, the testing and evaluation of the seminar, the preparation and testing of materials, securing the participation of outside resources persons initially, planning and exchanging experiences with other universities, and other aspects of inaugurating this program require outside financial assistance.

The University and the local labor movement are prepared to finance 60% of the direct costs the first year, 70% the second, 80% the third, 90% the fourth and 100% from then on. The University requires additional financial assistance for inaugural expenses and its participation with the cooperating institutions.

Appendix III contains the University's proposed budget and distribution of costs.

Appendix I

FOOTNOTES

(1) The School for Workers is interested in and committed to the concept of long-range training programs for unionists. The following have been inaugurated in the Milwaukee area.

1. A Two-Year Program in Basic Trade Unionism: We have inaugurated this fall a two-year certificate program in trade unionism. This program is intended for the active trade unionist and local union officer. During the first year, it consists of three nine-session courses each of which can be taken as a separate unit. The content deals with the development of trade unionism, trade union structure and government, collective bargaining and protective labor legislation, government and community action, and a close examination of the role of the trade union in a pluralistic, midtwentieth century society.

During the second year, a tutorial program with a staff member of The School for Workers will be developed to meet the needs and interests of each candidate. The form which the program takes will vary. It may be formal classroom work, a planned reading program, field project or some other form depending on the interests and qualifications of the individual candidate.

2. Continuing Programs for Particular Unions: Five union groups have now had three or more years of experience with the concept of sponsoring a continuing educational program. They are Allied Industrial Workers, Local 322; the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 200; Smith Steelworkers Federal Labor Union, No. 19806; Milwaukee County Labor Council and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District 48.

This fall, the first in a series of classes on basic trade unionism for apprentices in the building trades was inaugurated in cooperation with the Milwaukee Building Trades Council. This winter, we will inaugurate a continuing program for the various local unions of the United Steelworkers of America in Milwaukee and another for the local unions of the Allied Industrial Workers of America.

3. Training in Community Services: For the past two years, a series of 18 institutes for a selected group of 14 volunteers in the field of community services has been conducted. A total of 90 hours of instruction has been offered during this period and the group is continuing its institutes. The purpose of these institutes is to develop voluntary leadership with an understanding of community problems and the relationship of the union to available community services. The volunteers who have participated have already served as teacher-administrators in education programs enrolling over 300 trade unionists and as labor representatives on a dozen community agencies.

(2) The following is a list of the full-time resident short term staff training programs conducted by the School for Workers in recent years. They have varied in length from four days to two weeks.

DATE	UNION	TOPIC
April, 1959	Carpenters	Job Evaluation
June, 1959	Allied Industrial Workers	Labor Law
January, 1959	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers	Steward Training
February, 1959	International Association of Machinists	Political Education
November, 1960	Brewery Workers	Union Leadership Responsibility in the New Decade
December, 1960	International Molders and Allied Workers	Time Study
January, 1961	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers	Time Study
January, 1961	Allied Industrial Workers	Health and Welfare
April, 1962	Allied Industrial Workers	The Non-Union Worker
January, 1962	International Molders and Allied Workers	Wage Incentives
Each Summer Since 1958	National AFL-CIO	Industrial Engineering Institutes

Appendix II

School for Workers

Staff Members

Robert Ozanne - Director, School for Workers and Professor, Department of Economics.

B.S., M.S., Ph.D. (Economics), The University of Wisconsin; Social Studies Teacher, Spooner, Wis., Neenah, Wis., and Denver, Colo.; Director of Research and Education, Colorado State Federation of Labor; International Representative, Retail Clerks International Association.

Jack Barbash - Professor of Labor Education and Professor of Economics.

B.S., M.A., New York University; Economist with various governmental' agencies including National Labor Relations Board, War Production Board, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Office of Education; Research and Education Director, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Research and Education Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; author, Labor Unions in Action, The Practice of Unionism, Unions and Union Leadership.

Irving Brotslaw - Lecturer, School for Workers, University Extension Division.

B.A. (Psychology), The University of Buffalo; M.S. (Economics), The University of Wisconsin; Teaching Assistant, Department of Economics, the University of Wisconsin; instructor (part-time), New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations; Research and Education Associate, United Papermakers and Paperworkers.

George Hagglund - Instructor, School for Workers, University Extension Division.

B.A., M.A., University of Minnesota; Research Assistant, Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota; Research Associate, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers International Union.

Anthony Luchek - Professor of Labor Education and Professor of Economics.

B.A., M.A., University of Michigan; Professor of Industrial Relations and Head, Labor Education Service, Pennsylvania State University; Faculty Posts with Yale University and the University of Michigan; Economist for Governmental Agencies: International Cooperation Administration, War Production Board, Works Progress Administration; Overseas Work in Labor Education in India; British Guiana and the Philippines; Board Member and Adviser to Various Labor Education Agencies; Active in Trade Union Affairs as Local and State Officer and Member; European Representative for CIO.

James Stern - Professor of Labor Education and Professor of Economics.

B.S. Antioch College, Ph.D. University of California; Service with the United Automobile, Aircraft & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-AFL-CIO) as Local Union Officer, Assistant Director of Research and Engineering, Staff Director of Automation Studies and Staff Member National Aircraft Division; Marshall Plan Representative in Economic Cooperation Administration.

Norris Tibbetts - Assistant Professor, School for Workers, University Extension Division.

B.A., Harvard University, M.S. University of Wisconsin; Organizer and Education Director, Allentown (Pa.) District Joint Board, Textile Workers Union of America; Education Director, Business Agent, and Assistant Director, Pittsylvania County (Va.) Joint Board, Textile Workers Union of America; Assistant to the Director, South Virginia Joint Board, United Textile Workers of America.

Emory F. Via - Lecturer, School for Workers, University Extension Division.

B.A., Emory University, M.A. (Political Science), University of Chicago; Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council; Field Program Leader, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Labor Education Association; Field Program Leader, Georgia Workers Education Service; Instructor, Labor Education Project School District of Philadelphia.

Labor-Faculty Advisory Committee

NAME	TITLE
Lorentz H. Adolfson	Dean, Extension Division, UW
Leon Applebaum	Assistant Professor Economics, UW-M
Gilbert Brunner	International Representative International Association of Machinists
Richard Burke	Staff Representative, District 32 United Steelworkers of America
Edward A. Disch	Representative, District V Communications Workers of America
Nathan P. Feinsinger	Professor, Law, UW
Russell Fenske	Assistant Professor, Commerce, UW-M
Jacob F. Friedrick	President, Milwaukee County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
George Haberman	President, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO
George Hall	Secretary-Treasurer, Wisconsin State AFL-CIO
Ralph Koenig	Director, Education & Citizenship, Region 10, United Automobile Workers

NAME	TITLE
Robert J. Lampman	Professor & Chairman, Economics, UW
Aldric Revell	American Newspaper Guild
Theodore J. Shannon	Associate Dean, Extension Division, UW
George B. Strother	Professor, Commerce, UW
Ray Taylor	Editor, Milwaukee Labor Press

Appendix III

Proposed Budget

	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year	FOUR YEAR TOTAL
1. Project Director	6,000	6,000	4,000	4,000	20,000
2. Instruction	4,000	3,500	3,000	3,000	13,500
3. Materials Preparation and Testing	5,000	4,000	3,500	1,000	13,500
4. Secretarial Services	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	10,000
5. Supplies and Communication	1,500	1,000	500	500	3,500
6. Promotion and Planning Expenses	1,500	1,000	500	500	3,500
7. Evaluation	1,000	500	500	500	2,500
8. Travel	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	6,000
9. Overhead	4,000	4,000	3,000	3,000	14,000
	27,000	24,000	19,000	16,000	86,500
Foundation Contribution	16,200	12,100	8,600	4,750	41,650
University Contribution	10,800	11,900	10,400	11,250	44,350

Basis for computing foundation contribution: One hundred per cent of items 3, 6, 7, and 8 each year, plus 40% of other items the first year, 30% of other items the second year, 20% of other items the third year, and 10% of other items the fourth year. The University's contribution is relatively constant for each year--and for the period after financial assistance is provided. This guarantees that once the project is initiated, the University will not be required to make larger and larger contributions.

Union Contribution: Of the University's contribution, approximately $2,500 per annum would be recoverable through tuition charges paid by the unions.

Resource People

SLEP

MEMORANDUM

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Glenda Bartley

The following bibliographies list materials available to people teaching teachers who will be involved in various poverty programs.

"The Tyranny of Poverty," Institute of Human Relations, The American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

"Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts," Gershom Clark Morningstar, Editor, The University of Michigan, P. O. Box 1567, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Insight--A Bibliography on Intergroup Relations for Pennsylvania Schools," Jeanne E. Brooker, Editor, Department of Public Instruction, Box 911, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17126.

Two resource people who are extremely competent in the area of teaching teachers of (cultural-familial) mentally retarded children are:

Bobby Paulk
Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5
Tennessee

Ruth Walton
Sharondale Court
Nashville
Tennessee

Mr. Paulk will be able to provide you with names of people who might be helpful in setting up a program.

VISITING FACULTY
FOR SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE
SPONSORED BY NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION
January 9 - February 4, 1966

(Please note dates when individuals are expected on campus. See attached sheets for brief notes on these persons.)

VIA, Emory F. Institute Director. Director of Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

GUERNSEY, George. Institute Co-Director. Associate Director, Education Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

* * * * *

E. Lansing, Mich.

Jan. 10-14 ALLEN, Russell. Michigan State University. Arbitration.

(404) 522-8704

Jan. 11 ANTHONY, Paul. Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. The South in the Mid-Sixties.

10 Forsyth St, N.W.

Jan. 31 CLEGHORN, Reese. Associate Editor, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voter Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 20 DAVIS, Walt. Labor Liason, Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Washington, D.C. Civil Rights and Equal Employment.

Jan. 10-14 FRIEDMAN, Marvin. Associate Director, Research Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Economics.

Jan. 24-27 HENDERSON, Vivian. President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. Southern Economic Problems.

Jan. 27-28 HOBBY, Wilbur. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Durham, North Carolina. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 31 JORDAN, Vernon. Director of Voter Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

So Lab Hist

Jan. 31-Feb. 3 KIRCHER, William. Director, Organizing Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Organizing.

Jan. 16-25 MARSHALL, Ray. Department of Economics, University of Texas. Southern Labor History. Labor's Future in the South. Trends in Collective Bargaining.

Jan. 25-28 POLLITT, Daniel. School of Law, University of North Carolina. Labor Law.

Jan. 27-28 POWELL, Dan. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Memphis, Tennessee. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 17-20 SLAIMAN, Donald. Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. Civil Rights and the Labor Movement.

SIMPSON

Jan. 31 WATTERS, Pat. Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia. Changing Voting Patterns and Negro Voter Organizations.

Jan. 27-28 WEIGHTMAN, Phil. Committee On Political Education, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C. The 1966 Election Outlook.

Jan. 18 WILKINS, Roy. Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York. The Nation's Stake in Civil Rights.

Jan. 19 YOUNG, Andrew. Executive Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia. Civil Rights.

FACULTY

N.I.L.E. SOUTHERN UNION STAFF INSTITUTE

January 9 - February 4, 1966

ALLEN, Russell
Labor Program Service
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

ANTHONY, Paul, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CAMPBELL, Ralph
Director of Extension
New York State School of
Industrial and Labor Relations
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

CLEGHORN, Reese
Associate Editor
Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

COLLINS, William
Department of Government
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

FRIEDMAN, Marvin
Associate Director
Research Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

GUERNSEY, George
Assistant Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

HENDERSON, Vivian
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

HENRY, Aaron
213 Fourth Street
Claskesville, Mississippi

JORDAN, Vernon
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

KEEHAN, Joseph, Secretary
International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers
1200 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

KISTLER, Allen
Organizing Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

MARSHALL, Ray
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

PIERCE, James
Southern Coodinator
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
2121 Commonwealth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

POLLITT, Daniel
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

RAMSAY, Claude
Mississippi AFL-CIO
1335 Lamar Street
Jackson, Mississippi

SIMPSON, Hazel
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

SLAIMAN, Donald
Director
Civil Rights Department,
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

VIA, Emory
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WATTERS, Pat
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WILKINS, Roy, Executive Secretary
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

March 9, 1966

Professor James Crawford
Department of Economics
Georgia State College
33 Gilmer Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Professor Crawford:

It was good to talk to you by phone the other day. I am sending some materials under separate cover.

I hope we can get together sometime during the week of March 14th.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

Steering Committee for the First N.C. Laboratory

Mr. Louis G. Christian
Director of Community Services
State Board of Public Welfare
Raleigh

Dr. Arthur Cohen, Assoc. Prof.
Social Psychology
Emory University
Atlanta

Mr. Morris Cohen, Dir. of Training
The North Carolina Fund
Durham

Dr. Charles Culver, Asst. Prof.
Psychology
Duke University
Durham

Dr. Robert Dolan, Assoc. Prof.
Dept. of Adult Education
N.C. State University
Raleigh

Dr. Frances Dunham, Asst. Prof.
Psychology
UNC at Greensboro

Dr. Wilbert Edgerton, Assoc. Prof.
Psychology and Psychiatry
UNC at Chapel Hill

Mr. Dick First
Program Development Coordinator
The North Carolina Fund
Durham

Mr. Julian Griggs, Director
Macon Program for Progress
Franklin

Dr. James Guines
Head, Dept. of Education
St. Augustine College
Raleigh

Mrs. James M. Harper, Pres.
N.C. Council of Women's Organ.
Southport

Dr. Guion Johnson
N.C. Council of Women's Organ.
Chapel Hill

Miss Marjorie Kelley
Training Office
The North Carolina Fund
Durham

Mrs. Gray S. Marshall
Volunteer Field Consultant
American Red Cross
Enfield

Miss Madeline McCain
Dept of Health and Phys. Ed.
UNC at Greensboro

Mr. Edward Murray
Management Consultant
Raleigh

Dr. Douglas Sessoms, Assoc. Prof.
Curriculum in Recreation
UNC at Chapel Hill

Dr. Luther M. Taff, Assoc. Prof.
Education
UNC at Chapel Hill

Mr. Robert Ward, Asst. Coord.
Economic Opportunity Program
Raleigh

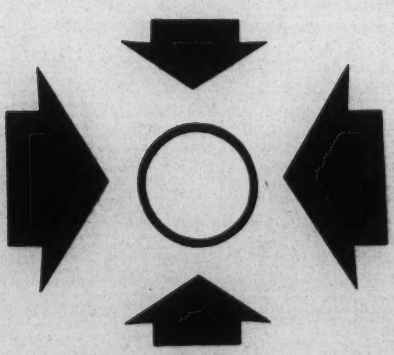
Dr. Eugene R. Watson, Asst. Dir.
Extension Division
UNC at Chapel Hill

Miss Marjorie Yokley, Chairman
Continuing Education
General Fed. of Women's Clubs
Mount Airy

Mr. John E. Zuidema, Exec. Dir.
Charlotte Area Fund
Charlotte

The First North Carolina Laboratory in

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT



Sponsored by the Charlotte Area Fund and
The University of North Carolina

in cooperation with

National Training Laboratories

to be held at

Banner Elk, North Carolina

August 7-14, 1966

A First for North Carolina

The laboratory approach for the development of community leadership has been used successfully in meeting the needs of other regions. After months of planning, this approach has been tailored to meet the needs of communities in our State.

It is expected that this pilot effort will lead to other similar and significant programs in the region.

For Professionals and Volunteers

An invitation to professionals and volunteers who are concerned over disorganization in community life, hampered leadership, broken communication, and unused resources, and who see laboratory training as a means to:

--A higher level of productivity--in committees, boards, agencies, associations which study community problems, make decisions, arouse public interest, take action

--Greater skill in their functions as leader, consultant, member, community organizer

--Better understanding - of self - of small groups, of organizations, of community problem-solving processes, of community forces for and against action.

Community action requires purpose, direction, knowledge, resources plus skill, sensitivity, and competence in identifying and defining problems, in developing leadership (in self and others), in motivating, in communicating, in working with groups, in getting groups to work together, in releasing potential resources, in facilitating needed change.

Training Problem

Highly complex problems require a high level of skill, sensitivity and competence. Conventional

training approaches (lectures, discussions, demonstrations) can provide important information and influence attitudes without actually changing ways of behaving. People often know better than they do. Effective training for action has to work simultaneously at the levels of knowing, doing and feeling.

Laboratory Approach

The community leadership laboratory will focus on individual, small-group and organizational problems in community decision-making and action. The aim is to promote more effective analysis and action by individuals, groups and organizations. A new "mix" of theory, action training, experience, practice and analysis of back-home problems will be utilized.

The basic subject matter is the community and its needs and the immediate behavior of participants. The laboratory task is to build work groups that can set goals, identify and define problems, communicate, develop leadership and provide the functions of responsible membership. This is not an academic exercise, but a realistic work experience. A wide variety of learning activities clarify and support this experience and help participants apply it in everyday situations where the same skills and sensitivities are needed.

There is research evidence that new perceptions and new ways of behaving acquired through labatory training can be translated into back-home practice.

A Typical Day at the Laboratory

1. Community Problem Analysis Sessions - focusing on back-home problems and testing models for community action.

2. Laboratory Training Groups - an intense learning experience in group process, inter-personal relations and self-understanding. A method pioneered by National Training Laboratories (NTL) in 1947 and now used internationally.

3. Lectures and Discussions - supporting laboratory experiences with knowledge and theory from the behavioral sciences.

4. Practice and Action Training - to test and experiment with new ways of approaching problems blocking effective community action.

Participants are those who are coping with problems in planning, housing, urban renewal, juvenile delinquency, education, health, poverty, economic development, community development, intergroup relations, recreation and want additional training for the leadership roles they must perform.

Location, Dates, Cost

Tuition $150.00

Room (double occupancy*) and meals for full period of Laboratory 80.00

TOTAL $230.00

*Rooms will be assigned by officials at Lees-McRae. All accommodations will be at the same rate.

To Apply

Laboratory enrollment will be limited to no more than 52. To apply, return the application to:

Mr. John Zuidema
Charlotte Area Fund
314 W. Trade Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Since this is a non-profit program, a deposit of $25 payable to N. C. Community Leadership Laboratory should accompany application. The balance of tuition is payable upon registration or in advance. Refunds of deposits or total fees are possible up to two weeks prior to the Laboratory.

First N. C. Laboratory In Community Leadership Development

Application for 1966

1. Mr. / Miss / Mrs. _____

2. Title or position _____

3. Name of organization _____

4. Organization address _____

_____

5. Residence address _____

_____

6. Residence telephone number _____

7. Age _____

8. Sex _____

9. Organizational affiliations in the community and responsibilities held (indicate whether your role is professional or volunteer and to which of these you devote the greatest amount of time)

(a) Community as a whole _____

_____

(b) Neighborhood group or association _____

_____

(c) Other _____

_____

_____

_____

10. What are the major goals of the community work in which you are engaged?

11. What knowledge and skills do you personally hope to acquire through participation in this Laboratory?

12. What are the obstacles that confront you in your work in the community that you hope the Laboratory will help you to eliminate?

Signature _____

Date _____

Tear off this application form and mail, along with deposit or total fee, to:

Mr. John Zuidema
Charlotte Area Fund
314 W. Trade Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Telephone: (704) 372-3010

Faculty

Dr. Racine D. Brown
South Carolina Mental Health Commission
Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. Arthur M. Cohen, Laboratory Director
Associate Professor of Social Psychology and
Director, Communication and
Group Influence Program
Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Jack J. Preiss
Associate Professor of Sociology and
Associate Professor of Medical Sociology
Department of Psychiatry, Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Margaret Rowley, Chairman
Department of Social Science
Morris Brown College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Eugene R. Watson
Associate Professor of Education and
Associate Director, UNC Extension Division
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. John Zuidema
Laboratory Committee Chairman
Executive Director
Charlotte Area Fund
314 W. Trade Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Sponsorship

The University of North Carolina and the Charlotte Area Fund are sharing the leadership responsibility for co-sponsorship of this laboratory, in cooperation with the National Training Laboratories, and with the assistance of other agencies, institutions, and organizations represented in the Steering Committee. Community leadership training has been sponsored by the National Training Laboratories in a number of regions of the nation since 1960, in cooperation with many universities.

Appreciation is expressed to the North Carolina Fund for substantial support provided to the Laboratory.

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

October 17, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory:

I was well acquainted with Frank Conrady while employed with the Pulp and Paper Workers. At that time he was "office manager" and began teaching the basic labor classes after George Brooks was fired and, of course, after I had left the PPW.

Frank was a better chess player than George (they used to play together during noon hours) and he finally won one game too many and George chopped the ground out from under him and never used him for any substantive work again. As far as I know, he is a good man who did a reasonably able job as a teacher. His previous work experience was tied up with a railroad company and he got the PPW job because of his Socialist Party activities, where he became acquainted with George Brooks.

Doug Kuhns, formerly with the PPW (until last year) would be able to fill you in on the exact nature of his labor education experience as well as give you a determination of his over-all ability. Kuhns is now with the IUD of the AFL-CIO, working out of Washington. You might also check with John McNiff, R & E Director for Pulp Sulphite, now located in Fort Edward, New York.

My personal feeling is that Frank could make a useful contribution in steward training and labor research work if he is willing to do so. He is an outspoken liberal with Socialist overtones and has had education experience with Negroes in the pulp and paper industry.

Sincerely yours,

George

George Hagglund

GH:bjr

MEMO: To Emory Via

FROM: Glenda Bailey

POSSIBLE SPEAKERS

Voting Behavior

* Donald S. Strong, Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Alabama

Robert Harris, Dean
University of Virginia, Charlottesville

(Pol Sci — formerly Vanderbilt)
Const'l Law Bud B thinks good

* T. Harry Williams
University of Louisiana
Baton Rouge

(31-32)
Robert Calvert
Department of History
Texas A & M
Bryan

Dissertation on Grange — Tex. Pol. — Bright —
Probably could identify

James Tinsley
Department of History
University of Houston
Houston

Alan P. Sindler
Department of History
Louisisana State University

Wrote — So. Pol.

Joseph Bernd
University of Geoogia.

—

Paul Gaston
University of Virginia

YALE Study on Teachers for SRC — History

O. Douglas Weeks
Department of History
University of Texas
Austin

Bud B. likes —

Hugh D. Price
University of Florida
Gainesville

author Negro and Southern Politics — Collins rec.
Bud B. likes

William C. Havard (Dept. of Government, LSU)
Loren P. Beth (Dept. of Government, University of Massachusetts)
Amherst

Hodding Carter III
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Joseph Brown
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville

Mod. Am. Hist.

Mathews + Prothro
North Carolina Research Institute

Memo

University of Wisconsin Extension Division

FROM Emory Via **DATE** 5/20/60

TO George Gaumnitz

George:

Attached is final copy of News & Views article on VSWA legislative committeemen training. It incorporates the Illinois views and material. If Jack Wann sent you a copy of his re-write, this is to replace it.

Travel this seems out that McNamara made connections in Washington with you.

Best regards,

Emory

Final Copy 5/20/60 Via

STEELWORKERS DISTRICT TRAINS LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEEMEN

For several springs now, selected members of the United Steelworkers of America from Illinois and Wisconsin have taken a trip to Washington. There they have watched their union's Washington operations, visited key points in the running of the national government, played a part in the total political process by their visits with representatives responsible for measures in which they are interested and also managed to see a few sights. The trip itself is the culmination of training programs run for the Union by the labor education programs of the Universities of Illinois and Wisconsin. The rigors of classroom dicussions, lectures, and workshops are capped by a five-page examination at the close of the sessions. The exam is graded - a near unique experience in workers' education; and with adult education theory set slightly to one side, the exam grades are used competitively to determine who gets the Washington trip, since it is impossible to send all who attend the classes. The trip itself serves as an important second phase of a total education program for those who are able to go.

We will not deal with the Washington phase of this program here, but focus on the heart of the course itself. Union students join with instructors in a serious deliberation on current state and national issues, the dynamics of the American political system, and the techniques of educating membership on political matters.

The series in Wisconsin this year - where classes were held in Milwaukee and Madison all day for four consecutive Saturdays - included such specific topics as (1) the national economic outlook, including an analysis of the contents and the reception given to the President's Economic Report; (2) financial and tax problems, in Wisconsin with a consideration of the Tax Impact Committee study, a report

projecting State expenditures, the tax alternatives, and the State's budgetary process; (3) national legislative issues, including the Forand bill, civil rights, minimum wage, aid to education, and foreign aid and trade; (4) the role of pressure groups in U. S. politics coupled with a consideration of the standards of democracy; and (5) an exploration of the problems and approaches to planning political education work and the effective implementation of planned program on the local union level.

In Illinois, the conference was held all day on Saturday and Sunday of two consecutive weekends at a centrally located place, the UAW Center in Ottawa, Illinois. This year sessions were held on (1) Do We Have an Affluent Society?; (2) Problems of Paying for Public Services; (3) Needed Changes in the Illinois Tax System; (4) National Political Issues in 1960; (5) Issues of Economic Growth in 1960; (6) Developing a Steelworkers Legislative and Political Education Program; and (7) a closing talk on "The Importance of Politics to the United Steelworkers" by District 32 Director Walter J. Burke.

Obviously, a great deal of information and discussion is packed into each session; the series as a whole tends to suffer from workers education's chronic complaint: "There wasn't enough time." Even so, some of the primary objectives of the program are being realized and the response of the students is of a high quality. Simply stated, the purposes of the "Legislative Education Conferences" are (a) to supply students with information which they can use in their functions as legislative committeemen; (b) to give them some insights and skills to make them more effective in their attempts to reach membership; and (c) to stimulate their thought on, and active interaction with, the materials that are presented in the class sessions. In achieving these purposes, some fundamental approaches are adhered to. Issues are made concrete and relevant to steelworkers' concerns. The materials on the governmental and political processes are tied in with recent familiar decisions, maneuvers, or issues. In the discussion of group politics and pressure analysis of the American politcal system, the lesson is drawn, that in so far as these analyses reflect truth about the political system, then a responsibility rests on unions to play an intelligent and active part in U. S. politics—not just

because this is the way to achieve specific legislative goals but because the system demands it for its own operation.

The ever-recurrent question of "why is labor in politics?" receives a partial answer in the foregoing. But the students are helped to think through this problem in a manner more likely to appeal to the uncommitted or apathetic union member than just the stock answer: "What you win at the bargaining table, they can take away from you by legislation." This observation has had wide acceptance among dedicated unionists, but has lacked that definition and content which would make it meaningful to many union members.

Building effective committees, planning year-'round programs, planning specific phases of political education or action, recognizing and capitalizing on the varying potentials of individual members all come in for the class' scrutiny. A heavy emphasis is placed on the need for planning to get maximum results from the resources at hand, as the surest preventive for "slipped cogs" vital to a given phase of political education, and as one aid in increasing motivation and getting participation in the union's political education program.

No refined evaluations of these programs have been made with the exception of what is shown by the exam scores. Casual reports and remarks after class — two fundamentals in workers education rule-of-thumb evaluations — would show that students previously unfamiliar with this phase of union work become actively interested. Older heads, in experience, pick up new ideas and lines of reasoning. Somewhat more useful and faithful members of the legislative committee are secured. There is a deepening awareness of the need for vital democracy, some of its continuing and immediate problems, and the need to be actively concerned about what happens in our political system. Implementation takes place back in the locals but it is spotty for a number of reasons, only one of which is that you can't learn it all in one or two go rounds.

Instructors do not "teach" the questions and answers that will appear on the exam, and not all the students are skillful note-takers; even so the groups averaged 70%. Objective exams present their problems. A premium is put on specific recall,

and we must be frank to admit that the objectivity of a question or answer is in many ways relative to what took place in the class discussion. There are some doubts as to the educational value of this exam. No attempt is made to go over the examination with the class so that this potential educational use is lost. For those who grade the exam it is of value for specific instructional purposes, as one would expect. There has been no reluctance on the part of the students to take the test, as is borne out by the fact that persons ineligible for the Washington trip, due to winning the previous year, still take the exam. We recognize that it is largely a device for determining who gets the trip, but it is precisely as such a device that the examination has its greatest merit. Here is a clear case of a union endeavoring to set objective and education-related standards for the people it is training for political education work. The training itself prepares them for their jobs, but the extra training and reward afforded by the trip comes only if a certain standard is met. This should mean, too, that those taking the trip to some degree are more thoughtful observers of the governmental process while in Washington. We might readily agree that there are other important criteria ~~to be set~~ for selecting those who get the "maximum training", but this is an encouraging approach. It is an answer not duplicated frequently elsewhere and reflects a serious union interest in the problem.

Essay questions have been included in the test; again this has been useful and interesting. In Wisconsin, to a great degree, the feeling that difficulty in articulation is a major barrier to revealing knowledge has been borne out. For this reason, the School for Workers has felt that the objective, specific recall type test was fairer, even though much of our subject matter normally lends itself more appropriately to essay-type answers. In the judgement of the University staff in Illinois the essay answers reveal more adequately how well the participants can organize and use their knowledge, and indicate the depth of understanding of a particular subject rather than just the surface recollection of a few facts. Illinois feels, to a greater degree than Wisconsin, that the use of the essay

questions has been successful. At this point both schools accept a combination of objective and essay questions as being better for the over-all purposes of the exam than a test made up exclusively of one type of question or the other. We are mindful of the fact that the exam encourages regular attendance, attentiveness, and some outside study. But many other factors contribute to this situation as well, not the least of which is an inherent interest in the subject matter. In any case, the whole matter of the test is presented for its interest as a yard stick used by the union, where relatively few have been used before, and because it does reveal items of interest in measuring worker education student ability and achievement. We of course know that the test is not a model for all to use, nor is it as good an evaluative technique as we would like to employ.

The broad outlines of the conferences were planned jointly by members of the Steelworkers District #32 staff and representatives of the School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin and the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois. In Illinois, the Illinois Steelworkers Legislative and Political Education Director, John A. Alesia of District 31, Chicago, has also taken an active part in helping to plan and conduct the programs. A. J. Wann has served as the University's Coordinator of the program in Illinois. Instructors came from the Universities, the Union, and government posts and tended to blend academic expertise and experience. Similar conferences, modified to some degree by our observation in the past several years, are seen as a part of a continuing pattern in the education program of Steelworkers District # 32.

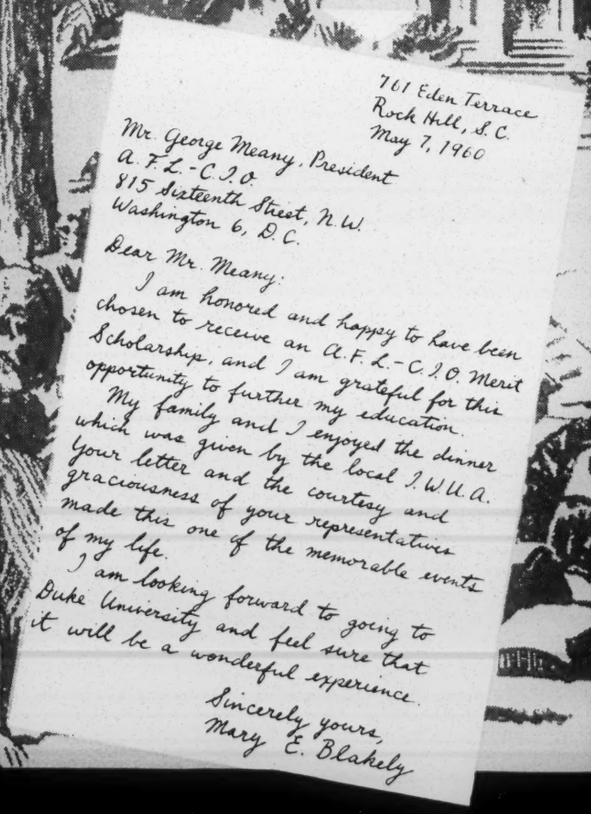
AFL-CIO
EDUCATION
NEWS and VIEWS

Vol. 5, No. 7-8 July-August, 1960 Twenty Cents

ROBERTA J. MIDDLETON of Central High School, Pueblo, Colorado, plans to attend Colorado State in the fall with her scholarship. Here she is shown around the piano with other members of the family.

KENNETH SCHULTZ of Lakeshore High School, Stevensville, Michigan Scholarship Winner listens intently to his instructors as he is given advice on making the best of this wonderful opportunity.

An example of the enthusiasm and gratitude winners expressed for the AFL-CIO Scholarship Program is shown in this letter written to AFL-CIO President George Meany by MARY BLAKELY of Rock Hill High School, Rock Hill, S.C.



761 Eden Terrace
Rock Hill, S.C.
May 7, 1960

Mr. George Meany, President
A.F.L.-C.I.O.
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Meany:

I am honored and happy to have been chosen to receive an A.F.L.-C.I.O. Merit Scholarship, and I am grateful for this opportunity to further my education.

My family and I enjoyed the dinner which was given by the local I.W.U.A. Your letter and the courtesy and graciousness of your representatives made this one of the memorable events of my life.

I am looking forward to going to Duke University and feel sure that it will be a wonderful experience.

Sincerely yours,
Mary E. Blakely

AFL-CIO Scholarship Award Winners

See page 8

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 15, 1964

Mr. Emory Via
University Extension Division
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Leslie has asked me to write you about two types of materials for the September union program - resources for assigned reading and publications available in quantities (30 to 40, as I understand it).

In the former category, we would suggest:

V.O. Key, Southern Politics in State and Nation, Part II (1950) (available in paperback, Vintage, $2.95)

Chas. E. Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, Random House, 1964, $5.95
This perspective on all aspects of "the movement" is excellent, for your purposes especially Chap. VII, "Power, Personality and Protest"

Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, Prentice-Hall, 1963

James Q. Wilson, Negro Politics, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1960

Civil Rights, Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1963 (available from the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Wash. 20402, $1.00)

The Journal of Politics, Southern Political Science Association, 204 Peabody Hall, Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Vd. 26, No. 1, Feb. 1964 - The American South: 1950-70
This entire issue is excellent, and relevant to your topic. We have reprints of one of the articles,
* "The Changing Mind of the South: The Exposed Nerve," Leslie Dunbar.

I don't want to risk drawing up a bibliography of the classics, but the above are in addition to the more general works of Nicholls, Cash, Dabbs, Smith, Dykeman and Stokely, McGill, et al,and which have no doubt already come to your mind. Any one of them would probably set the stage well, but the specific ones I have mentioned have the advantage of being quite current and addressing themselves in varying degrees to political leverage.

Available in quantity, and where starred are being sent to you under separate cover, are:

* "The Meaning of Negro Strategy," David Danzig, Commentary, Feb. 1964 (reprints from American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56th St. NYC 10022)
* "Business - Next Target for Integration?" Harvard Business Review, March-April 1963 (probably available from them still - SRC ordered some, but our supply is almost out)
* "Direct Action in the South," New South, Oct.-Nov. 1963 (SRC)
* "An Affidavit of Faith," by Judge Harold R. Tyler, Jr., in New South, May 1964 (a clear examination of the civil rights bill) (SRC)
* "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, SRC, 1961

* The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South, Vivian W. Henderson, SRC, Sept. 1963
  A critical but amplifying companion piece is the review,
* "How Poor Are American Negroes?", Eli Ginzberg, New Republic, Oct. 12, 1963 (you could perhaps make inexpensive Xerox, or some other, copies of this).

This seems to me to leap from peak to peak, but if you want more, or deeper, suggestions, let me know and we will dig again.

Sincerely,

Barbara

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Research

BP
separate mailing

SLEP

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

SUITE 300
1755 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON 36, D. C.
232-2770 232-2771

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July 30, 1965

Emory Via
School for Workers
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

The University of Georgia has agreed to put a maximum of $800 on the fee we will have to pay them, with the understanding, however, that the number of students will not exceed 25. If it does, we will have to pay for the excess at the rate of $2 per day per student, or else try to make other arrangements with the University.

I am enclosing a tentative budget, taking into consideration the commitments we have made so far. Will you please watch the budget carefully when making arrangements for faculty.

Enclosed is Doris Gibson's report on the second institute, and also a copy of George Guernsey's comments.

Please let me hear from you soon about the first meeting of the Program Committee, and let me remind you that I will be on vacation - in Europe - from September 6 to October 1.

Sincerely yours,

JM

Joseph Mire
Executive Director

JM:bw

Enclosures

July 29, 1965

TENTATIVE BUDGET FOR SOUTHERN STAFF INSTITUTE III

Fee, Director:	$1,500.00 1/
Administrative Fees:	$ 800.00 2/
Travel and Subsistence, Director:	$1,000.00
Office Supplies & Equipment:	$ 350.00
Committee Travel and Meeting Expense:	$ 750.00
Tuition and Travel for Teachers:	$2,300.00
Contingency (Duplication of Eval. Report):	$ 450.00
	$7,150.00

1/ To be paid to the Southern Regional Council

2/ To be paid to the University of Georgia

How handle Vi's expenses —

Jerry Z Vin

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SLEP

DIRECTORY OF PERSONNEL AND FIELD OFFICES

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina

* 1965 *

SOUTHERN UNION STAFF TRAINING INSTITUTE

sponsored by the

National Institute of Labor Education

in cooperation with the

Education Department of the AFL-CIO

and the

Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO

Continuing Education Center
University of Georgia
January 9 - February 4, 1966

EDUCATION IN THE FIFTY STATES

Department of Education

AFL-CIO

815 16th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D.C.

Third Revised Edition
1966
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Nassim Payd

FREEDOM PAMPHLETS

PREJUDICE AND SOCIETY

by EARL RAAB AND SEYMOUR M. LIPSET

Leadership Studies Center

UAW

SURVIVOR BENEFIT PROTECTION

In Group Insurance and Pension Programs

a programed instruction

Brendan Sexton

Dolores Paskal

Lisa Portman

Bill Goode

Leadership Studies Center

THE SIMULATED UNION

LOCAL 100

Place -----

People -----

Problems -----

Brendan Sexton

Dolores Paskal

Lisa Portman

Bill Goode

Leadership Studies Center

GROUP INSURANCE BARGAINING

a programed instruction

UNIT I . . . An Introduction

UNDERSTANDING GROUP INSURANCE

Brendan Sexton

Dolores Paskal

Lisa Portman

Bill Goode

Leadership Studies Center

GROUP INSURANCE BARGAINING

a programed instruction

UNIT II

GROUP INSURANCE - WHAT IS THE COST?

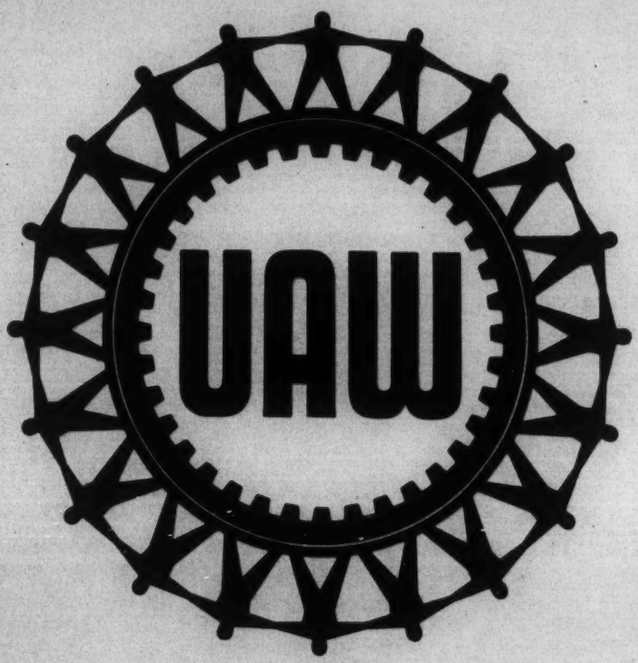
Brendan Sexton

Dolores Paskal

Lisa Portman

Bill Goode

Leadership Studies Center



GROUP INSURANCE BARGAINING

a programed instruction

UNIT III

WORKING THROUGH A RETENTION EXHIBIT and AN EXPERIENCE REPORT

Brendan Sexton

Dolores Paskal

Lisa Portman

Bill Goode

The West Virginia Center For Appalachian Studies And Development

West Virginia University

Labor Ed — Unions

CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND EDUCATION IN AMERICAN LIBERTIES

Columbia University and Teachers College

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM

Of The

UNITED AUTO WORKERS

By

Brendan Sexton

Director, UAW Leadership Studies Center

Prepared for the

Conference on Vocational and Adult Education in American Liberties

Arden House

March 11 - 13, 1966

THE UAW EDUCATION DEPARTMENT'S PROGRAM

by Brendan Sexton
Director, UAW Leadership Studies Center

Though more than 125 unions are affailiated with the AFL-CIO, probably not more than 25 show any serious interest in trade union education. The thirty-six staff members employed by UAW to work in its Education Department and Studies Center comprise nearly one-third the total number employed by all International Unions in such work.

But trade union education is a growing activity. The AFL-CIO, which for many years employed no one with responsibility for education, and for many years assigned only one person to the task, now employs seven professionals. An uncounted number of local unions employ staff, either full or part-time, and large numbers of unions, though they support no program of their own, do send representatives to participate in activities sponsored by state and local labor groups, as well as by universities.

In addition, about fifty universities now conduct labor education programs. Many university labor programs are staffed by one person, sometimes working only part time, but some, especially at the larger state universities, employ as many as five or six full-time professionals and involve perhaps ten times that many faculty members during the course of a year.

Though it has begun to sink deep roots only during the last two decades, labor education, as a movement is more than a century old, and serious efforts to education workers as trade unionists trace back to the earliest beginnings of the American Socialist Party. The Rand School of Social Science launched by socialists in New York City in 1906 sought to provide learning for workers that would enable them to participate effectively in the social, political and

economic life of the nation.

The early efforts, however--leaning heavily on European experience and needs--were basically ideological. They were more concerned with convincing workers of the need for social change than helping them build effective economic organization. In contrast (especially since the close of World War II), labor education as organized by modern unions has tended increasingly to emphasize the "tool subjects," designed to equip union members and officers to function effectively in the union positions to which they are elected.

Following this trend, the UAW (United Automobile Workers) lays great stress on such courses as shop steward training, local union administration, discussion methods, public speaking, parliamentary procedure, time study analysis, collective bargaining, publicity methods and so forth, though before 1946 it tended to follow the more traditional paths set by ideologically committed unionists who were responsible for most of the labor education carried on in the United States prior to the rise of the CIO.

Historically, the development can now be seen as very nearly inevitable. Since CIO unions were based in mass industry and sometimes combined as many members in a single local as belonged to some of the older national and international unions, the nature of CIO organization and administration differed in rather fundamental ways from the older organizations.

Craft unions often are agglomerations of small groups of workers. In industries such as construction and printing, for example, the number of members of any one union working at one location will only very rarely exceed twenty or thirty. It is a rare print shop or construction job that will employ

more than that number in any single craft. Because of their history and the nature of their relationship with the small employers for whom their members worked, the craft unions developed organizations that were quite different from those that emerged in the CIO.

In the small industry the confrontation between employer and employed tends to be direct and personal. Because of their relative power vis-a-vis the employers, craft unions exercise considerable control over the establishment of rules of work. Additionally, because of their influence over the apprentice system in which all journeymen are trained and their control over the job market through the closed shop--craft unions are able to offer the discontented or discharged alternatives in the job market when they become dissatisfied with their superiors or are discharged.

Whereas in the craft union, the worker is rarely separated either by distance or position from his employer, the industrial worker is far removed from the person to whom he must appeal for relief from the effects of a decision that appears to him to be unfair.

In industrial unions, the relationship between employer and employed often is nonexistent. Policy regarding employer-employee relationships is made by employers and top executives, but interpreted and applied by subordinate superintendents, managers, foremen. Since large numbers of workers employed in mass industries are unskilled or only semi-skilled, their need for job security is more urgent.

For these hastily sketched reasons, most CIO unions have always greatly stressed the importance of the role of the shop steward who handles grievances for the worker on the job. Under the steward or committeeman system, the industrial unions generally establish a relationship of about one

shop steward to every fifty workers. In the early days of these unions, the stewards were also the backbone of the union's organizational strength since they were charged with responsibility for collecting the union dues, in addition to their duties as union advocates.

In more recent years--with the advent of the union shop in industry--the steward has ceased being responsible for collecting dues, but has continued as the key person in the grievance procedure. His position has grown more complex and demanding. He is required now to assist men who may have complaints against job assignments, violations of seniority rights, against the tempo of work, or against violations of rules set forth in union agreements that often run to as many as 150 printed pages full of complex language. The steward will be required to know at least the rudiments of pension agreements, supplementary unemployment benefit plans, hospital and sickness insurance plans--and a variety of governmental regulations and laws which may affect the workers' economical, social, psychological welfare.

A really good shop steward in an automobile plant will, when a worker complains about the speed at which he is being required to work, be able to take the work sheets of the time study engineer and analyze them in order to make it possible for him to act as an intelligent advocate for the man's case. He will be able to figure a worker's pension payments and the amount due him under hospitalization and sickness insurance plans, he will be able to advise him of his rights under workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation laws. He will know something about the operation of various public and social agencies to whom the worker may have to turn for assistance with problems that arise outside the shop.

Within limits, the good shop steward is a kind of walking delegate for the Legal Aid Society on the place of work.

Built atop the steward structure is another level of grievance adjustment in which shop committeemen deal with the higher representatives of employers when grievances remain unsettled after being processed by the stewards. These workers are engaged in the handling and adjudication of more sophisticated complaints, often of a policy nature, that cannot be settled at the job level generally because they involve policies over which job and general foremen have no jurisdiction.

Beyond this are the complex areas of arbitration where settlement of unsettled grievances takes place and where local union officers and committeemen often still continue to play and important role.

Traditional labor education, concerned as it was with larger social and political issues, could not meet the need of organizations which in the CIO were building complex relationships of this kind. Often they seemed irrelevant since they did not focus on the job of training unionists to carry on their complex work.

Consequently, in the UAW, for example, the Education Department of the union did not grow in size for many years after it was first organized. In 1937 the UAW wrote into its constitution a provision that a portion of each dues payment must be set aside to support educational work. That provision has been continued in the constitution ever since.

Under its terms local unions are required to set aside three cents from each monthly dues payment and the International Union is required to appropriate a like amount. More than a million dollars a year to support education is now made available in this way.

In addition, the union sets aside a total of ten cents from each dues payment to support citizenship-education activities, and about one and a half million is made available in this way. (This provision was added to the constitution about six years ago.)

In spite of this relatively generous support, the UAW education effort did not really begin to sink roots until Victor Reuther was appointed director of the department in 1946. Thereafter the work of the department began to take a different direction. Whereas theretofore the Education Department had been staffed almost entirely by professionals recruited outside the UAW, Reuther brought into the department men recruited from the ranks of the union. He acted on the belief that they could do more to stimulate interest in the department's program and more successfully motivate union members to participate than could the professionals. Much of the teaching in labor education, Reuther reasoned, could best be performed by non-professionals who had learned their skills in the activities of the union. He said professionals could be recruited from the universities and schools as and when their special talent and skill was needed.

This change in the nature of the union's staff resulted in a drastic change in curriculum. Much greater emphasis began to be placed on tool subjects, but, perhaps as importantly, the dominant teaching technique changed from lecture and questions to discussion.

The UAW began then to prepare course outlines relying heavily on the use of discussion methods. Role playing was introduced in steward training, collective bargaining, parliamentary procedure and other subject areas, in a great many of which the role playing technique is a particularly useful teaching device. Other discussion methods--especially buzz groups--also achieved considerable popularity.

The UAW's National Education Conference held at Cleveland in the Spring of 1952 may have been the first mass conference in history to attempt to apply the sub-discussion method at a large assembly. At that conference the delegates, numbering more than 2,000, were divided into twenty-five groups of about eighty each. After attending general sessions at which they heard from leaders of the union and prominent public figures, they dispersed to other rooms in which each group of eighty was further broken down into "tables of ten." In the groups they discussed the presentations given at the general sessions for about 90 minutes. Thereafter, spokesmen from each group of eighty were selected and returned to meet in a question and answer session with the speakers who had appeared at the earlier general session. Thus, each day of the conference was given over to a discussion in relative depth of a single subject--and every delegate was given an opportunity to participate at his "table of ten."

The New York Times editorially called that conference "a landmark in the history of adult education." Since then, the union has continued to apply this method in conferences of all kinds varying in size from 100 to 2,000 delegates.

The UAW Education Department, now under direction of Carroll Hutton, operates through 23 field representatives, supported by a headquarters staff of nine. The field representatives are charged with responsibility for working with local unions and regional offices to develop programs for local union officers and members. In a great many cases, they set up evening classes or weekend seminars with one or another of the universities which sponsor labor programs. In Michigan, where the largest concentration of UAW members is resident, for example, the three large state universities--Michigan, Wayne State and Michigan State--all offer labor programs. In other states where UAW membership is great programs are sponsored jointly with Cornell,

Rutgers, Indiana, Illinois, UCLA, Connecticut, Wisconsin and other universities which provide extension services for unions. UAW summer schools are often housed on university campuses. As often as not, however, the teachers and discussion leaders will be recruited from the UAW or the ranks of other unions.

The headquarters staff prepares discussion materials, visual aids, films, recordings, pamphlets and other materials that are put to use at conferences and classes scheduled by the field representatives.

The union maintains a film library from which it supplies local unions with films, and discussion guides that can be used to organize discussions in local union with minimal assistance from the outside. It relies heavily on films such as Shop Steward, The Grievance, Local 100, Strike in Town--provided by the Canadian Film Board--and other similar productions. The UAW has itself produced a series of films dealing with the history of the union, covering special programs, and explaining various unions techniques. A UAW produced film, This Union Cause, won first prize at an International Labor Film Festival held in Israel in 1963. An earlier film, Brotherhood of Man (an animated treatment of Ruth Benedict's, The Races of Mankind) is probably one of the most widely circulated educational films ever produced.

While the union has placed great emphasis on tool subjects, it has not entirely bypassed other areas. It has, for example, sponsored two Appointment at the UN Conferences, to each of which several hundred UAW delegates travelled from all over the United States; its publications cover a wide variety of subjects of national and international importance; it actively promotes the sale of paper-back books--including a specially prepared kit of twelve titles with special interest for union members; it has purchased and placed in school libraries a Labor Book Shelf which is paid for by local unions in the vicinity of the schools supplied; it has stimulated interest in overseas travel and has

organized tours of foreign nations, a few of which have been organized specifically as union study tours with visits to foreign automobile plants, union health centers, residential training centers, etc.

The field representatives also organize one week long residential summer schools in each of the union's regions. Last year, these summer schools were attended by more than 5,000 local union officers and shop stewards. They also organize residential seminars in the winter months, and these are attended by about half the number attending the summer sessions.

The strong feeling of the union is that the best evaluation is found in the membership's willingness to support the education programs. Since participation has grown almost constantly from year to year, it is assumed that the program is at least somewhat successful. Other more formal efforts at evaluation have been made, however. The Foreign Policy Association did a study of attitudes (not yet published) in which it found that the discussions of international affairs at union sponsored summer schools were apparently effective, since after attendance the participants held a generally "less rigid" attitude on such critical questions as the admission of Red China to membership in the UN than did the UAW membership generally, and that membership, in turn, was in general more internationally minded than other, similar groups in the population.

The general program of UAW summer schools was evaluated in 1963 by Dr. Allen Menlo of the University of Michigan College of Education. Menlo interviewed a sample of 199 participants in that year's schools. He found that, as a result of participation, their confidence in their ability to articulate had been substantially strengthened, that they felt more secure about their beliefs on political questions, and felt more confident of their ability to influence others.

In 1964 the UAW moved to establish a training center for its full-time paid staff, under the direction of the writer. For a variety of reasons, the school did not operate during 1964, but resumed operations in September 1965 and has been in session since then. The school is called UAW Leadership Studies Center.

About 300 full-time representatives of the UAW have attended sessions at the Center. A series of 15 three-week seminars have been held and three more are scheduled to be held prior to June 1966.

Two of the seminars have been specially designed as orientation programs for UAW representatives to be sent overseas on short-term (30 to 90 days) assignments by the union's International Affairs Department. All others were designed as retraining sessions for staff members on regular assignments.

When the UAW Center was established, Walter Reuther, the union's President, said that its goal was "to help all staff members achieve, cultivate and maintain the highest level of journeymanship in their jobs. . . expose the entire staff to concentrated courses of training in such subjects as : the UAW's program, philosophy, and general strategy . . . and keep individual staff members current with, and broaden their understanding of, the important issues of the day."

Key to the UAW program is a series of discussions of current union, political, and social problems which is organized around a publication called The Simulated Union. In this publication a mythical but realistic union, with its community, and its leadership, contract, and constitution are described, and a series of problems based on the simulation is posed for discussion. The problems include individual discipline, union and individual rights under the law, principles of union administration, arbitration, civil rights, and political action. The discussions are unstructured and informal, with much use of role-playing and subdiscussion.

These sessions are supplemented by lectures and discussions conducted by experts in such subjects as current legal problems, current economic problems, civil rights and the law, and internal problems of the UAW. In addition, all groups travel to a university--Michigan, Wayne State or Michigan State--for two-day, single-subject sessions organized around such titles as "The union in the urban community" or "Science and society." The program, thus, is work-related, but not confined to job training.

In addition, probably for the first time in labor education, the UAW has designed and put to use a four-volume course of programed learning covering the union's health insurance and welfare agreements. This program, prepared by Dolores Paskal of the UAW Center's staff, has been rewritten several times as a result of experience with its use in the staff seminars, and will, it is expected, now be used away from the Center by staff members meeting on their home grounds.

Staff and officer training represents a significant new current in labor education. It is reasonable to expect an attempt to be made soon to coordinate all staff training programs--possibly directly through the AFL-CIO. When that happens it can be assumed that the numbers of staff members reached will treble or quadruple. Many smaller unions now unable to afford staff training programs of their own will certainly participate in an interunion program. Moreover, many larger unions will no doubt be attracted to such a program once their officers see it in action.

A number of labor educators, with the encouragement of some officers of influential international unions, are at work on the foundation of such a program now. If and when an interunion staff training center begins operating it will probably attempt to conduct most of its sessions on university campuses in various sections of the country. It will seek to involve academicians

as planners and teachers, but will insist on the development of programs with a practical payoff.

This is not to say that labor educators believe the academic world has nothing of value to offer. On the contrary, most of them believe that universities have a great deal to offer, but they are not always willing to deliver their product in digestible form. Many academicians seem wedded to the notion that learning can occur only when the teacher starts--and all too often ends--with an exposition of concepts developed by the members of an academic discipline. Trade unionists, on the other hand, want academicians to start with practical problems and show what relevance academic concepts may have for the person whose life is spent grappling with human and social complexities.

In the face of many pessimistic predictions, labor education continues to flourish, and--as illustrated by the new staff and officer training--to demonstrate its capacity to rise to more sophisticated levels. Continued growth in this area is almost a certainty. The training will continue to be problem oriented and relatively short term. However, since its audience is highly influential in trade unions and in the society, union staff training's continued expansion has great significance for the nation as a whole.

Falk Sayer
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Sara Ganning.

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REPORT OF THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES
WEST VIRGINIA CENTER FOR APPALACHIAN STUDIES AND DEVELOPMENT
JULY 1, 1965 to JUNE 30, 1966

1. Introduction

The programs of the Institute have several allied purposes: to assist in the development of the worker's perspective and relationship to his institutional environment; to maintain and develop effective union leadership necessary to further the industrial relations' system which is essential for economic development; and, to generate and distribute knowledge about workers and their problems. To accomplish these aims, three programs have been established: The Union Leadership Academy, coordinated by Prof. Frank Collins; Institutes, Conferences, and Short Course Programs, coordinated by Prof. John MacKenzie; and, Research and Development Programs, coordinated by Prof. Robert Miller. As will be shown in following sections, considerable progress was achieved in all three types of programs during the past year.

2. The Union Leadership Academy and Long-Term Education Programs

This program is composed of a series of eight courses centering on the social sciences and industrial relations. Each course requires eight class meetings of two hours each. In 1964-65, the Program was offered in Charleston, Huntington, Parkersburg-Marietta, and Wheeling and attracted 222 registrants. In 1965-66 the program was extended to three additional cities - Morgantown, Fairmont, and Clarksburg and attracted 391 registrants.

The details of the program are as follows:

I. 1. Ohio State University - West Virginia University Joint Labor Education Program, Parkersburg, Marietta.

2. Ohio State University, Labor Education and Research Service; Central Ohio Valley Labor Council; Southeastern Ohio.

3. a. Union Leadership, October 19, 1965 - January 8, 1966
   b. Political Science, February 8, 1966 - April 26, 1966

4. a. Union Leadership - 24 class hours
   b. Political Science - 24 class hours

5. a. Union Leadership - Parkersburg, Blennerhassett Hotel
   b. Political Science - Marietta, USWA Hall

6. a. Union Leadership - 29 participants
   b. Political Science - 30 participants

II. 1. UNION LEADERSHIP ACADEMY - Charleston

2. Kanawha Valley Labor Council

3. a. Labor and The Economy, September 28, 1965 - November 16, 1966
   b. Labor History, September 29, 1965 - November 17, 1966
   c. Psychology of Union Leadership, January 18, 1966 - March 15, 1966
   d. Labor and Government, January 26, 1966 - March 16, 1966

4. a. Labor and the Economy, 16 class hours
   b. Labor History, 16 class hours
   c. Psychology of Union Leadership, 16 class hours
   d. Labor and Government, 16 class hours

5. Charleston High School (Labor History, Kanawha Valley Labor Council Hall)

6. a. Labor and The Economy, 27 participants
   b. Labor History, 26 participants
   c. Psychology of Union Leadership, 20 participants
   d. Labor and Government, 23 participants

III. 1. Union Leadership Academy (Clarksburg)

2. Harrison County Labor Federation

3. a. Labor and Government, October 4, 1965 - November 22, 1965
   b. Labor and The Economy, February 14, 1966 - April 4, 1966

4. a. Labor and Government, 16 class hours
   b. Labor and the Economy, 16 class hours

5. Gore Hotel

6. a. Labor and Government, 33 participants
   b. Labor and The Economy, 31 participants

IV. 1. Union Leadership Academy (Fairmont)

2. Marion County Labor Federation

3. a. Labor and The Economy, October 21, 1965 - December 8, 1965
   b. Labor History, March 31, 1966 - May 26, 1966

4. a. Labor and The Economy, 16 class hours
   b. Labor History, 16 class hours

5. Fairmont State College

6. a. Labor and The Economy, 10 participants
   b. Labor History, 8 participants

V. 1. Union Leadership Academy (Huntington)

2. Huntington District Labor Council

3. a. Psychology of Union Leadership, October 7, 1965 - November 25, 1965
   b. Union Administration, February 17, 1966 - April 7, 1966

4. a. Psychology of Union Leadership, 16 class hours
   b. Union Administration, 16 class hours

5. Marshall University

6. a. Psychology of Union Leadership, 39 participants
   b. Union Administration, 73 participants

VI. 1. Union Leadership Academy (Morgantown)

2. Morgantown Central Labor Union

3. a. Labor History, October 14, 1965 - December 2, 1965
   b. Labor and Government, March 24, 1966 - May 19, 1966

4. a. Labor History, 16 class hours
   b. Labor and Government, 16 class hours

5. a. Labor History, Engineering Science Building, WVU
   b. Labor and Government, United Steelworkers Hall

6. a. Labor History, 7 participants
   b. Labor and Government, 16 participants

VII. 1. Union Leadership Academy (Wheeling)

2. Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly

3. Labor and Society, September 29, 1965 - November 17, 1965

4. 16 Class hours

5. Teamsters Hall

6. 19 participants

VIII. 1. Union Leadership Academy, Mid-Term Assembly

2. Union Leadership Academy

3. March 5, 1966

4. 5 hours

5. Mont Chateau Lodge

6. 180 participants

It is expected that this program will be operated in the same seven cities during the coming year with about the same enrollment as reported for 1965-66.

3. Institutes, Conferences, and Short-Course Programs

A. These programs generally are centered on various industrial relations problems and problems of workers and their unions. In 1964-65, these programs had 900 registrants. In 1965-66 they had 1046 registrants. The details of the programs are as follows:

I. <u>Institutes, Conferences and Short Courses</u>

1. Fourth Annual A.F.S.C.M.E. Council 58 Leadership Training Conference
   a. September 24-26, 1965
   b. 16 hours
   c. Jackson's Mills
   d. 30 participants

2. West Virginia Federation of Teachers Leadership Training Conference
   a. January 16, 1966
   b. 6 hours
   c. Madison, W. Va. - Memorial Building
   d. 34 participants

   a. February 13, 1966
   b. 6 hours
   c. Madison, W. Va. - Memorial Building
   d. 25 participants

a. March 13, 1966
b. 6 hours
c. Charleston, W. Va. - Hotel Daniel Boone
d. 18 participants

3. Local 132 Int'l. Union of Operating Engineers Leadership Training Conference
   a. March 6-12, 1966
   b. 36 hours
   c. Jackson's Mill
   d. 41 participants

4. B.R.T. Education Conference
   a. March 17-19, 1966
   b. 14 hours
   c. Wheeling, W. Va. - Oglebay Park
   d. 126 participants

5. Central Body Officer Training Conference
   a. West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
   b. March 24-26, 1966
   c. 17 1/2 hours
   d. Jackson's Mill
   e. 53 participants

6. The Local Union Newspaper (short course)
   a. Local 6214, U.S.A.
   b. March 18, 1966
   c. 6 hours
   d. Morgantown, W. Va. - Local Union 6214 Hall
   e. 5 participants

7. Leadership Training for Community Action for Appalachian Trade Union Officials (First Week)
   a. AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
   b. April 3 - 8, 1966
   c. 40 hours
   d. Mont Chateau Lodge
   e. 95 participants

8. Leadership Training for Community Action for Appalachian Trade Union Officials (Second Week)
   a. AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
   b. April 24-29, 1966
   c. 40 hours
   d. First Presbyterian Church Hall - Morgantown, W. Va.
   e. 101 participants

9. Understanding Basic Unionism (short course)
   a. Barbour County Heavy Equipment Operators Training Program (M.D.T.A.) and Local 132, I.U.O.E., AFL-CIO
   b. April 28, May 2, 12, 18, 24, 27, 1966
   c. 24 hours (two sections 12 hours each)

d. Barbour Co. High School Field House outside of Philippi, W. Va.
e. 42 participants

10. Manpower in Appalachia Conference
    a. AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
    b. May 19 - 21, 1966
    c. 20 hours
    d. WVU Medical Center Auditorium - Morgantown, W. Va.
    e. 319 participants

11. Utility Workers Education Conference
    a. June 2-4, 1966
    b. 15 hours
    c. Mont Chateau Lodge
    d. 58 participants

12. W. Va. State Pipe Trades Assn. Joint Apprentice Qualification and Education Conference
    a. Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Local Unions in W. Va.
    b. June 13 - 14, 1966
    c. 11 hours Business Managers - 18 hours Apprentices
    d. Mont Chateau Lodge
    e. 18 and 27 participants

13. Fifth Annual W. Va. AFL-CIO Summer Institute
    a. West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
    b. June 19-24, 1966
    c. 38 hours
    d. Mont Chateau Lodge
    e. 57 participants

The Leadership Training for Community Action Program was made possible by a grant of approximately $247,000 awarded by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to the Institute for Labor Studies.

B. Other activities associated with these programs during 1965-66 are as follows:

1. Working with the W. Va. Labor Federation, AFL-CIO to place a set of labor books in all high schools in West Virginia;

2. Development of a labor film section in the University's Radio-TV Department's film library;

3. Development of a labor archives program jointly with the University's Library and the West Virginia labor Federation, AFL-CIO.

C. Programs scheduled at this time for 1966-67 are as follows:

1. Teamsters Short Course on Union Administration and steward Responsibility set for 6 or 8 weeks in Morgantown for September, October, November, 1966.

2. Community Action Leadership Training Program for Appalachian Trade Union Officials (third week) October 2-7, 1966 Hotel Roanoke, Va.

3. O.C.A.W. District Education Conference, October 9-14, 1966 at Jackson's Mill.

4. A.F.S.C.M.E. Council 58, Fifth Annual Leadership Training Conference, October 28-30, 1966 at Jackson's Mill.

5. Community Action Leadership Training Program for Appalachian Trade Union Officials (fourth week).

6. W. Va. Building Trades Council Winter School - tentatively set for January, 1967.

7. Second Annual Local 132 Int'l. Union of Operating Engineers, AFL-CIO Leadership Training Conference, tentatively set for February, 1967.

8. The Fifth Annual W. Va. Labor Federation AFL-CIO Central Body Officer Training Conference, tentatively set for March, 1967.

9. The Second Annual W. Va. State Pipe Trades Association, AFL-CIO Joint Apprentice Qualification and Education Conference, tentatively set for June 1967.

10. Sixth Annual W. Va. AFL-CIO Summer Institute set for the week of June 18-24, 1966.

11. Consumer Education Conference. The West Virginia Labor Federation AFL-CIO has discussed a full scale State-Wide Consumer Conference for the fall of this year or the spring of next year.

12. W. Va. State Labor Federation Special Convention, August 27, 1966 Charleston, W. Va. I.L.S. will provide technical and research assistance to the Federation for this conference.

13. West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO Legislative Conference for two days tentatively scheduled for early February, 1967. I.L.S. will provide technical and research assistance to the Federation for this Conference.

14. Understanding the Community Planning Process - short course. This will take place this fall in Huntington, West Virginia and will be jointly sponsored by the Huntington District Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

4. Research and Development Program

Prior to July 1, 1965, the Institute did not have a continuing research and development program. Since that time a general plan has been developed and various projects either are underway or planned.

A. The Institute for Labor Studies was involved in the following research projects during the period July 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966.

1. Factors Associated with Participation in Local Unions.

   The study is an attempt to describe personal and situational factors associated with local union participation and to propose an analytical model to further understanding of the participation process.

   An article reporting results of this project is partically complete at present.

   Investigators: Robert Miller and Frederick Zeller
   Estimated Completion date: September, 1966

2. A Survey of Attitudes Toward Unemployment and the Unemployed.

   This research aims to compare attitudes of trade union leaders, trade union rank and file and managers, in both West Virginia and Ohio. The intent is to describe differences in attitudes and draw implications for social welfare and other action programs.

   Collection of data for union sample is complete. Collection of data for management sample is approximately one-half complete. Coding IBM card punching is now underway.

   Investigators: Robert Miller, Frederick Zeller, George Kirk (in collaboration with the W. Va. Bureau of Business Research)
   Estimated Completion date: October, 1966

3. The Self-Concept, Value Orientation, and Success Among Rural West Virginians.

   The purpose is to explore differences between those rural poor who successfully accomodate to social and labor market changes and those who do not. (A partial evaluation of the Vintroux project.)

   Interviewing of the sample is now approximately one-half complete.

   Investigator: Joseph Cooper, Ohio State University
   Estimated Completion date: August, 1966

4. Problems of a Planned Program of Social Change.

This is the evaluation phase of the Institute's "Leadership Training for Community Action Project". The total project has both education and research components.

One-half of the formal training is now complete. Collection of evaluation data is in process.

Investigators: Frederick Zeller and Robert Miller
Estimated Completion date: September, 1967

5. A Survey of Uses of the G.E.D. Test in West Virginia.

The purpose of this study is to determine practices in administering the G.E.D. test for high school equivalency diplomas and the acceptance of the equivalency diploma by W. Va. Manufacturing firms.

Final report now in-preparation.

Investigator: John R. MacKenzie
Estimated Completion date: July, 1966

6. Personal Factors Associated with Successful Completion of a Retraining Course.

This project is a pilot study of factors which influence retraining. Forty men undergoing a retraining course at Phillipi, W. Va. constitute the subjects for the study.

Data collection phase of study is presently 65 per-cent complete.

Investigator: Robert Miller
Estimated Completion date: July, 1966

B. It is anticipated that the following projects will begin in the next fiscal year:

1. Social-Psychological Factors Associated with Reseponse to Retraining.

The study will attempt to identify and analyze factors associated with successful and unsuccessful labor market adaptation of graduates of a retraining program for heavy construction equipment operators held in West Virginia during the past 12 months. The Office of Manpower Planning, Evaluation and Research of the U.S. Department of Labor has approved a grant of $9,895 for the study.

The study will begin in July 1966 and end in June, 1967.

Investigators: Robert Miller and Frederick Zeller
Estimated Completion date: June, 1967

2. Problems in Effective Leadership: An analysis of local union organizations.

This project involves the writing of a book which can be used in our Union Leadership Academy courses.

Investigators: Robert Miller and Frederick Zeller
Estimated Completion date: October, 1966

C. The following projects are in the proposal or planning stages:

1. Personality, Attitude, and Situation as Related to Labor Market Behavior.

The aim of this study would be to assess the impact of a Community Action Program on the labor market aspirations and behavior of rural West Virginia youth. (An aspect of the evaluation of the McDowell County Community Action Project.)

Investigators: Robert Rankin, Ralph Grannenberg, Frederick Zeller and Robert Miller
Estimated Completion date: October, 1967

2. Encouraging Compliance with the Civil Rights Act in Building Trades Unions: An Approach Through Education

The aim of this education and research project would be to design and assess the impact of an educational program stressing compliance with Civil Rights Legislation in Building Trades Unions.

Investigators: John MacKenzie, Frederick Zeller, Robert Miller
Estimated Completion date: July, 1967

5. Organization and Staff

During 1965-66 three temporary staff members were added to work on the Leadership Training for Community Action Project: Mr. Roger Rines, Mr. Robert Winn, and Mr. Ron Ludin. In addition, Mr. Jerome Breslaw joined the staff on July 1, 1966 as education specialist.

To accomodate the expanded activities of the Institute, it was decided to change its organizational structure. Whereas in the past, each staff member was assigned to coordinate some specific type of program, in the future the Institute will be organized in terms of education and research divisions. The organization of the Institute for the coming year will be as follows:

Frederick A. Zeller, Director

John MacKenzie, Asst. Director for Education
Frank Collins, Education Specialist
Jerome Breslaw, Education Specialist

Robert Miller, Asst. Director for Research
Roger Rines, Project Associate
Robert Winn, Project Associate
Ron Ludin, Project Associate

Barbara Miranov, Secretary
Candice Thomas, Secretary
Charlotte Johnson, Secretary
Linda Isola, Secretary

In addition, it is expected that several more full and part-time staff members may be added to work on various programs and projects in either one or both of the education and research divisions inasmuch as several proposals already submitted either have received preliminary support or have been funded.

6. Publications

1. Frederick Zeller and Harry R. Blaine, "Who Uses the U.A.W. Public Review Board?" Industrial Relations, Vol. 4, No. 3.

2. Frederick A. Zeller, Harry R. Blaine, and Eugene C. Hagburg, "Discipline and Discharge in the U.S. Postal Service: Adverse Action and Appeal", Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 19, No. 1.

3. Robert Miller, Frederick Zeller, and Glenn Miller, The Practice of Local Union Leadership (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965)

Labor Education

UNION MEN TAKE TO THE CAMPUS

Business Week
August 13, 1966

Union men are flocking to the campus this summer to learn unionism.

To many an ambitious labor man, the union summer school is as characteristic of America in August as the New England clambake. By Labor Day, some 20,000 members of AFL-CIO unions will have attended such schools, studying the basics of unionism in surroundings pleasantly removed from the shop floor, usually on a college campus. The bill this summer will be about $5,000,000.

Some aspects of the 1966 union summer schools are traditional: classes in parliamentary procedure and grievance handling, guest speakers on political action or foreign affairs, dormitory bull sessions.

The unions' objectives also are familiar: to train promising local presidents, shop stewards, and other activists. For a few, it's the first step along a road that may lead to high union office.

New Directions

But other aspects of the summer schools reflect the new needs and interests of present-day labor. Highly technical courses on time-and-motion study or pension plans are becoming common, especially in sessions for advanced students. And there are academic subjects, such as psychology and sociology, designed to broaden the unionist-student's vistas.

Politics bulks large, particularly at schools sponsored by state labor groups. When the Maryland AFL-CIO recently held a week-long school on the Goucher College campus outside Balitmore, 52 members of 19 international unions, ranging from steelworkers to retail clerks, were presented with "Political Issues of 1966: Social, Economic, and Political Problems Facing Maryland." Advanced students were signed up for classes in "Full Employment, Inflation, and Wage Guidelines."

Advanced Methods

Teaching techniques also are becoming more sophisticated. The United Auto Workers organizes its 16 annual summer schools around a core topic--economics one year, civil rights the next-- and prepares an elaborate collection of teaching materials for each topic.

Some state universities with well established schools of industrial relations have become specialists in running union summer schools. Rutgers, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of California at Berkeley are outstanding.

Newest of all the schools' new patrons are the old-line craft unions that once scorned such intellectural goings-on. Many of them discovered labor education after President Kennedy issued his 1962 Executive Order 10988. This order, imitated later by many state and local governments, directed federal agencies to recognize unions representing their employees.

Need for Speed

Overnight, unions whose relations with government employers had been informal, tenuous, and often politically oriented found themselves conducting conventional collective bargaining. Hundreds of unprepared members, old and new, had to be trained quickly for the task. The union summer school was the logical instrument.

Today, many government-employed members of the metal trades unions--shipyard workers, for instance--are regular participants, together with members of the American Federation of Government Employees on the federal level, the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, and other exclusively governmental unions.

The governmental unions are probably the schools' warmest-- and most impoverished-- supporters. Their members sometimes attend classes at their own expense and, with the ultimate measure of enthusiasm, on their own vacation time.

Ordinarily, unions pay the members' way to summer school and make good any wages lost during absence from the job. Indeed, "lost time" is the biggest single item on the labor school bill. Since union activists are apt to be higher-paid workers, an average tab of $120 for a week's lost time is a reasonable guess, according to Lawrence M. Rogin, AFL-CIO Education Director. That's $12,000 for 100 students, the enrollment of an average-size summer school.

The Tab

Room, board, and tuition usually cost the union $60 to $75 a student. Sometimes tuition is free, if the teachers are union staffers, members of the AFL-CIO's seven-man education department, or on the faculty of universities offering teaching services without charge.

Most unions try to schedule summer schools close to members, so that those attending can drive there comfortably in a few hours, five to a car, with the union footing the bill. But the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers holds a single annual school at the University of Wisconsin--and air fare from as far away as California or Florida comes high.

With travel costs and other incidentals, an average one-week summer school probably costs its sponsors $24,000.

Most unions regard it as money well spent--particularly now, when a whole new generation is moving into local office, speeded by a wave of election upsets. Unions have also become aware of the need to build loyalties among members too young to remember what it was like Before the Union Came.

Nevertheless, the union summer school has its critics, even among officers of education-minded unions.

"At best, it teaches the member to ask embarrassing question," one such skeptic said. "At worst, it teaches him to run against me."

Vocat + College Ed

FUTURES FOLDER: For CWA families and their sons and daughters

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Guide to: Education and Training after high school

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I L S

THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES--APPALACHIAN CENTER
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY--MORGANTOWN

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LABOR EDUCATION AT WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

West Virginia University began a program in labor education six years ago, in August, 1959, when the Labor Education Service was established as part of the University Extension Service. Its program was adapted to the needs and structures of the West Virginia labor movement with emphasis on planning programs and operations cooperatively with central labor organizations.

Initially, most of the Labor Education Service's educational and training programs were short-term institutes, conferences and other projects based on immediate, concrete problems confronting unionists in their day-to-day work. Examples of these programs are such courses as steward training, collective bargaining, grievance handling and various aspects of union administration. Stated formally, the Labor Education Service's initial areas of responsibility were (1) to provide educational programs both at the locale of the interested union and at the Campus, (2) to provide a reference service to which inquiries relating to labor could be directed, and (3) to offer consultative service in any phases of labor education activities. Additionally, to facilitate the work of the Service, an advisory committee composed of labor leaders and university faculty was appointed to provide (1) advice about programs, (2) program sponsorship, and (3) procedures for union-university cooperation.

After the first several years of operations, it was decided that although there was continuing need for the shorter programs of instruction which dealt with specific issues, organized labor required in addition, a program of continuing education which focused on the long-run educational developments of unionists more systematically than courses based on the occurance of specific problems. Subsequently, the Labor Education Service established the Union Leadership Academy Program consisting of the following courses:

Labor History
Labor and the Economy
Labor and Government
Labor and Society
Psychology of Union Leadership
Union Administration
Labor's Current Problems
Labor's Current Goals

The plan of the Academy was to offer two of the courses each year (each course to meet for a two hour session, one night a week for eight consecutive weeks) for four years, thus completing the entire sequence. Participants were to be active unionists in the West Virginia communities in which the program was established.

By 1964, the Union Leadership Academy Program had been organized in four communities: Wheeling; Charleston; Parkersburg; and Huntington. Altogether the program had more than two-hundred registrants by that time, due largely to the support of central bodies in those communities and the West Virginia Labor Federation as well.

During 1964, the University appointed a committee composed of several prominent people representing both the union movement and the university for the purpose of evaluating the Labor Education Service, its program of work, and its needs for the future. Following the issuance of the committee's report the Board of Governors of the University promulgated an order (#3786) which, effective September 1, 1964, reconstituted the Labor Education Service as the INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES, placing it as a division of the West Virginia Center for Appalachian Studies and Development. The purpose of the Institute is "to assume a specialized program of labor education and studies to be effective in carrying out the following objectives:

(1) To conduct an adult education program of University grade for the worker and his more clearly identified organization--his Union;

(2) To complement the educational and informational opportunities of an ever-developing urban industrial society;

(3) To assist through education and studies the development of the perspective of the worker, and the manner in which he relates himself to the institutional environment in which he works and lives;

(4) To establish West Virginia University as an intellectual and research center on matters concerned with the problems and opportunities of the workers in a developing society; and,

(5) To provide educational and research assistance to central labor bodies."

The Institute, like the Labor Education Service which it superceded, has an advisory committee composed of distinguished representatives from the union movement and the University. The principal difference between the Institute and the Service is that the Institute for Labor Studies is to fill a broader role. Programs offered in the past, such as short-courses, conferences, institutes, and the Union Leadership Academy Program, will continue to be offered in the future.

ULA

THE UNION LEADERSHIP ACADEMY

THE INSTITUTE FOR LABOR STUDIES
APPALACHIAN CENTER
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY
MORGANTOWN

LABOR RELATIONS INSTITUTE
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
RIO PIEDRAS, PUERTO RICO

A PROGRAM OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

(WHAT WE DO - HOW WE DO IT - AND WHY WE DO IT)

By:
FRED NAZARIO
Director

March, 1962

By 1950 there were very strong indications that Puerto Rico - the new Puerto Rico - was already on the march. The industrial development program - better known everywhere as Operation Bootstrap - had been successfully launched during the preceding decade. The predominantly agricultural economy of the past was slowly changing into a semi-industrial one. Along with it, cultural, social and institutional changes were rapidly taking place in all phases of Puerto Rican life, which is today even more patent, particularly in the labor force and in labor relations.

The story of Puerto Rico's transformation - from "a state of virtual starvation, mass unemployment, overwhelming illiteracy, disease, and despair, to that of the status of a pace setter" - is a fascinating one to tell, especially for a Puerto Rican like me who never tires of telling it over and over again whenever he has a chance. However, what concerns us here is not what has happened, or is now happening, or is likely to happen in Puerto Rico in the near or distant future. That, if you wish, is our favorite pastime back on the island, something to be renewed on returning home this week-end! Here today we shall concern ourselves, in accordance with the schedule for the afternoon, with the programs and activities of workers' education carried out by the Labor Relations Institute of the University of Puerto Rico -- on <u>what</u> we do, <u>how</u> we do it, and if I may add, on <u>why</u> we do it.

The Institute, which is attached to the College of Social Sciences, was created in 1950 by virtue of Act 141 of the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico. This Act provided for the establishment of a labor education center for workers at the University in Río Piedras. It provided, furthermore, that no admission requirements should be established which would deprive any worker of the right to avail himself of the instruction offered by the Institute. Consequently, the activities of the Institute over the past eleven years have been devoted primarily to extension work in the field of labor education with special emphasis on trade union leadership training. The Institute has not offered a program of instruction for undergraduate or graduate university students, nor has it undertaken significant scientific research in industrial and labor relations problems.

Although the Institute started its activities modestly and with an even more modest budget, from the very beginning and in different points of the Island it offered courses, seminars, week-end institutes, round-table discussiones, lectures and talks on subjects of general and immediate interest for members and leaders of the trade unions. In fact, for a good many years this type of activity was the chief educational service lent by the Institute to the labor union movement of Puerto Rico. Since the middle of 1956, however, much of its

resources, time and efforts have been applied instead to a resident labor union leadership program, that has been patterned somewhat along the lines (though more needs-centered) of the leadership course which the Institute has offered since 1952 for trade unionists from Latin American countries under the sponsorship of the technical assistant program of the United States Government. I shall speak about the Latin American program at some length later on inasmuch as in this Conference we are primarily concerned with educational institutions and international labor. Lectures, classes and seminars out in the interior of the island have not been eliminated but have been sharply limited due to the drain on Institute resources brought about by this other program. Today, as a matter of fact, the course in residence is the most important educational service offered by the Institute to the labor movement of the Island.

The program is unique in the sense that the University of Puerto Rico not only finances its operational costs out of public appropriations, but, since the trade unions of the Island are generally without sufficient funds for the purpose, it grants as well subsistence scholarships of $150 a month to all participants in order to enable them to leave the shops and the fields and spend all their time studying at the Labor Relations Institute for a period of three months.

Initially the Institute had programmed two three-month courses a year, one in September and the other in February, with an enrollment of 10 to 12 students. Lately, however, due to the lack of adequate financial resources, the Institute has offered only one course a year of two month's duration, with an enrollment of about 20. Only young workers who have shown ability to lead others and some capacity to assume positions of responsibility within the trade union movement are selected.

Classes are supplemented with field observations, and are taught in a practical and simple manner taking into consideration the experience, schooling and interests of the participants. There are no requirements concerning years of previous studies, grades or degrees. All that is required of the student is that he should be able to read and write, have a proven capacity for leadership, and be an active member of a trade union. Up to now 175 workers from all segments of the trade union movement of Puerto Rico have taken the course.

The teaching staff includes university professors, trade union leaders and labor government officials.

Classes are taught on the following subjects: (1) Labor-Management Relations Laws (local as well as federal), (2) Collective Bargaining and Grievance Handling, (3) Union Organization and Administration, (4) Protective Labor Legislation, (5) Trade Union Journalism and Public Relations, (6) Labor Economics, (7) Union Finance and

Accounting, (8) Cooperativism, (9) Social Security, (10) Industrial Health and Safety, (11) Social and Political History of Puerto Rico, and (12) Puerto Rican Economics.

It will suffice to indicate that over the past eleven years the Institute has conducted a wide variety of labor education activities, and that the trade unions of Puerto Rico have thus far made maximum use of the services provided by the Institute. Not so long ago the Federation of Labor of Puerto Rico (AFL-CIO) urged the Legislature of the Commonwealth to allot larger funds for the Institute in order to enable it to expand its programs and increase the amount as well as the number of scholarships.

While at home the training of Puerto Rican unionists throughout a decade shifted in emphasis from rural to urban organizations, from mass to selected groups and from membership to leadership training along with special programs for individual unions; abroad the Institute was earning an international reputation through another of its programs: the Latin American Union Leadership Training Program.

As a consequence, in 1959 the entire teaching staff of the Institute moved to San Salvador at the invitation of the Ministry of Labor of El Salvador, where it ran a one month program attended by 50 workers from the country's trade union organizations. A year earlier it had offered for ICA a special six-week course for a group of trade union

leaders, members of the Parliament of Bolivia. Members of the staff have taught also in programs of workers' education in British Guiana and in Jamaica under the sponsorship of the University College of the West Indies, and have repeatedly lent their services as specialists in the field to the ILO and other outside organizations.

However, the program which is better known abroad is the Latin American Union Leadership Program, which is of the greatest interest here today. What in the year 1951 began more as an experiment between the ORIT (the Latin American branch of the ICFTU) and the University of Puerto Rico has become one of the most significant programs of the Institute. Thereafter, Point IV (FOA) took over ORIT's participation in the program which was later followed by its successor organizations, ICA and now AID.

Choosing Puerto Rico as a site for training was a very logical step, first on the part of ORIT, then later of the Federal Government. For one thing, training is offered in the participant's own language, Spanish. For another, although Puerto Rico is universally recognized as a laboratory of progress, it is still, however, an underdeveloped country in many respects. Its objective lessons, therefore, are more readily understood and are much more meaningful than observations made in more developed areas such as in the States. Puerto Rico, on the other hand, because of its language and Latin heritage intermixed

with American culture, technology and social institutions is in a unique position to act as a bridge between the two Americas.

Intensive training in Puerto Rico, prior to the arrival of the teams to continental United States, definitely equips the average participant to better understand the trade union movement of the United States as well as the general American economic, political and social scene, with which they come to familiarize themselves.

The program aims to acquaint young trade unionists from Latin American countries with the principles and techniques of modern labor union administration and collective bargaining. It aims, too, to offer an understanding of the role that democratic unions play in our free society and of the bases and consequences of union policies in the total structure of the economy. It examines the ways in which our governments administer labor-management relations and standards and settle industrial disputes. The program aims, furthermore, to stimulate thought and discussion as to the appropriate role which organized labor can play in the development of the economies of underdeveloped nations.

Training combines classroom work and on-the-field observation. Classwork consists of the following subjects: (1) History of the Labor Movement, (2) Collective Bargaining and Labor Relations, (3) Union Organization and Administration, (4) Labor Union Journalism and Public Relations, (5) Labor Legislation, (6) Labor Economics, (7) Educational

Methods and Techniques, (8) Occupational Medicine and Safety, (9) Cooperativism, and (10) Conversational English.

Classes average four hours a day, six days a week, for a period of 10 weeks, and are supplemented with a field trip program which enables the trainee to acquaint himself with the labor union movement of Puerto Rico, with the Federal and Commonwealth agencies responsible for the administration of labor-management statutes and protective labor legislation in the Island, and with the industrial and labor relations practices in operation among the institutions of trade and industry of Puerto Rico. Fieldtrips are held in the afternoons, evenings and week-ends. Trainees meet with union leaders and workers, visit federation headquarters, attend conventions, meetings and other trade union functions, visit labor government agencies, observe representation proceedings and elections, and familiarize themselves with disputes settlement procedures.

Classes are held on an informal and non-academic level, encouraging as much discussion and participation as possible. As in the Puerto Rican program, instructors are drawn from the faculty of the University of Puerto Rico, from government labor agencies, the trade unions and other sources.

Over 600 workers from 19 Latin American countries have so far participated in this resident program. The lone exception is Argentina.

Certainly, more questions could be raised than answered in this session here, questions concerning program financing and curriculum planning, staff selection and training, teaching methods and techniques, selection and quality of participants, effectiveness or impact of the program on the trade union movements of Latin America, and so forth. That, however, is beyond the scope of this short presentation. Our task here is not to evaluate the program. That in itself could be the subject of a book or of several college theses. As a matter of fact, a dissertation has already been written by a former Cornell graduate student, Mr. Miles E. Galvin, who joined our staff and is now in charge of a new program which the Institute just started this past January with the purpose of training workers educators for Latin American trade unions. This new program is being carried out with the active cooperation of the School of Industrial and Labor Relations of Cornell University and the financial support of the Marshall Foundation.

In concluding, however, I believe that a few points and generalizations are in order.

First: We are not bent on transforming the Latin American labor movement into the image of the American labor movement. Aside from being impossible, it has yet to be proven that such transformation is even desirable.

Second: The program has not been designed to satisfy the immediate needs of individual participants, nor those of the particular unions to which they belong, nor, for that matter, the specific needs of the labor movement of Latin America. Much if not all of this work will have to be done in each of the countries of the region by the trade unions themselves. It simply cannot be done from the outside nor through the universities.

Third: The program has not been static and has changed in content as well as in approach as experience and knowledge has been gained through our contacts and work with the participants.

Fourth: The program has endeavored to improve the ability and encourage the participants to assume an active and more effective role in their unions after their return, by observing, discussing and studying intensively how internal trade union affairs and labor-management relations are conducted abroad in democratic societies.

Fifth: It has stressed in particular the need for training and preparation of young trade unionists for assuming positions of responsibility in effective democratic unions, as well as the need for a well informed and active membership. In doing so it has furthered and spearheaded the workers' education movement in Latin America.

Sixth: It has attempted to foster attitudes conducive to cooperative relationships between unions and employers and a spirit of give and take between them, as well as to impress on the participants the need for industrial growth and workers' productivity.

Have we succeeded in our efforts and objectives? Perhaps no one can tell for certain, but we hope we have accomplished what we set out to do - train leaders.

It is still too early to measure the impact of our program. Its success depends not only on the quality of the training but on many other forces beyond our control. The future will furnish the answer.

Thank you.

PROGRAMA DE FORMACION DE EDUCADORES SINDICALES

UN INFORME SOBRE EL FUNCIONAMIENTO Y LOGROS DEL PROGRAMA DE FORMACION DE EDUCADORES OBREROS DESARROLLADO CON LA COLABORACION PARTICULAR DE LOS SECRETARIADOS PROFESIONALES INTERNACIONALES, LA UNIVERSIDAD DE CORNELL Y LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO

Enero 1964

I. INTRODUCCION

A. Razón de Ser del Programa de Formación de Educadores Obreros

El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo de la Universidad de Puerto Rico ofrece con la asistencia técnica de la Escuela de Relaciones Industriales y del Trabajo de la Universidad de Cornell, para las organizaciones sindicales de Puerto Rico y demás países de América Latina un Programa de Formación de Educadores Obreros.

El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo desarrolla dicho programa con el propósito de darle un nuevo enfoque a la capacitación sindical en la América Latina. La necesidad de este nuevo enfoque descansa en el hecho innegable de que los pueblos de la América Latina, en su desenvolvimiento, atraviesan hoy por uno de los períodos más críticos de la historia del hemisferio, --un período en el que se hacen esfuerzos crecientes por llevar el progreso a estos pueblos, especialmente a sus grandes masas, las que han progresado poco y sufrido mucho en los cuatro siglos que van desde el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo hasta nuestros días.

Existen pueblos en este hemisferio en los cuales la mayoría de los habitantes son analfabetos, carecen de la suficiente alimentación, no gozan de buena salud; pueblos en los que la mayor parte de la tierra, de la riqueza, de las oportunidades educativas, y casi la totalidad del poder político ha sido tradicionalmente dominado por oligarquías nacionales o extranjeras. Los obstáculos al progreso social, económico y político son abrumadores. Es múltiple el conjunto de fuerzas dirigidas a vencer estos obstáculos, pero también lo es el de las que se oponen al progreso.

Estas fuerzas y contrafuerzas, --un caos de las fuerzas del conservatismo, el liberalismo, el radicalismo, la subversión, el nacionalismo, la revolución, la evolución, la moderación, el militarismo, los intereses creados, las oligarquías, --están trabadas en una lucha que no se lleva a cabo en los campos tradicionales, sino en las fábricas y en las haciendas, en las escuelas y en las universidades, en los hogares y en las calles, y, --en la forma más significativa esta lucha que decidirá el curso futuro de los acontecimientos, como lo es en las organizaciones latinoamericanas del trabajo. Y, en ningún otro sitio es tan necesaria la acción eficaz, ni tan escaso el número de líderes bien entrenados e informados, ni tan prevalecientes las situaciones para la demagogia. Por ello, el Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo se ha propuesto hacer, con la cooperación de la Escuela de Relaciones Industriales y del Trabajo de la Universidad de Cornell y la participación del movimiento sindical interamericano, una aportación significativa para fomentar la eficacia de los sindicatos democráticos latinoamericanos.

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El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo de la Universidad de Puerto Rico posee una singular experiencia en la capacitación de líderes sindicales latinoamericanos, y está idealmente situado para continuar su labor pionera en este vital empeño. De hecho, el Instituto se ha estado ocupando continuamente en el adiestramiento de dirigentes sindicales durante más tiempo que ninguna otra institución en el hemisferio. Por más de una década, ha prestado un valioso servicio educativo a las organizaciones obreras puertorriqueñas y latinoamericanas. Desde el 1950 hasta el presente, más de 650 trabajadores de Puerto Rico y casi todos los países de América Latina se han capacitado sindicalmente en el Instituto.

Por desgracia, el adiestramiento de dirigentes no es el único servicio que necesitan las organizaciones sindicales de Puerto Rico y demás países de la América Latina. La capacitación de líderes por sí misma no puede y no debe ser el único enfoque a la solución de los múltiples problemas educativos que agobian a las organizaciones sindicales en su desarrollo y funcionamiento. No cabe duda que la capacitación en residencia de 650 dirigentes sindicales representa un logro de importancia. Pero cuando se ve que en ninguna parte del mundo es tan potencialmente explosivo el crecimiento de la población como en la América Latina, que la actual población es de no menos de 180 millones y que se predice que llegará a los 500 millones dentro de cuatro décadas, lo que significa una fuerza obrera potencial de 250 millones, entonces se ve también que el adiestramiento de 650 dirigentes obreros representa sólo una mínima proporción del total de la fuerza trabajadora económicamente activa.

Un grupo, individualmente eficaz pero relativamente pequeño de dirigentes sindicales responsables, se ha adiestrado; más la mayor parte, los 15 millones de miembros que ellos representan, apenas si ha recibido instrucción alguna. El resultado evidente es un gran abismo entre el liderato y los afiliados. Se han hecho algunos encomiables intentos para remediar la situación, --para salvar el abismo entre el liderato informado y la membresía impreparada. La administración de Cooperación Internacional ha patrocinado innumerables seminarios en América Latina; el programa educativo de la Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores ha llegado hasta cientos de sindicalistas; los varios Secretariados Profesionales Internacionales y otros organismos nacionales, interamericanos e internacionales han conducido también numerosos seminarios de corta duración. Estas y otras gestiones similares han ofrecido formas parciales de abordar el problema. Pero, según lo han indicado muy atinadamente expertos en la materia: "Los logros substanciales en educación se realizan sólo trabajando con un sindicato día a día, y no, por ejemplo, con un seminario de un mes sin ningunas otras actividades." La necesidad urgente estriba, pues, en la creación de programas continuos o permanentes de educación para los trabajadores, desarrollados por los propios sindicatos. Sin embargo, no todos los sindicatos latinoamericanos disponen al presente del personal capacitado para realizar esta enorme labor.

La Internacional de Correos, Telégrafos y Teléfonos (ICTT), uno de los varios Secretariados Profesionales Internacionales asociados con el movimiento sindical libre, reconoció esta urgencia en 1959 cuando, en cooperación con la ICA, llevó 15 sindicalistas latinoamericanos al Instituto de Capacitación Sindical de la Unión de Trabajadores de Comunicaciones de los Estados Unidos para capacitarlos como educadores y organizadores sindicales. Estas personas regresaron luego a sus respectivos países y, con el apoyo de la ICTT, han llevado a cabo programas de educación obrera entre cientos de sus compañeros trabajadores.

El esfuerzo de la ICTT ha sido ejemplar; mas no puede esperarse que todas las organizaciones obreras sean capaces de echarse sobre los hombros la responsabilidad de realizar proyectos de tal emplitud. El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo, en gracia a su ubicación, los medios de que dispone, su cuerpo de profesores y su experiencia, se encuentra preparado para llevar a cabo, --en estrecha cooperación con la Universidad de Cornell y con la participación directa del movimiento obrero Interamericano, --un programa especial con el propósito de formar educadores obreros, en adición a sus programas de capacitación sindical.

II. FUNCIONAMIENTO DEL PROGRAMA

A. Cooperación Técnica de la Universidad de Cornell

La formación de educadores obreros es una empresa relativamente nueva en América Latina, mas no así en los Estados Unidos. Por muchos años, la División de Extensión de la Escuela de Relaciones Industriales de la Universidad de Cornell ha venido preparando dirigentes sindicales a fin de que éstos puedan actuar como educadores en sus respectivas organizaciones. La experiencia de la Universidad de Cornell en este campo especializado y su creciente interés y conocimiento de los problemas latinoamericanos han contribuído al logro de una eficaz y estrecha colaboración con la Universidad de Puerto Rico a través del Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo. Esta relación con la Universidad de Cornell --primera institución de este hemisferio en ofrecer un programa profesional de nivel universitario en materia de enseñanza en el campo de las relaciones industriales y del trabajo, subraya el hecho de que el presente programa no constituye una jira o paseo al extranjero, sino un programa de adiestramiento cuidadosamente planificado y ejecutado con el mayor rigor.

B. Papel de la Universidad de Puerto Rico

La selección de un lugar para el desarrollo de un Programa de esta naturaleza era uno de los aspectos principales en la planificación del mismo. Existen pues varias razones por las cuales la Universidad de Puerto Rico fue seleccionada para adiestrar a los sindicalistas que vinieran de la América Latina y Puerto Rico a participar en dicho Programa:

1. El idioma que se habla en Puerto Rico es el español. No cabe exagerar la importancia de comunicarse con los estudiantes en su propio idioma.

2. Varios dirigentes obreros puertorriqueños, incluso el Presidente de la Federación del Trabajo, AFL-CIO, quien a la vez es miembro ejecutivo de la ORIT, son instructores veteranos del Instituto.

3. La zona metropolitana de San Juan, capital de Puerto Rico y encrucijada del Caribe, es a menudo sitio de reunión de numerosos visitantes, incluso representantes de organizaciones sindicales nacionales e internacionales y universidades norteamericanas y latinoamericanas, los que puedan participar en los programas del Instituto.

4. Puerto Rico está reconocido generalmente como un "laboratorio" del progreso, un ejemplo para los países subdesarrollados del mundo. La transformación de un país agobiado, de escasos recursos naturales, con 675 habitantes por milla cuadrada, en la "vitrina" de las Américas, ha servido de inspiración a miles de estudiantes visitantes de todas partes del mundo.

5. Sin embargo, Puerto Rico, pese al éxito de su programa de industrialización ("Operación Manos a la Obra"), sus programas de construcción de viviendas de ayuda mutua, su reforma agraria, y su creciente sistema de cooperativas, es aún un país en desarrollo. Por lo tanto, sus lecciones objetivas, son más fáciles de captar que las observaciones que pudieran hacerse en países altamente industrializados, totalmente foráneos (para los latinoamericanos), como los Estados Unidos continentales.

6. Ningún otro gobierno en la América Latina dedica un porcentaje tan alto de su presupuesto, 30 por ciento, a la educación como lo hace Puerto Rico. En ningún otro país como en Puerto Rico son tan numerosos ni tan accesibles al observador los programas de educación de adultos, educación cooperativista, programas de televisión y radio educativos, y otros.

7. Puerto Rico está cerca de Estados Unidos continentales. Nueva York y Washington distan sólo tres horas de Puerto Rico en "jets" y hay docenas de vuelos al día. Y, sin embargo, Puerto Rico está en América Latina.

8. Puerto Rico es un país cordial, hospitalario y progresista, en donde se conjuga el tradicional amor a la vida latina con la devoción anglo-sajona a la eficiencia. El visitante de la América Latina a este "puente" entre dos culturas se siente, tanto bien recibido como inspirado adecuadamente.

9. Las pensiones para los becarios en Puerto Rico, cuestan una tercera parte de lo que costarían en los Estados Unidos continentales.

10. La estadía en Puerto Rico, aún por corto espacio de tiempo, ayuda a disipar la idea que tienen muchos latinoamericanos con respecto a la política y la actitud de los Estados Unidos para con Puerto Rico, idea que suelen explotar para su ventaja propagandista antiamericanos a través del hemisferio.

11. El que el curso se desarrolle en una Universidad hace que el estudiante se sienta en un ambiente de estudio y se vea como parte integrante de ese centro docente. Mas de uno escribe hablando de "mi Universidad".

C. Participación del Movimiento Obrero Inter-Americano

El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo lleva a cabo este programa con la participación del movimiento obrero inter-americano en general y, en particular, de los Secretariados Profesionales Internacionales activos en la América Latina. Dada su habilidad para abordar los problemas concretos de una industria y de sus trabajadores, los Secretariados se encuentran singularmente capacitados para cooperar con el Instituto en este programa especializado de adiestramiento. Actualmente hay nueve Secretariados operando en la América Latina, cada uno de los cuales cuenta con un Representante Inter-Americano, que se dedica por completo a su función. Estas nueve organizaciones representan trabajadores en los sectores económicos vitales de la comunicación, el transporte, la elaboración de alimentos y bebidas, la agricultura, la minería, la metalurgia, el gobierno, la industria petrolera y los empleos técnicos y de oficina. Todas estas organizaciones han significado su interés en el programa y algunos han hecho compromisos formales de cooperación con el Instituto.

Hasta ahora ya han participado activamente cinco secretariados profesionales, los cuales casi sin excepción han demostrado un marcado interés en la educación obrera. Es de interés notar que uno de estos secretariados, los Servidores Públicos (ISP) ha vuelto por segunda vez a auspiciar un segundo curso que comenzará el 27 de enero del año corriente. Otros secretariados como los Petroleros, Metalúrgicos han mostrado su interés en auspiciar cursos adicionales en nuestro programa.

En orden de participación:

1. La Internacional de Correos, Telégrafos y Teléfonos (ICTT) y la Internacional de Servidores Públicos (ISP). Este primer curso fue desarrollado del 8 de enero al 16 de marzo de 1962 y participaron 12 sindicalistas además de un becario de Méjico como observador.

2. Federación Internacional de Trabajadores Petroleros (FITP). Este segundo curso se llevó a cabo del 2 de julio al 8 de septiembre de 1962 participando en el mismo un total de 12 líderes obreros.

3. Unión Internacional de Trabajadores de Alimentos y Afines (UITA) cubriendo dicho curso el período del 1 de octubre al 15 de diciembre de 1962 con una participación total de 9 sindicalistas de Sur América, Centro América y Puerto Rico.

4. Federación Internacional de los Trabajadores de las Industrias Metalúrgicas (FITIM). Este cuarto curso fue llevado a cabo desde el 29 de febrero al 6 de abril de 1963 asistiendo al mismo un total de 9 sindicalistas todos ellos de Sur América y Puerto Rico.

5. Federación Internacional de los Trabajadores de la Industria del Transporte (ITF). El curso auspiciado por este secretariado internacional se desarrolló del 16 de septiembre al 22 de noviembre de 1963 asistiendo al mismo 10 becarios en total.

6. Internacional de Servidores Públicos (ISP). El segundo curso que este secretariado auspicia comenzará el 27 de enero de 1964.

D. <u>La Planificación del Programa</u>

Cada curso ofrece su diversidad en casi todos los aspectos de los mismos dado a los elementos y características propias envueltas. Todos y cada uno de éstos se planifica y organiza basándonos en las necesidades y realidad tanto de la organización que auspicia el mismo así como de las organizaciones que están representadas en dichos cursos. En forma general se hace de la siguiente manera:

1. La Universidad (Director del Programa se pone en contacto con Director Regional para la América Latina del secretariado interesado en auspiciar (en la parte técnica) un curso; llegándose a acuerdos en cuanto a la necesidad de esta clase de enseñanza, en los deseos que existe entre la Universidad de Puerto Rico y dicha Internacional de colaborar juntos en

un curso de esta naturaleza y en los objetivos y propósitos del Programa. Mediante correspondencia posterior se establece la fecha en que comenzará el curso.

2. También se fija un lugar (casi siempre ha sido Puerto Rico) en que representantes de la Internacional y de la Universidad se reunirán con los siguientes propósitos:

a. El representante de laInternacional orienta a los directores del programa en cuanto a los objetivos, necesidades, política y operaciones de esa internacional en la América Latina con la finalidad de planificar el curso basándonos en la realidad.

b. Orientar a los directores del programa sobre los candidatos a beca (países de donde vendrán, sus direcciones, posición en el sindicato y en la empresa, así como a quien se va a designar como becario especial).

c. Los representantes del Instituto a su vez describen e informan sobre los instructores del Instituto para que el representante por la Internacional comprenda la embergadura y la clase de personas que van a llevar en sus hombros la enseñanza del curso. Este a su vez designa o recomienda una serie de instructores adicionales por parte de la Internacional que por su experiencia en determinados campos de la industria podría venir a enseñar dicha materia. (Por ejemplo el campo de la Economía de la Industria Petrolera).

d. También se hacen arreglos administrativos incluyendo: un adelanto de pago por la Internacional a los becarios para sostenerse durante los primeros días en Puerto Rico. Dicho adelanto será re-embolsado a la Internacional una vez ellos reciben su viático; la posibilidad de un seminario de post graduados una vez los becarios finalizan el curso. Este se lleva a cabo en un país de la América Latina seleccionado por el Secretariado Internacional; también se hacen provisiones para el pago de los fletes aéreos para los materiales didácticos que los becarios reciben en la Universidad.

3. Selección de Becarios - Los becarios son seleccionados por el Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo con la cooperación de las organizaciones obreras patrocinadoras. Se hace gran esfuerzo por reunir grupos homogéneos. Para cada ciclo de adiestramiento se seleccionan becarios de una sola industria o de industrias relacionadas. Se procura la homogeneidad también en lo que toca a edad, preparación y experiencia sindical. También se consideran los siguientes puntos:

a. En lo posible, se selecciona a los becarios de entre sindicalistas que hayan participado en algún programa de adiestramiento o que tengan una sólida base sindical en virtud de su experiencia práctica, con el propósito de dedicarle la mayor parte del tiempo a los métodos y técnicas de organización y ejecusión de programas de educación obrera.

b. Los candidatos deben haber demostrado condiciones de liderato, y, preferiblemente, haber desempeñado cargos electivos en sus sindicatos. El Instituto desea contar con una garantía razonable de que los graduados del programa habrán de reintegrarse a sus respectivas organizaciones sin dificultad. Además, es muy deseable que los candidatos puedan demostrar que gozan de la confianza de sus compañeros hasta el punto de estar éstos en disposición de contribuir financieramente(aunque sólo sea con una cantidad mínima y como mera demostración de buena voluntad) para el sostenimiento del becario.

c. La organización obrera que recomiende a un candidato deberá estar preparada para certificar que conoce bien sus antecedentes y que goza de buen carácter y reputación.

d. En lo que toca a edad, el criterio es la madurez intelectual y emocional que sean compatibles con la suficiente juventud para que el becario continúe al servicio del movimiento sindical por un buen número de años.

e. En cuanto a educación formal, no hay otro requisito que la literacia. Es muy deseable que los candidatos hayan demostrado previamente su habilidad para aprender en algún otro programa de adiestramiento.

4. Orientación de Becarios - Un miembro del Instituto viaja al país de cada uno de los becarios con los siguientes propósitos:

a. Orientar al becario sobre la naturaleza del programa, sus propósitos y funcionamiento así como de lo intensivo que es. Este le entrega al becario una serie de material sobre el programa, el Instituto, la Universidad, datos sobre economía, sociedad puertorriqueña y la política de Puerto Rico, etc. para que el becario vaya formando un cuadro real que lo lleve a comprender a lo que viene a Puerto Rico.

b. Reunirse con el comité ejecutivo del sindicato de dicho becario con el propósito de hacerle ver claro a ellos la finalidad del viaje de éste y que le brinden su apoyo total una vez regrese al seno de dicho sindicato.

c. Aprender en lo más que sea posible aspectos importantes del sindicato del becario (problemas, intereses, etc.) para que nos ayude al regresar en una planificación real del curso.

d. Ayudar al becario a resolver cualquier situación que surja: obtener su visa, conseguir licencia de su empleador, etc.

5. Duración del Curso

a. Este tiene una duración de diez semanas.

b. Los becarios comienzan a llegar a Puerto Rico una semana antes del comienzo del curso, esto es con el propósito de que se vayan adaptando al nuevo ambiente aquí. Personal del Instituto les espera en el aeropuerto para ubicarlos (a todos juntos) en un hospedaje previa y cuidadosamente seleccionado. El pago promedio de este hospedaje es de $85.00 mensuales incluyendo las tres comidas diarias.

c. El curso comienza con una inauguración informal a la que asisten líderes sindicales del movimiento obrero de Puerto Rico, así como otros personajes de importancia tanto de este movimiento como del de América Latina. También comparece una representación del Secretariado Internacional que auspicia el curso, así como los profesores que dictarán las distintas materias.

d. El curso finaliza con una ceremonia de graduación, luego de la cual se desarrolla una pequeña fiesta de despedida organizada y financiada por los propios becarios. En esta ceremonia los becarios reciben sus certificados de graduación.

e. Durante el día posterior a la graduación los estudiantes salen de Puerto Rico rumbo al país seleccionado en donde ellos desarrollan un seminario de post-graduados. Este seminario es planificado y organizado por el grupo de becarios. Ya no solamente se han convertido en maestros sino que también en organizadores y planificadores de Programas de Educación Sindical.

E. Financiamiento del Programa

a. El programa se financia con un donativo especial de la Fundación Marshall con un arreglo administrativo con la Universidad de Cornell.

b. Los informes financieros preparados para todos los cursos nos dicen que el costo aproximado de la capacitación de cada becario en este programa es de $2,500 que incluye: la transportación aérea del becario desde el país de origen a Puerto Rico, viaje de ida y vuelta. También provee a cada becario viáticos de diez dólares ($10.00) durante su estadía en Puerto Rico; así como hospitalización, seguros de vida, por accidente, etc. para cada becario.

c. En todos los casos la Internacional ha sufragado los gastos del envío a sus países del material didáctico de cada becario.

F. Contenido del Programa

Cada una de las diez semanas está dedicada a un tema específico. Estos temas están íntimamente relacionados a distintos aspectos que son la espina dorsal del curso:

1. ¿Cómo enseñar? - en este gran aspecto se incluyen los siguientes sub-temas:

a. Bases Sicológicas de la Educación de Adultos - se discute la relación entre métodos y objetivos en la educación, comunicaciones efectivas en las organizaciones obreras; cómo lograr comprensión de parte de los sindicalizados y conseguir su participación activa; cómo aprende el trabajador adulto; la importancia de utilizar métodos de participación.

b. Funcionamiento de un comité de educación sindical-- incluyendo: planificación de programas; determinación de necesidades; cómo conseguir asistencia; utilización de recursos de la comunidad, evaluación.

c. Cómo enseñar al adulto: se enseña cómo y cuándo usar el método de conferencia; introducción a/y práctica supervisada del sistema de discusión en mesa redonda; el sistema de ayudas audiovisuales en la enseñanza ¿qué son? ¿cómo usarlas? (incluyendo el uso de proyectores, pizarra, felpógrafo, grabadora, etc.). Se discute y practica también el método de la dramatización en la enseñanza de adultos.

(2) ¿Qué enseñar? - podríamos decir que gran parte del resto de los temas incluídos en las 10 semanas está abarcado por este aspecto de qué enseñar. Se incluyen en éste, temas cómo:

a. El Por Qué del Sindicalismo - por qué existen sindicatos y cómo surgieron; cuál es la filosofía, tradición e historia del movimiento obrero.

b. Organización Sindical - se discute cómo se organizan los sindicatos, legislación laboral (hasta donde toca a la organización sindical); cómo organizar a los no organizados.

c. Administración Sindical - se discute el papel del delegado sindical; cuáles son los requisitos indispensables que debe tener un buen líder sindical; la razón de ser de un sistema de comités, estructura y función de la Internacional que auspicia el curso.

d. Relaciones obrero-patronales - se incluye: administración del contrato colectivo - enfatizando el procedimiento de quejas; la negociación colectiva - cuáles son las tácticas de la negociación - legislación laboral (hasta donde tiene que ver con las relaciones obrero-patronales); preparativos económicos para la negociación colectiva; problemas de sistemas de salarios, estudio de tiempo, incentivos, evaluación de tareas; problemas de productividad, automatización y de formulación de demandas.

e. La Defensa del Sindicato, las Salvaguardias democráticas.

(3) Adiestramiento en Laboratorios

a. Laboratorio de Ayudas Audio-Visuales

Práctica en el uso de equipo de proyección, grabadoras, equipo de reproducción, cartelones, tablón de edictos, franelógrafos, pizarras, etc. Se da una sesión por semana de dos horas durante ocho semanas.

b. Laboratorio de Redacción

Práctica en la preparación y planeación de bosquejos, correspondencia, programas de radio, comunicados de prensa, anuncios pagados, informes, cláusulas de contratos, quejas, editoriales, artículos, ensayos y hojas sueltas. Una introducción sobre relaciones públicas también está incluído. Se da una sesión por semana de dos horas durante ocho semanas.

c. Laboratorio de Oratoria

Práctica en la preparación y exposición verbal de una conferencia; de discursos formales, discursos improvisados en reuniones y asambleas obreras; presentación de conferenciantes en programas de educación obrera; exposición verbal de quejas y demandas del contrato colectivo; participación en debates, etc. Una grabadora es utilizada en el transcurso del laboratorio. Se da una sesión por semana de dos horas durante ocho semanas.

(4) Estudio individual - aproximadamente cuatro tardes por semana son dedicadas a la lectura y preparación de asignaciones escritas de acuerdo con el tópico de la semana. Por ejemplo, durante las primeras tres semanas, las asignaciones incluyen lectura de documentos descriptivos del secretariado internacional; historia del movimiento obrero; organización y administración sindical; sicología de adultos; y la preparación por cada becario de un bosquejo de discusión de la historia del movimiento obrero de su país, y un esquema de la estructura de organización de sus propios sindicatos. A mitad del programa los becarios empiezan a dedicar la mayor parte de tiempo de sus estudios al desarrollo de programas educativos los cuales intentarán poner en efecto en sus organizaciones-tópicos, métodos, itinerarios, instructores, materiales, etc.

Una pequeña biblioteca con libros y folletos de referencia con tópicos de relaciones obreras e industriales ha sido puesta a la disposición de los becarios. También, cada becario trae consigo una colección de documentos tales como sus contratos colectivos, estatutos de su sindicato, historia del movimiento obrero de su país, legislación laboral de su país, etc. Cada semana el Instituto provee al becario de una colección seleccionada de material mimeografiado sobre el tópico de la semana. Los becarios coleccionan este material en cuadernos que también les provee el Instituto pasando a ser de su propiedad. Las asignaciones que aquéllos preparan son mimeografiadas y a cada uno se le provee de un juego completo de sus propias asignaciones y otros trabajos.

Los períodos de estudio son supervisados por el Ayudante del Director del Programa y un Becario Especial sobre la base de ayuda y guía individual.

III. CONTACTO Y ASESORAMIENTO DE LOS EGRESADOS

El programa se mantiene en contacto con los egresados del programa. Con este propósito los directores han creado un boletín informativo al cual los ex-becarios FEOS (así se ha denominado el programa) envían sus noticias de interés y escriben corrientemente informándonos sobre sus triunfos y también de sus fracasos. En ocasiones en que uno de los oficiales del Instituto va a la América Latina en viaje de orientación y selección aprovecha para hacer contacto con los ex-becarios con los propósitos: (1) ver qué problemas y dificultades han tenido dichos exbecarios, así como de las cosas positivas que han desarrollado en materia de educación sindical. Este aspecto nos ha ayudado en gran manera para planificar y organizar los demás cursos en nuestro programa. (2) darle asesoramiento y hasta participar en uno que otro curso que estas personas estén desarrollando.

Casi todos ellos o han desarrollado cursos de educación sindical o han participado como instructores en cursos y seminarios que otras organizaciones estén desarrollando.

De la experiencia con todos los cinco grupos que han pasado por nuestro programa podemos decir que:

1. Su éxito como educador sindical dependerá de la ayuda y respaldo que su sindicato le brinde, así como de la estabilidad y normalidad que tenga en su sindicato al éste volver a su país.

2. Su éxito dependerá también de la ayuda técnica y económica que le brinde el secretariado que lo estimuló a venir a Puerto Rico.

3. Tan importantes son estos dos elementos arriba mencionados que becarios que han sido "problemas" en el curso o no han demostrado la habilidad, inteligencia ni experiencia de otros compañeros, pero que han gozado de esta clase de respaldo, han desarrollado una gran labor en educación sindical. Por el contrario becarios que han demostrado empuje, inteligencia, limar asperezas en el grupo, han sido líderes del grupo pero que no han contado con el respaldo anterior, han quedado en el anonimato.

* * * * * * * *

Training

SLEP

ILLITERACY

KEEPS MANY UNEMPLOYED WORKERS FROM BEING RETRAINED

How can some of the unemployed workers who need help most desperately be reached? Workers who can neither read or write have a reduced chance of benefiting from manpower-training programs. Often the ability to read and write, or the ability to express one's thoughts clearly, or listen carefully are skills essential to succeed in retraining projects. They are skills many hard core unemployed workers do not have.

A training project in Norfolk, Virginia, faced with this problem, experimented with a program of basic education in reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic for unemployed men lacking these skill. The results of this pioneering program in providing basic education prior to job training led to changes in the MDTA Act.

The following article provides an account of the way this program was devised and some of the problems involved in recruiting men for the program and keeping them from dropping out of the program because of personal problems or lack of money. You will probably want to discuss some of the following questions after you read this article.

1. Why do you think recruitment is a problem in retraining programs?

2. Do you feel basic education courses are important in helping the hard core unemployed find jobs?

3. What were some of the reasons men dropped out of the training program and what was done to prevent this from happening?

4. Why did Congress amend the Manpower Training and Development Act (MDTA) to provide more money for training unemployed workers who are illiterate?

A SECOND CHANCE FOR NINETY MEN IN NORFOLK

by James W. Canan

The Reporter, July 16, 1964

First Training Program Provides Lessons of Benefit to Future Projects

Seventy-eight of the ninety unlettered, unemployed Negroes who struggled through a year's training in Norfolk, Virginia, have found steady jobs since their graduation last November. But even more important than these individual success stories was the experience gained in the first attempt to train the hard-core poor under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. It was in large measure the lessons learned in Norfolk that led Congress to amend the act for the benefit of future projects. And, yet, despite these and other accomplishments, it is by no means certain that the project can be repeated on a large scale in other communities.

The success of Norfolk lay largely in the drive of those responsible for it to remold the men in it, however great the odds. Matching that drive will be difficult, even with more help from the Federal government.

The project, designed to overcome the interrelated problems of illiteracy, unemployment, and racial discrimination, was devised by the Norfolk division of the Virginia State College, an all-Negro institution. The idea was not so much to teach skilled men new skills or to help them shift from dying trades to promising ones as to make literate craftsmen out of men whose only marketable assets were their muscles.

Manpower Training Was Not Reaching Those Who Needed It Most -- Illiterates

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz assigned top priority to the Norfold project, as overseen from Washington by his Office of Manpower, Automation and Training (OMAT). He was distrubed because the manpower-training programs were not reaching the unemployed who needed them most, namely the nation's illiterates, among whom Southern Negroes predominated. Hence, Wirtz described the Norfolk project as "one of the most important and critical experiments going on in the United States today." He noted that Negro heads of families were unemployed in twice the numbers of their white counterparts. He blamed in part "the continuing fact of discrimination," but asserted that the Negroes' biggest drawback was their lack of training for many of the jobs otherwise available to them.

The encroachments of automation at the naval bases, shipyards, and coal piers that dominate the Norfolk area's economy illustrate Wirtz's point dramatically: they are bad news for the unskilled laborer, black and white. Four years ago, the Navy reported to the Negro college that the installation of computer controls in warehouses and of machines for loading ships' stores would soon mean laying off some three hundred Negroes. Was there anything the college could do to train Negroes to handle jobs requiring some judgement? If there was, the Navy would do everything possible to hire them.

College Plan Program for Hard-Core Unemployed

The college responded by conceiving its training project. But not until passage of the Manpower Act in 1962 was the college able to proceed on grants of $135,000 from the Labor Department for the trainees' allowances and $125,000 from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to pay administrative and teaching costs.

Most of the hundred Negro men choses for the Norfolk courses in auto mechanics, bricklaying, electronics, sheet-metal work, and janitorial duties were of the "hard-core unemployed" (and resented being so described). Ranging in age from twenty-five to sixty and averaging four children each, they could not read well enough to pass the standard aptitude test that ordinarily determines whether a man is qualified to be trained under the Manpower Act. They had bleak histories of share-cropping or of desultory employment in what they called "pick-up work," and they all realized the futility of seeking steady work with brawn alone to offer.

Officials at the Norfolk college were convinced that it would be necessary to instruct the men in many other areas besides shop courses if they were to make their way in the modern job market. The ability to read, to write, to be fairly well spoken -- and even to listen -- seemed just as essential to success. Furthermore, the officials believed that the dignity to be gained from becoming skillful would stimulate a yearning for increased literacy, and vice versa.

Basic Education Techniques Tried Here Become Standard

Thus fifty of the trainees were given additional instruction in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and just plain communication ("How to Talk to Your Supervisor"). The others received vocational training only. The fortunes of the two groups, along with those of another hundred men who received no training, will be compared a year following the project's completion. There is enough evidence already, however, to vindicate the concept. As a result, the "basic education" techniques tried for the first time at Norfolk have become more or less standard in manpower programs.

But it was one thing to plant the theories and quite another to nurture them. The first of many problems encountered by the college was to attract the attention of men who do not expect that anything good will come their way, and who consequently tend to be too shy or too sullen to take advantage of it when it does. The state employment office in Norfolk used its files to round up prospects for the training, and mass media publicized the project, but the response was negligible. One college official observed that the publicity produced "a very favorable atmosphere among the literate public," but not much else. Either the unemployed had no desire to learn new skills or else they had not been reached. At any rate, it was apparent that they were not likely to apply for training just because it was there; they had to be found and then convinced that it was to their advantage to sign up.

Recruiters go to Poor Neighborhoods and Churches in Search of People

Professors and undergraduates spread the word through the pastors of Negro churches concentrating on those in poor neighborhoods and being careful to include all the "cult" congregations. They roamed the streets in teams, talking about the project to anyone who would listen, distributing simply written fact sheets in the places where the idle congregated. After a month, the employment office and the college had more than enough applicants.

Many of them, not understanding the unique purpose of the project, were puzzled as to why their comparative keenness of mind should weigh against their being chosen. In point of fact, however, several who showed acumen were selected, to give the classes the pupil leadership that the college felt would be impossible to attain with classes made up entirely of "defeated people."

Once the classes began, the instructors ran into resistance from the trainees in the basic education courses. They made it plain that they had signed up to be shown how to get big pay checks, not to pore over readers and spellers. But within a few weeks, they began to take pride in their studies and drew the envy of the others. It became a matter of course for those taking the three Rs to share what they had learned with those who were not. It was a revelation that all but a few of the trainees, in both groups, showed a deftness of hand and mind that belied their dismal backgrounds and low aptitude-test scores. Moreover, the average reading level of those in the basic education group improved markedly.

Dropouts Threaten Program Because Trainees Cannot Support Families

About a year ago, just as the project seemed to be proving itself, it was threatened with a crisis: dropouts on a scale that would have finished it then and there. Ten trainees already had departed, some because they could not resist job offers. One, for example, took a job as a front-end man in an auto-body repair shop at $90 a week, a fortune for him. Most quit or were seriously considering quitting, however, because they could not support their families on the weekly allowances they were receiving from the government.

Under the Manpower Act at the time, a trainee was forbidden to work part time, and was limited to an allowance no greater than the level of unemployment compensation of the state in which he lived. The level in Virginia was $27 a week, and most of the trainees, despite histories of irregular work, had been able to do better. With summer at hand, they longed to apply for the jobs and the big tips possibly awaiting them at Virginia Beach and other resort areas. At one point, the teachers and staff began making small out-of-pocket loans to starve off the trainees' creditors, and arranging for donations of food, clothing, and even toys.

Congress Amends MDTA to Allow More Money for Training Allowances

Confronted by this challenge to the project, which Wirtz had said "has got to work," the Labor Department approached a private foundation, which provided $29,000, enough to add $15 a week to the income of each trainee, plus $2 a week for each dependent. There were no more dropouts, and absenteeism dwindled to almost nothing. As a result, Congress amended the Manpower Act to authorize bonuses of up to $10 a week to trainees who, in the judgement of the Secretary of Labor, just can't make it on their allowances. In addition, trainees now may work as many as twenty hours a week, thus lessening any urge to forsake training when part-time work becomes available. And Congress also appropriated more money to train "functional illiterates" in the Norfolk pattern.

But money wasn't the only problem encountered in the Norfolk project. Not surprisingly many of the trainees had personal and family problems. Halfway through the courses, the college felt compelled to borrow Mrs. Vivian Ewing, a Negro caseworker, from the Norfolk Social Service Bureau to counsel the men.

Counseling Helps Trainees and Wives Adjust Better

Mrs. Ewing went beyond counseling and referring. She organized the trainees' wives into a club; helped them to budget for low-cost, ourishing meals and to organize their households; arrange picnics; attempted to relieve the fears of some of them that their husbands might develop a yen for the co-eds at the college; and repeatedly planted the idea that they should be proud of their husbands and of themselves.

One faculty member, who praised Mrs. Ewing for her achievements, nonetheless expressed misgivings; "I wonder," he said, "how these men will react when they have to show up on the job on the dot every day and stay steady, without her to hold their hands when they have troubles." Thus far, his doubts have not been justified.

What Were Some of the Problems in Placement?

For all the spirit and confidence that had developed by graduation time ("The hall was packed and the undergraduates cheered; you'd have thought they were graduating from Harvard," said one professor), it took two months to get thirty of the trainees hired and two more to bring that number up to fifty. The Navy, which had been expected to hire nearly all of the electronics and sheet-metal workers, was stymied by a reduction in the civilian work force of the entire Defense establishment. The weather had turned cold, and so had the bricklayers' prospects.

Eight months after the end of the project, the Navy has managed to hire only one trainee. Even so, sixty-six of the ninety who earned certificates are working at their trades -- including fifteen of the sixteen bricklayers -- or at related jobs. Twelve others have found work in different fields. One of them, the sixteenth bricklayer, exemplifies an important side benefit of the training; the self-discipline that comes with having seen something through. His big handicap always had been a violent temper, which flared up a few times early in the training and rendered his future dubious. He learned to control it, and because he had, was recommended to an agency that supplies guards for stores. Not long after being hired, he broke his hand while defending a supermarket against young hoodlums who have been vandalizing it, and became something of a local hero.

Trained Men Break Through the Segregation Barrier

Especially striking was the impact of the project on segregation. One graduate became the telephone company's first Negro lineman in Norfolk at $72 a week. A previously all-white automobile assembly plant took on four trainees, two for the assembly line at $3.50 an hour and two for maintenance work at $2.52 an hour. One of the assemblers made $200, with overtime, his first week on the job.

To be sure, some members of the unusual graduating class have not been so fortunate. It is believed that one trainee was fired from a good job because he refused to change an elaborate hair style that his white co-workers found offensive. Another joined the Black Muslims upon graduation. Eight of the trainees found jobs at a plant in North Carolina, only to be laid off in short order for reasons that have not been made clear.

But on balance, the project must be reckoned a worthwhile experiment. In a recent progress report, Dr. William M. Cooper, who directed the project, wrote: "We are continuing our efforts to place and upgrade trainees. Co-operation of the employment offices has been good. The employment situation is fluid and ever-changing. Our trainees are responding to these changes to better their employment and pay ... Our hope is that this report will help in promoting the total manpower effort."

At the very least, it looks like a step in the right direction.

INSTITUTO DE RELACIONES DEL TRABAJO
COLEGIO DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
RIO PIEDRAS, PUERTO RICO

PUENTE HEMISFERICO

QUE UNE LA

ENSEÑANZA OBRERO-PATRONAL ENTRE LAS AMERICAS

MARZO DE 1965

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LA UNIVERSIDAD

La Universidad de Puerto Rico fué fundada en 1903 como una institución de enseñanza superior por legislación insular con el fin de propulsar el desarrollo de la educación pública y de ofrecer entrenamiento en las disciplinas profesionales e intelectuales. Su principal fuente de ingreso proviene del erario público de Puerto Rico y es una universidad reconocida como una "Land Grant College." Es una universidad del pueblo donde más del 30% de su matrícula recibe becas de estudio y sostenimiento y se dedica el 13% de su presupuesto para este fin.

El organismo director de la Universidad radica en el Consejo Superior de Enseñanza, integrado por el Secretario de Instrucción como miembro ex-oficio, dos educadores y cuatro ciudadanos residentes. El Gobernador nombra a todos sus miembros con el consentimiento del Senado de Puerto Rico. El Rector es el Director Ejecutivo de la Universidad, nombrado por el Consejo Superior de Enseñanza por tiempo indefinido.

La Universidad consta de tres recintos principales. El más antiguo y mayor está situado en la ciudad de Rio Piedras. Dicho recinto incluye las Facultades de Estudios Generales, Humanidades, Ciencias Naturales, Ciencias Sociales, Pedagogía, Comercio, Farmacia, Derecho. El otro recinto esta ubicado en la ciudad de Mayaguez, donde opera el Colegio de Agricultura y Artes Mecánicas, incluye las Facultades de Ingeniería, Agricultura y Artes y Ciencias. En este recinto esta el mayor laboratorio de ciencia nuclear que funciona en el mundo de habla española y esta dirigido por la Universidad como parte del programa de "Atomos para la paz." El tercer y último recinto esta localizado en la ciudad capital de San Juan y alberga las Facultades de Medicina Tropical, la Facultad de Odontología y la Escuela de Salud Pública.

Actualmente la Universidad de Puerto Rico es una institución de alrededor de 1.500 profesores y 24.000 estudiantes agrupados en los tres recintos y en los Centros de Extensión situados en Rio Piedras, Humacao, Ponce, Arecibo, Vega Baja y Mayaguez.

Además la Universidad posee dos grandes instituciones al servicio de la agricultura, la Estación Experimental Agrícola y el Servicio de Extensión Agricola.

FUNDACION DEL INSTITUTO

El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo fue creado por virtud de la Ley Número 141 de la Asamblea Legislativa de Puerto Rico en el año 1950 y establecido en la Universidad de Puerto Rico en su Colegio de Ciencias Sociales mediante acuerdo de la Junta de Gobierno de la Universidad; respondiendo a las necesidades del Pueblo de Puerto Rico y a su creciente movimiento obrero, tanto en los campos agrícolas como en las fábricas que comenzaban a desarrollarse dentro del bien planeado programa de industrialización.

OBJETIVOS

Coordinar la enseñanza de nivel universitario en el campo de las relaciones industriales y obrero-patronales.

Desarrollar programas de capacitación sindical para los dirigentes y miembros de los sindicatos obreros, a fin de capacitarlos para que desempeñen más eficazmente sus funciones y para que adquieran una visión amplia del papel que desempeñan los sindicatos en la sociedad democrática moderna.

Hacer viable para el personal de las empresas privadas, el desarrollo de programas de adiestramiento sobre administración de personal y relaciones industriales y obrero-patronales.

Proveer programas y facilidades de adiestramiento para los empleados de las dependencias gubernamentales encargadas de aplicar la legislación protectora del trabajo y las leyes de relaciones obrero-patronales vigentes en Puerto Rico.

Llevar a cabo una labor de investigación y publicar estudios sobre: Economía del Trabajo, Legislación del Trabajo, Relaciones Industriales y Obrero-Patronales, Negociación Colectiva, Conciliación, Mediación, Arbitraje, Salarios, Condiciones de Empleos y otros campos con éstos relacionados. Estas investigaciones se hacen con el propósito de utilizarlas en la tarea docente y con miras a ofrecer posibles soluciones al gobierno sobre problemas del trabajo.

PROGRAMAS QUE LLEVA A CABO EL INSTITUTO

Para lograr los objetivos señalados arriba el Instituto desarrolló los siguientes programas de Capacitación Sindical:

PROGRAMAS INTERNACIONALES

Programa de capacitación sindical para dirigentes latinoamericanos.

Programas especiales para dirigentes sindicales latinoamericanos.

Programa de Formación de Educadores Sindicales.

PROGRAMAS PARA PUERTO RICO

Programas en residencia de capacitación sindical para líderes obreros puertorriqueños.

Programa en residencia de capacitación sindical de una semana.

PROGRAMAS DE EXTENSION

Seminarios para dirigentes sindicales. Cursos para uniones obreras en sus propias organizaciones.

Talleres y cursos nocturnos.

Seminarios para el cuerpo de profesores.

Conferencias

Foros Públicos

PROGRAMAS DE ADIESTRAMIENTO PARA LA GERENCIA

Programa de Administración de Personal.

Programa de Negociación Colectiva y Legislación Laboral.

Programa de Desarrollo Gerencial.

DESCRIPCION DE LOS PROGRAMAS

PROGRAMAS INTERNACIONALES

PROGRAMA CAPACITACION SINDICAL PARA DIRIGENTES LATINOAMERICANOS

El programa comenzó en el 1951 como un experimento entre la ORIT (rama interamericana de la CIOSL) y la Universidad de Puerto Rico, luego el Punto IV (Agencia de Operaciones en el Extranjero) de los Estados Unidos de América se interesó en el programa y se hizo cargo del financiamiento y selección de los participantes. De ahí en adelante las agencias del Gobierno de Estados Unidos que tuvieron a cargo los programas de asistencia técnica a los países extranjeros (ICA-AID) continuaron respaldando y ampliando este programa hasta hoy día.

Los objetivos primordiales de este entrenamiento intenso en Puerto Rico para estos jóvenes líderes sindicales latinoamericanos son:

Familiarizarlos con los principios y técnicas de la Administración Sindical moderna y de la negociación colectiva.

Lograr que comprende el papel que los sindicatos democráticos desempeñan en nuestra sociedad libre y las bases y consecuencias que su política tiene en la estructura general de la economía.

Estimularlos a pensar y discutir acerca del papel apropiado que el sindicalismo puede desempeñar en

el desarrollo económico de las naciones en proceso de desarrollo.

Este entrenamiento que ofrece el Instituto combina el trabajo en el salón de clases con visitas de observación sobre el terreno, durante un período de 10 a 12 semanas.

Los candidatos a estos programas son seleccionados directamente por las Embajadas y Misiones de asistencia técnica de los Estados Unidos de América en los países latinoamericanos.

Desde el comienzo de estos programas centenares de dirigentes sindicales de todos los países de América Latina han participado en ellos y actualmente muchos de ellos están dirigiendo no solo sus organizaciones locales sino las departamentales y nacionales, otros actuando con creciente éxito en el movimiento obrero internacional. Asimismo el Instituto ha sido el precursor de este gran movimiento de educación sindical que se esta extendiendo por toda latinoamerica.

PROGRAMAS ESPECIALES

El Instituto a solicitud de las misiones diplomáticas y de asistencia técnica de los Estados Unidos en América Latina, prepara programas especiales para dirigentes sindicales de aquellos países sobre aspectos específicos en los cuales se quieran adiestrar, tales como los ofrecidos a los diputados obreros Bolivianos, a mujeres sindicalistas, a dirigentes campesinos, sobre cooperativas sindicales; etc.

Estos programas especiales tienen una duración de (6) seis semanas y a similitud del programa de capacitación de dirigentes sindicales, las clases teóricas son combinadas con prácticas y actividades de campo.

PROGRAMA DE FORMACION DE EDUCADORES OBREROS

El Instituto en su deseo de darle un nuevo enfoque a la capacitación sindical tanto en América Latina como en Puerto Rico, inició en 1962 un nuevo programa dirigido a preparar educadores sindicales con el objeto de que sean las propias uniones obreras las que desarrollen los programas de educación para sus miembros en forma permanente.

Para llevar a cabo este programa el Instituto cuenta con la ayuda económica de la Fundación Marshall, la cooperación técnica de la Escuela de Relaciones Industriales y Obrero-Patronales de la Universidad de Cornell y la participación de los Secretariados Profesionales Internacionales.

El objetivo de este programa es capacitar a cada uno de los educandos como organizadores eficaces de programas de educación obrera y como maestros imaginativos de los principios que gobiernan las relaciones industriales y la organización y administración de sindicatos de acuerdo con las necesidades y limitaciones de sus medios ambientes.

Para lograr estos objetivos se familiariza a cada grupo con los métodos de planificar, promover y organizar las actividades educativas, se les ejercita en los métodos de la enseñanza básica empleados comunmente en la educación de adultos. Se da énfasis a la participación activa de los educandos, en el análisis de sus propias necesidades educativas y en la adquisición de técnicas pedagógicas, bajo la guía de instrucciones de experiencia. Además de ello se les prepara en las materias básicas del sindicalismo, como es organización y administración de sindicatos, negociación y administración de contratos colectivos, etc.

Los participantes a estos programas son seleccionados por el Instituto y los Secretariados Profesionales Internacionales patrocinadores. Para cada ciclo se selecciona becarios de una sola industria o industrias relacionadas. Se procura la homogeneidad con respecto a edad, preparación y experiencia sindical. El Instituto acepta becarios de las organizaciones obreras que ofrezcan una razonable garantía de que utilizarán los servicios de los adiestrados una vez finalicen su adiestramiento.

Se ofrecen tres ciclos del programa anualmente, con una duración de 10 semanas cada uno.

El cuerpo de instructores que utiliza el Instituto en este programa proviene principalmente del movimiento obrero internacional, latinoamericano y puertorriqueño, de las universidades de Cornell y Puerto Rico.

PROGRAMAS PARA PUERTO RICO

PROGRAMA EN RESIDENCIA DE CAPACITACION SINDICAL PARA LIDERES OBREROS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS

En un principio el Instituto inició sus actividades en distintos puntos de la isla ofreciendo cursos, seminarios, institutos de fin de semana, discusiones de mesa redonda, conferencias, etc., siendo este tipo de actividad la principal por algunos años. Sin embargo, desde mediados de 1956, se consideró la necesidad de preparar a líderes obreros puertorriqueños intensamente. Para ese fin se creó el programa en residencia de capacitación sindical, que se ofrece dos veces al año con una duración de dos meses y una matrícula de aproximadamente veinte (20) líderes obreros y una beca de $150 al mes, a fin de que los participantes se puedan desligar de su trabajo y organizaciones sin que se afecten sus medios económicos y puedan dedicarse intensamente al programa.

Este programa en residencia fue planeado en una forma parecida al curso de capacitación sindical latinoamericano; pero basado más en las necesidades de nuestros dirigentes, en la peculiaridad de nuestra legislación y en la situación de nuestras relaciones obrero-patronales. Los cursos fueron diseñados en forma de taller y práctica de las labores sindicales con que se enfrentan a diario todo líder sindical tales como Procedimientos de Quejas y Agravios, Reglas Parlamentarias, Técnicas de Negociación entre otras.

Los objetivos básicos del programa en residencia para líderes obreros puertorriqueños son:

Proveerles de las técnicas y métodos modernos de la negociación colectiva.

Compenetrarlos de la legislación laboral y social que rige las relaciones industriales en Puerto Rico.

Familiarizarlos con los principios y técnicas de la administración sindical moderna.

Lograr que comprendan el papel que los sindicatos democráticos desempeñan en nuestra sociedad, así como de los deberes y responsabilidades que los sindicatos y los dirigentes sindicales tienen con

la sociedad, el gobierno y las instituciones sociales.

Familiarizarlos con el ambiente económico, político y social de Puerto Rico y del continente americano, de manera que tenga una visión más amplia de los grandes problemas con que se enfrentan hoy día nuestros países.

El adiestramiento es intenso. Las clases teóricas se suplementan con laboratorios, talleres de trabajo y visitas de observación. Se enseña de una manera sencilla y práctica tomando en consideración la educación y los intereses de los participantes. No hay requisito en cuanto a años de estudio previo, notas o grados. Todo lo que se requiere es que el estudiante sepa leer y escribir, que tenga capacidad probada para ser dirigente y que sea miembro activo de un sindicato. La solicitud de beca se hace directamente al Instituto.

El cuerpo docente incluye a profesores universitarios, dirigentes sindicales y funcionarios gubernamentales que se relacionan con materiales laborables.

PROGRAMA EN RESIDENCIA DE CAPACITACION SINDICAL DE UNA SEMANA

El Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo inició hace poco un nuevo tipo de programa que consiste en ofrecer un seminario intenso en residencia, de una semana de duración, en diferentes pueblos de la Isla. Para este fin se dan becas de $30.00 por esa semana a 25 líderes sindicales, para que durante ese tiempo se dediquen completamente a asistir al programa.

El Seminario consiste en ofrecer cada día un tópico diferente por ejemplo, Organización y Administración de Uniones, Medicina Ocupacional, Legislación del Trabajo, Negociación Colectiva, Parlamentarismo, etc., de manera que cada área pueda ser discutida intensamente. Las clases se reunen de 8:00 de la mañana a 5:00 de la tarde durante seis días.

Los objetivos de estos programas son:

Preparar el liderato obrero, el cual por una razón u otra no puede asistir a los programas en residencia de dos meses y ampliar el radio de acción de la educación obrera, de forma que llegue a un mayor número de sindicalistas.

PROGRAMAS DE EXTENSION

El Instituto además de sus programas en residencia desarrolla una serie de actividades como seminarios, cursos para uniones obreras, talleres y cursos nocturnos, conferencias, foros públicos y mesas redondas. Algunas de estas actividades son solicitadas por las uniones obreras en sus propios locales, otras se ofrecen por iniciativa del Instituto y estan abiertas a toda persona interesada.

PROGRAMAS PARA LA GERENCIA

El Instituto no solamente presta servisios al movimiento obrero organizado a traves de sus programas de educación sindical, si no que realiza una serie de programas destinados a adiestrar al personal de gerencia de la industria, el comercio, la banca y el gobierno en las diversas áreas de las relaciones industriales y obrero-patronales.

Para este fin, el Instituto lleva a cabo programas de Administración de Personal, de Relaciones Humanas, de Legislación Laboral y de Negociación Colectiva.

Estos programas son ofrecidos en cursos nocturnos y en seminarios de fin de semana, dependiendo el enfoque que se le desee dar.

Además, el Instituto presta servicios educativos en el área de la supervisión a aquellas industrias que así lo soliciten.

CURRICULUM

El curriculum que ofrece el Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo está planeado de acuerdo a las necesidades e intereses de los grupos a los cuales se da.

Algunos de los cursos ofrecidos son:

Negociación y Administración de Convenios Colectivos; Historia del Movimiento Obrero Internacional, Nacional y de Puerto Rico; Organización y Administración de Sindicatos; Contabilidad Sindical; Procedimiento Parlamentario; Legislación del Trabajo; Legislación Social; Economía del Trabajo; Selección de Personal; Administración de Salarios; Relaciones Humanas; Periodismo; Oratoria; Economía de Puerto Rico; Adiestramiento, etc.

INVESTIGACIONES Y PUBLICACIONES

El Instituto lleva a cabo una serie de investigaciones relacionadas con el campo de las relaciones obrero-patronales y prepara una serie de publicaciones sobre temas obreros, que son distribuídas gratuitamente. Además reproduce para distribuir en sus cursos y a los interesados, artículos que traten sobre temas de educación laboral.

FILMOTECA

El Instituto posee una serie de películas sobre diversos temas de las relaciones industriales y obrero-patronales, que estan a disposición, tanto de las organizaciones obreras como de la industria.

Para mayor información en cuanto a los varios programas que el Instituto desarrolla, dirijase a:

Instituto de Relaciones del Trabajo
Colegio de Ciencias Sociales
Universidad de Puerto Rico
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

INSTITUTO DE RELACIONES DEL TRABAJO
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
RIO PIEDRAS, PUERTO RICO

NUMERO DE PARTICIPANTES EN CURSOS DE CAPACITACION SINDICAL EN RESIDENCIA POR PAISES Y POR PROGRAMAS, HASTA NOVIEMBRE, 1963.

PAIS	TOTAL PAIS	CAP. SINDICAL (26 PROGRAMAS)	ESPECIALES (9 PROGRAMAS)	FEO (5 PROGS)
Argentina	2			2
Bolivia	67	43	22	2
Brazil	10	8		2
Chile	44	44		
Colombia	147	139		8
Costa Rica	25	21	1	3
Cuba	10	9		1
El Salvador	54	48	5	1
Ecuador	130	50	80	
Guatemala	9	8		1
Haití	1	1		
Honduras	73	70	1	2
Honduras Británica	1	1		
Nicaragua	11	11		
México	19	15	2	2
Panamá	17	15		2
Paraguay	4	3		1
Perú	72	63	3	6

PAIS	TOTAL PAIS	CAP. SINDICAL (26 PROGRAMAS)	ESPECIALES (9 PROGRAMAS)	FEO (5 PROGS.)
Santo Domingo	18	8	10	
Uruguay	24	10	11	3
Venezuela	27	22		5
Estados Unidos	1			1
Puerto Rico	27	16		11
TOTAL PROGRAMA LAT.	793	605	135	53*
PROG. PUERTORRIQUEÑO	181*			
GRAN TOTAL.....	971			

*Dieciseis (16) puertorriqueños tomaron el curso de Capacitación Sindical con líderes obreros latinoamericanos, once (11) con el programa FEO, para un total de 208.

LCDO. JAIME BENITEZ, RECTOR
UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO

DRA. ADRIANA R. DE GUZMAN, DECANA
COLEGIO DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES

SRA. ADELAIDE BARELA, DIRECTORA INTERINA
INSTITUTO DE RELACIONES DEL TRABAJO

Kentucky LABOR News
4-10-65

Labor Education

At Kentucky Dam Village

Workshop examines poverty in Kentucky

(The following story appeared in the Paducah Sun-Democrat on April 4, written by Sun-Democrat staff writer Don Walker. Some 120 unionists gathered at Kentucky Dam Vil lage State Park to attend the conference on Aspects of Poverty in Kentucky. Twenty-three Kentucky communities and 33 local unions were represented at the conference which was planned by the Western Kentucky AFL-CIO Area Cou ncil and the Research and Education Dept. of the Kentucky State AFL-CIO.—Editor)

An Eastern Kentucky newspaper man has warned that impoverished Appalachia is "ripe for infiltration and agitation" by subversive groups unless the poor themselves are allowed to work out their own salvation in such efforts as the War on Poverty.

It appears that the only way the poor, unemployed and minority groups will be able to have a voice in such programs will be for them to be organized and force their way into positions of administration and organization, according to Tom Gish, editor of Whitesburg Mountain Eagle.

A group of some 120 labor leaders from Western Kentucky were told that unions should "fill the void" in organizing the needy to this end or face the possibility "of some other force doing so."

Not Evident So Far

"Communism has not been evident so far," Gish said, "but the situation is ripe for exploitation."

Another speaker at the Labor Institute on Poverty sponsored by the Western Kentucky Area Council AFL-CIO Friday and Saturday quoted figures which showed that, by some measuring sticks, average Western Kentuckians are not much better off than Eastern Kentuckians as far as income is concerned.

Don Soule, director of research and statistics for Kentucky Department of Labor, gave this breakdown on state and area family incomes as compared to the national average:

"Family income for the state was only 71 per cent of the national average while Jefferson County was slighly above at 102 per cent of the national average.

"These percentages were 74 per cent for the Central; 57 per cent for the Western and 43 per cent for the Eastern groups of Kentucky counties."

Ways Suggested

Soule continued, "This pattern is also found in the comparisons of median income for all male workers for various occupational groups for males, and for female workers. The earnings data shown were not much lower for East-Kentucky, except for family in-ern Kentucky than for Western comes."

He suggested these ways of raising family incomes above the poverty level:

"Union organization of low-paid workers . . . although it could not be expected to solve the whole problem.

"One urgent need is for changes in Kentucky's system of public education. It has been discovered, in the various retraining programs, that lack of basic education is as great a problem as lack of specific skills. Kentucky needs to spend much more than it presently does on public education. And there is even greater need to have uniformity in quality of education. The obvious solution is greater state government participation in, and perhaps control of, the financing of public education.

Retraining Advocated

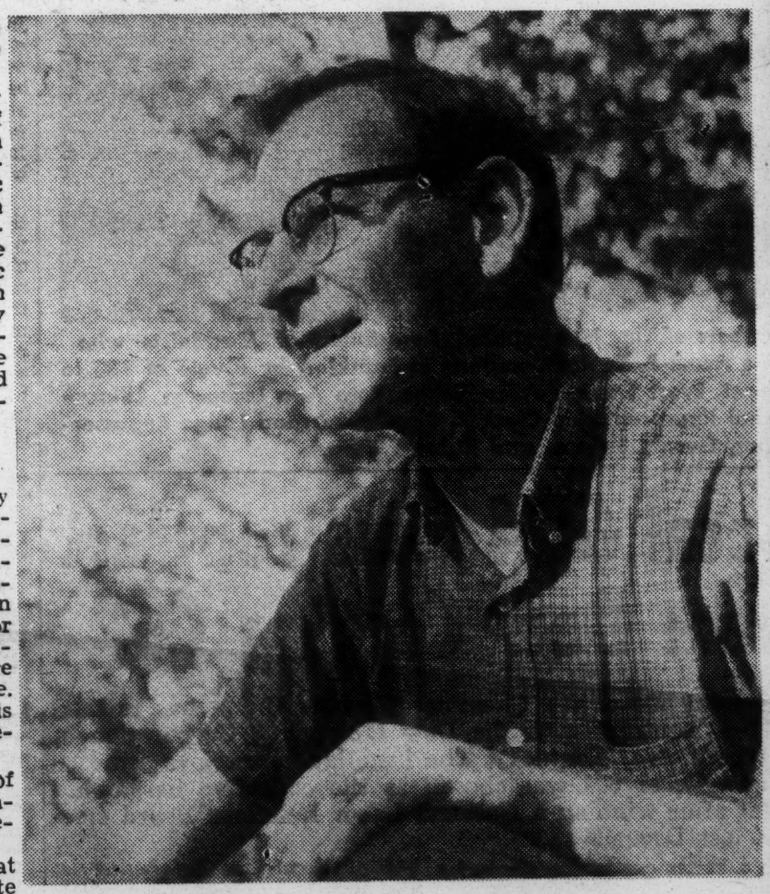
"We also need influence by government — state and/or federal — in assuring that the unemployed are brought in contact with businesses which supply the jobs. This could mean moving and re-training people, or it could mean influencing business to locate in places where they otherwise would not locate. In either case, public funds would be needed to do an adequate job."

Soule discredited the belief of some that the poor and unemployed are lazy, worthless beyond help.

He said it might be true that little can be done to rehabilitate some of the adults among the poor and unemployed.

"But something must be done if we would prevent their chil-

(Continued on page 6, col. 2)



TOM GISH, Editor and Publisher of the Whitesburg Mountain Eagle was among the speakers at the Western Kentucky AFL-CIO Area Council's workshop on the Aspects of Poverty in Kentucky, held last week at Kentucky Dam Village State Park.
Jules Berlin

Kentucky Labor News

News April 10, 1965

Proverty examined by West Ky. workshop

(continued from page 3)

dren from growing up to be images of the parents — poorly educated, lacking in ambition and chronically dependent on relief. It still does not seem appropriate to regard children as worthless bums, or to fear they will become chronically dependent if, by government aid, they are supplied by adequate diets, medical and dental care, education as good as received by others, and reasonable opportunities to get jobs."

Programs 'Political'

Newspaperman Gish claimed that War on Poverty programs established in Eastern Kentucky so far seem "political" from a local point of view.

He claimed that the local politicians and economic leaders (mainly mining interests) have a strangle hold on the administration of poverty programs with the result that some boil down to "just another form of patronage."

Unless members of the underprivileged classes are given some voice in the development and administration of the programs, the purpose of the programs will be defeated, according to Gish.

He recommended that government aid projects already in existence be given close study and improved before more programs and extensions of present ones are made with the same faults.

Move Criticized

Gish criticized in particular the Jobless Fathers Program going on in nine counties including his home county of Letcher.

He said about 5,000 men have been given public works jobs under the program. The county judge has control with delegation of authority to magistrates, he said.

Even though the job assignments must be approved by the State Welfare Department, the wishes of the local politicians are nearly always followed, he said.

"It has turned out to be just another form of political patronage," Gish claimed.

He added that it has been reported the same type program would be expanded to 40 counties and would employ 20,000 men when expanded.

James L. Peel told the group that the Economic Opportunity Act is in many ways an updated version of the best of the New Deal legislation of the 1930's.

The section of the Act concerning community action will be the most difficult to implement, Peel said. This section encourages local communities to organize themselves against the local problems of poverty, he explained.

He urged participation by all labor groups in this area.

Ezelle makes address

In the closing session, state AFL - CIO Executive Secretary Sam Ezelle said organized labor would welcome the opportunity of working with other groups in the battle against poverty.

He called attention to labor's role in seeking such anti-poverty measures as minimum wages, unemployment iinsurance, workmen's compensation benefits, social security and Medicare.

Ezelle, speaking before 125 Western Kentucky labor leaders, attacked Fourth District Legislator Fred Morgan of Paducah and other legislators for seeking an amendment to the 1964 "waitress' back-wage law."

The law awarded waitresses a minimum wage of 75 cents per hour and had a retroactive effect.

Ezelle said Morgan and others back a proposed amendment which would have reduced the minimum to 50 cents per hour. It was defeated.

Ezelle added that he believed 18,075 workers in Kentucky were deprived of $2½ million in the past 12 months because of minimum wage law violations.

(Guests of the conference included J. D. Bearden, Vice-president of the Railway Clerks International Union and R. W. Copeland, General Chairman of the Railway Clerks in the Chicago area, from Chicago; and OCAW International Representative Hugh Owen, from Memphis.

(W. B. Brown, President of the Western Kentucky AFL-CIO Area Council was General Chairman of the program which was opened by Oscar Jaegger, Consultant in the Community Action Division of the Poverty Program.)

Labor - Education

7/10/05 AFL-CIO News

Local Unions Aiding College-Bound Youth

Locals and district affiliates of AFL-CIO unions have made public the winners of still more scholarships that will help finance college careers for promising young men and women.

The Father William J. Kelley scholarship to the New York State School of Industrial & Labor Relations at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., offered annually by New York Local 3, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has been presented to Eleanor Zenn.

Miss Zenn, who just completed her freshman year at the school, is the daughter of Charles Zenn, a member of the local for 23 years. The scholarship honors the former chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board in recognition of his supervision of a Local 3 election in 1948.

2 Teachers Win

Two Seattle, Wash., teachers have won $250 scholarships offered by Waitresses Local 240, a unit of the Hotel & Restaurant Employes, and will study economics at the University of Washington. They are Hisako Arakawa, an elementary school teacher who has taught in several different countries, and Marcella Allen, a junior-senior high school teacher.

Knitgoods Local 190, a unit of the Ladies' Garment Workers, announced the award of scholarships worth $2,400 each to five children of workers in the industry in the Greater Philadelphia area.

Four of the awards came from the union's Knitgoods Scholarship Fund, created by earmarking 10 cents per month from the dues of the 8,000 members. The winners were Linda Geek, Henry Polard and Susan Ehrlich, all of Philadelphia, and Elizabeth McCool, Lansdale, Pa. The Martin Sigman Scholarship, honoring the memory of the late Philadelphia industrialist, was awarded to George Lalka, Atco, N. J.

The Charles Weinstein foundation, created by the Philadelphia Joint Board of the Clothing Workers and the city's clothing industry to honor the memory of the late board manager, has awarded scholarships with a value of about $11,000 to 10 children of members.

The winners are Dennis L. Cohen, Steven Charles Cohen, Stephen E. Farber, Ira Hurvitz, Barry Kilger, Gary M. Levenson, Alvin Wadler, Hal P. Weiss and Arnold Wolf, all of Philadelphia, and Louis Russo, Abingdon, Pa.

Winners in the fifth annual scholarship competition sponsored by the Detroit AFL-CIO as a replacement for the former "Miss Labor Day" contest were announced at the central body's convention. They were Ronald Harwood, son of a member of Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 58, and Linda Maziasz, whose father is a member of Auto Workers Local 235. Each received a tuition grant of $300.

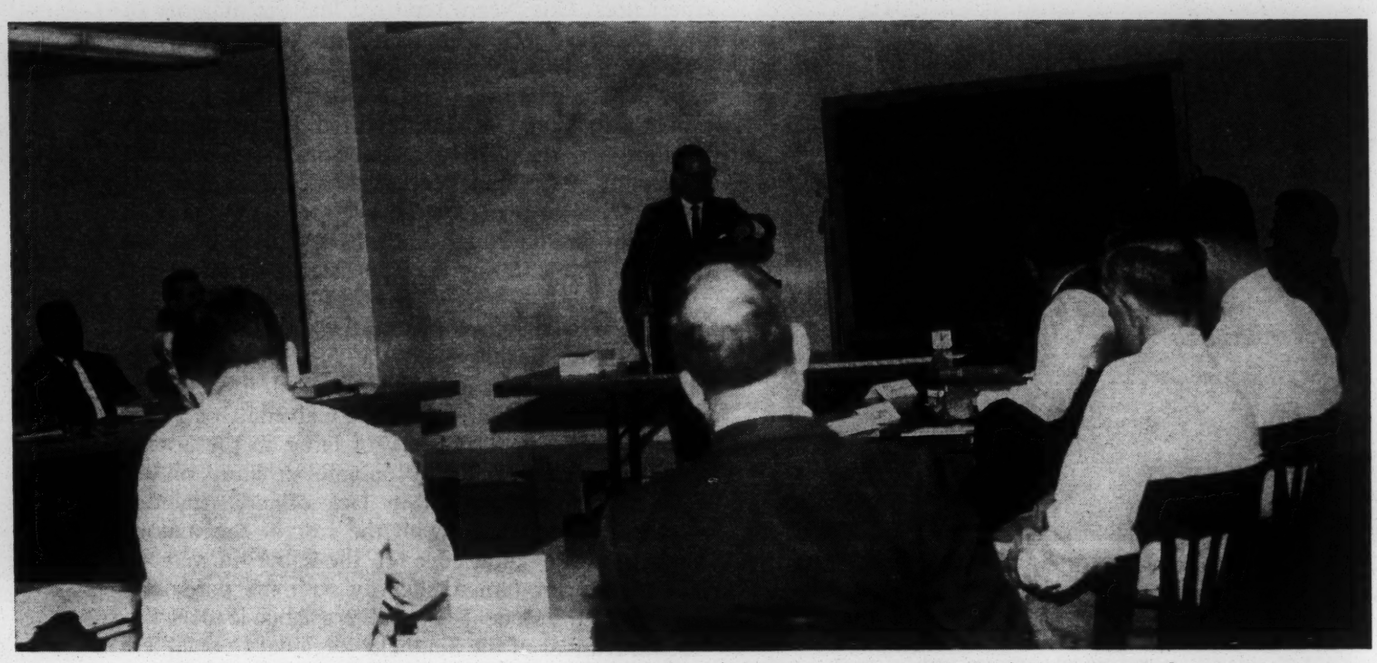
Auto Workers Local 588 in Chicago Heights, Ill., inaugurated a new scholarship program this year and chose as the first winner of a $750 award Dorothy Carol Schulz, daughter of Daniel O. Schulz, a member of the local.

Better Housing Group Names Shishkin Trustee

Boris Shishkin, secretary of the AFL-CIO Housing Committee, has been elected a trustee of Citizens for Better Housing, which provides technical assistance for groups working to expand housing for low and moderate income families in the Washington, D.C., area.

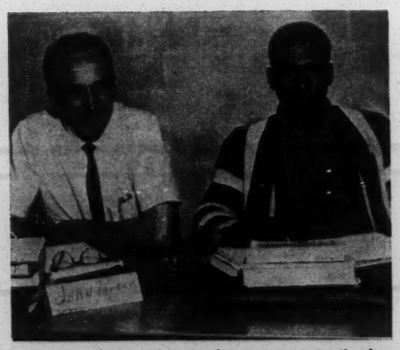
The citizens group works closely with the Washington Planning & Housing Association in encouraging organizations to sponsor nonprofit housing projects.

Slep



Professor Ray Marshall, an expert on southern labor, lectures to union staff members at North Carolina institute.

Staff Training With a Southern Accent



Two students from the Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union: John L. Parker of Birmingham (left) and Lock J. Parker of Suffolk, Va. (right).

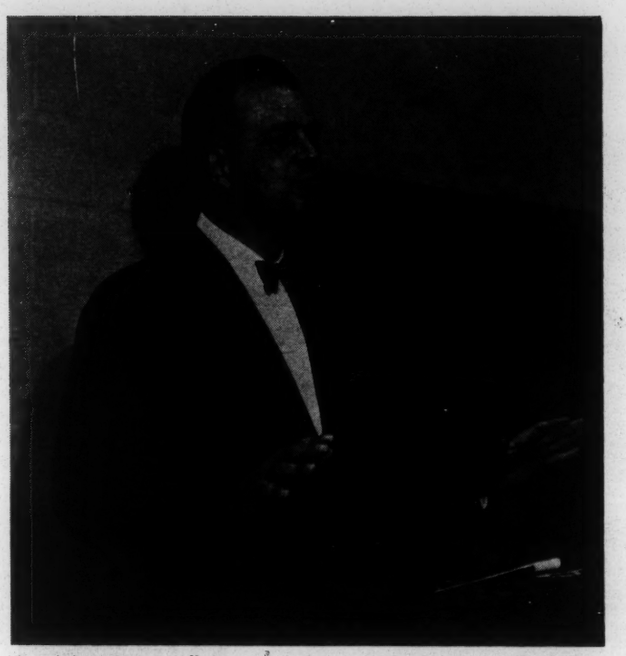
Thirty-six full-time southern union staff members from 16 international unions have participated in a unique staff training program, co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Education and Civil Rights Departments and the National Institute of Labor Education (NILE).

The four-week Staff Training Institutes, one held in 1963 in Chapel Hill, North Carolina and one in Austin, Texas, in 1965, were groundbreaking efforts to relate staff training to the unique political, economic and social problems of a specific geographical region. A third institute will be held in 1966 at the University of Georgia.

A basic assumption of the institutes has been that an understanding in depth of the history, traditions and unique characteristics of the southern region is important to solving the practical problems of organizing, collective bargaining and union administration in the South. The institute classes were therefore devoted to both practical discussions of trade union methods and far ranging discussions of the broad social, economic and political background of the South.

The staff representative is a key figure in internal union communication. He is the chief liaison between the local union members and the national leadership. He is responsible for interpreting and explaining policies on political and social matters to the members and for making the labor movement a vital force in the local community. He is the key to organizing the unorganized. Because of the complex and interdependent society in which he functions, the union official must be aware of the political and social forces which shape that society.

Early in 1963, the first four-week southern staff in-



G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State, spoke to union group while on campus for major address.

stitute took place at the University of North Carolina. Eighteen staff members from 12 different unions attended the program under the direction of Professor Ron Donovan of Cornell University and George Guernsey of the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

A grant from the New World Foundation helped to absorb the costs of administration and tuition, while unions assumed responsibility for loss of income, travel, room and board.

Shortly after the completion of this program, it was decided to hold a second institute. The New World Foundation renewed the grant and plans were made to conduct the school at the University of Texas, working with Professor F. Ray Marshall, a leading authority on southern labor and a member of the NILE board. Joseph Mire of NILE and George Guernsey directed this second institute.

Eighteen southern staff members attended the second institute, nearly all of them international union representatives. Some of them were organizers, one man was the full-time president of his local and one was an international union vice-president.

In a school concerned with the special problems of union staff members in the South, it is inevitable that civil rights problems should play an important part in the program. Don Slaiman, Director of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, participated in the planning for the institute and Al Kehrer of the Civil Rights Department served as assistant to George Guernsey and Joseph Mire at the Austin institute.

Of the eighteen staff members at Austin, three were Negroes, two were Spanish-Americans and one was Indian. All of the students lived and studied together in a hotel in downtown Austin. The institute therefore provided an integrated living experience to go along with the more theoretical classroom discussions of race relations in the South.

Many of the students had had previous interracial experiences. One Negro reported that the majority of those he served were white. Two other Negroes represented a nearly even proportion of both races. Nearly all of the students had worked with interracial groups in political action. One man reported that the coalition of labor and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had defeated a "right-to-work" law in his state. Those from Texas had all taken part in the Negro-Latin-labor-liberal coalition formed in Texas during the 1964 election campaign.

Institute classes were planned to strike a balance between those dealing with the background of the South and those dealing with practical trade union problems. Dr. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas taught a course in the history of labor in the South. He discussed the peculiar economic structure of the South and the reasons for its lack of industrial development as compared with the rest of the nation. Marshall's wide knowledge of the labor movement made it easy for him to identify with the particular problems of the students as southern labor leaders.

Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council led several classes on "The South in the Sixties," tracing the economic and social factors of the region. Dr. David Olson of the University of Texas taught a class in "The History of Southern Politics." Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University taught a class in "The Economics of the South."

Such were some of the classes exploring in depth the problems of the southern region. Other classes made practical application of these more general problems. Classes in problems of union organizing in the South were taught by Al Kehrer of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department and Bill Kircher of the AFL-CIO Organization Department. Norris Tibbets of the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers taught a course in "Arbitration." In a course on legislative issues, George Guernsey stressed the need for union participation on the local level in such federal pro-

Two Tennesseans who lectured: Prof. J. Earl Williams of U. of Tennessee (left) and Daniel A. Powell of AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.

grams as the war on poverty and aid to education. Don Slaiman taught a course on the relationship of labor to civil rights issues. Dan Powell, Area V COPE Director, discussed the practical problems of union political action in the South.

Early in the institute the students participated in a ten-hour course in speed reading. This basic tool subject proved useful to them in their other classes.

There were, of course, many guest lecturers and special activities at both institutes. Frank Smith, a former Mississippi congressman, talked about his life as a national legislator from the South who held principles in conflict with the greater part of his constituency. John Henry Faulk spoke about his book, "Fear on Trial," an account of his personal fight against blacklisting in the entertainment industry. Hank Brown, Texas State AFL-CIO President, talked about the coalition of labor and minority groups in the 1964 Texas elections.

While learning about the significance of Negro demonstrations for the right to vote, faculty and students took the Alabama Voter Registration Test. All but three of those taking the test failed. One of those who passed, a Negro with a high school education, explained that he had been used to similar tests for a long time.

Frank P. Graham, ex-president of U. of North Carolina and United Nations' mediator, also addressed students.

These southern Staff Training Institutes are not all work, however, and students have many opportunities to swap stories and discuss questions informally with their professors. A room was set aside in the hotel for informal gatherings.

In one corner of the room one might see a Negro professor discussing the need for a full employment economy with a white Mississippi student. In another corner, a labor lawyer might be giving advice to several students about their specific problems back home. And nearly always there would be, somewhere in the room, one or two guitarists leading students in song.

Above all, in these informal sessions the students got to know about each other and about one another's unions. A Negro revealed that all of his family were teachers. Asked why he wasn't a teacher, too, he replied, "I could make more money as a laborer. My father taught for $35 a month." Another student, now an international representative serving three states, told of first joining the union. He met the union organizer secretly in a cornfield at midnight, signed the card, and then left separately and secretly.

One student, a railroad man, summarized his ex-

(Below left) Civil rights and labor was a timely and important topic. Specializing in this area were Daniel H. Pollitt, professor of law, U. of North Carolina; Philip Weightman of AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education; John Feild, then with the Potomac Institute; Don Slaiman, Director of AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights.

(Below right) Prof. Ron Donovan of Cornell University, director of the UNC institute, resolves a question at issue. Seated are two staffers of the Communications Workers: Paul G. Gray of Texas (left) and Reid B. Pearce of Tennessee.

Photos courtesy U. of North Carolina Photo Lab

periences: "Not only did I learn a lot of useful things, but this living together with other guys, a lot from unions I never had any contact with before, is the best thing of all. We're all dedicated to the labor movement or we wouldn't be here, but this school really emphasizes our common needs and reminds us of those ideals we all stand for."

Nine months after the North Carolina institute, 14 of the original 18 students attended a follow-up weekend conference, an indication of the continuing significance the institute has had for the students. Letters from students also indicate they have seriously applied the new concepts which they have learned.

The Southern Staff Institutes have made an impact throughout the South, an impact that can be measured in new labor education programs, new and effective programs in political and legislative action and new efforts to work closely with other groups and organizations in the communities.

Yet the problems facing southern unions are so vast that, important as they are, these institutes are only a small beginning at meeting the need for southern staff training.

Top speakers at 1965 institute at U. of Texas included TVA Commissioner Frank Smith, an ex-congressman from Mississippi (standing, left) and Dr. Vivian Henderson of Fisk University (seated, center). Others, from left: Miss Doris Gibson of NILE; Joseph Mire, Exec. Dir. of NILE; George T. Guernsey of AFL-CIO Dept. of Education.

Above: A class listens attentively as Donald Roy, professor of sociology at Duke University, discusses the community framework within which unions function.

Right: Three delegates from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers meet with James Noe, their union's Director of Research and Education, at the UNC Institute. Noe spoke on staff training. Delegates are, left to right: A. R. Brewton of Texas; Noe; Wade Gurley of Georgia; James Brizendine of Arkansas.

Reprinted from September 1965
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Labor Education

YOUTH CITIZENSHIP CONFERENCE held last summer by the Texas AFL-CIO drew about 100 young men and 50 girls, most of them in the high school senior category, for two weeks' intensive study of a program centered on the theme, "Building Citizenship." Here Francisco (Pancho) Medrano, a member of the Auto Workers, talks about civil rights and its tie-in to the full spectrum of history, economics and politics.

State Councils Urged to Emulate Texas Youth Citizenship Parley

A unique experiment in education, sponsored by the Texas AFL-CIO with the intention of making better and more knowledgeable Americans out of young people, is described in the current issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist and pronounced a success.

Called the Texas AFL-CIO Summer Youth Citizenship Conference, it was held at St. Edward's College, Austin, and attracted about 100 young men and half that number of girls—most in the high school senior category, but a few of them collegians. The article, a Labor Education News & Views feature of the Federationist, says they "probably learned more than they were aware of at the time."

"For, as unique as was such a course, the real test of citizenship is in living it in the real world," it observes. "And that is what these very special youngsters were beginning to do."

The subjects, the speakers and the discussions, the article declares, "would never be found in any conventional curriculum," geared as it was to "building citizenship."

"The subject matter ranged over history, economics and politics," it says. "The interrelationship of these subjects emerged through the discussion of such specific topics as the labor movement, the civil rights movement, political action and the 'coalition idea.'"

Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.) and Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.) spoke on the emergence of a Texas liberal movement based on a coalition of labor, Latin Americans, Negroes and already existing liberal groups. The article notes that the idea was of particular interest to the more politically-minded students because of the fact that the state's Latin Americans and Negroes have not "really begun" to participate in political life.

"Another popular subject," the feature adds, "was the role of organized labor in the national war on poverty. The students discussed the problems involved and the ways in which they might assist low-income neighborhoods in their communities in securing federal programs.

"The speakers and discussion leaders, many with national reputations in their fields, proved stimulating and inspiring. The visiting guests included university professors, civil rights leaders, church officials and union officers of every rank. Experts offered the benefit of their experience in social action, politics, organizing, political education, the war on poverty and international affairs."

The conference was under the direction of two Texas AFL-CIO officials—Henry Munoz, Jr., director of equal opportunity, and Education Dir. Harold Tate.

The recent AFL-CIO convention urged all state central bodies to emulate the Texas program and instructed the federation to provide assistance and encouragement.

99-I-I

SOUTHERN STAFF institute held by the National Institute of Labor Education at the University of Georgia, Athens, drew 21 full-time representatives from 14 international unions. Shown during a conference between sessions are, from left, Ray Marshall of the University of Texas; Michael Volk of the Auto Workers; John Jennings of the Transport Service Employes; Dir. Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights and James Stewart of the Laborers. The institute was co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO Departments of Civil Rights and Education.

AFL-CIO News, 2/12/66

Cardinal Labor News
2/18/66 Labor-Education

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Misinterpretation 'Unfortunate':

Labor-Education AFL-CIO News

Educational Tests Held Open to Error

2/26/6

ALTHOUGH intelligence and achievement tests have made a substantial contribution to American education, misinterpretation or misuse of the results has had some unfortunate consequences.

Especially unfortunate has been the assumption that "human ability is more fixed and the rate of development is more completely predetermined by heredity than they really are. . . . Evidence . . . indicates that experience, and particularly pre-school experience, can make substantial differences in a child's IQ score."

That is one of the major points made in "What You Should Know about Educational Testing," by J. McV. Hunt, a new Public Affairs pamphlet. The author is a professor of psychology at the University of Illinois and a frequent contributor to professional journals.

"When a teacher assumes that intelligence is fixed and that development is largely predetermined," he finds, "it dampens his ardor for the innovation of new teaching materials and methods. . . . Similarly, some parents have tended to think of one of their children as bright and have encouraged him to study while thinking of another as dumb for whom special educational opportunities would be a waste. [This] may do a grave injustice to both children."

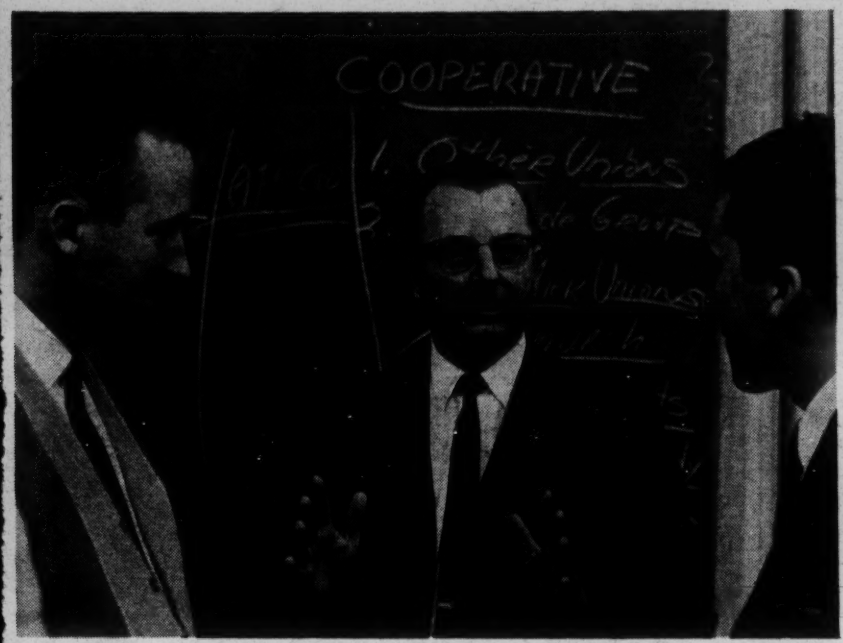
Although division of pupils according to level of ability can benefit both those with high and those with low scores, Hunt stresses that "these groupings should never be permanent." The goal should be to see that each child is taught in the way best calculated to bring out his abilities. Unfortunately, however, "school administrators have all too commonly assigned the most skilled teachers to classes with high scores while assigning the newly trained and those whose skill is questionable to classes with low scores, which tends to give these groupings permanence."

THIS CRITICISM is especially relevant today. Many slum children enter school with a severe handicap that is a natural result of their limited opportunities. Without corrective opportunities, they will be ill equipped for coping with teaching designed for children from the suburbs.

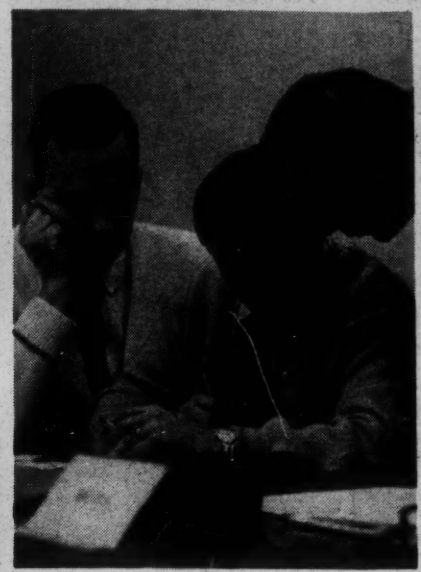
Another source of error is "failure to recognize that scholastic performance is what really counts, and that it takes into account characteristics that may not be measured by the tests of ability or aptitude." Hunt offers several examples of erroneous judgments which were made solely on the basis of low test scores and ignored more favorable classroom performance. It should be noted too that a high test score in contrast to mediocre academic performance may be a clue to low motivation or poor work habits, he says.

On balance, Hunt finds "existing tests have some defects, but decisions based upon proper interpretations of test results are far more accurate than decisions based upon unaided parent or teacher judgments, and more accurate than decisions based on mere grades or ranks in classes" which do not take into account variations among classes and schools.

"What You Should Know About Educational Testing" is Available for 25 cents from the Public Affairs Committee, 381 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10016.



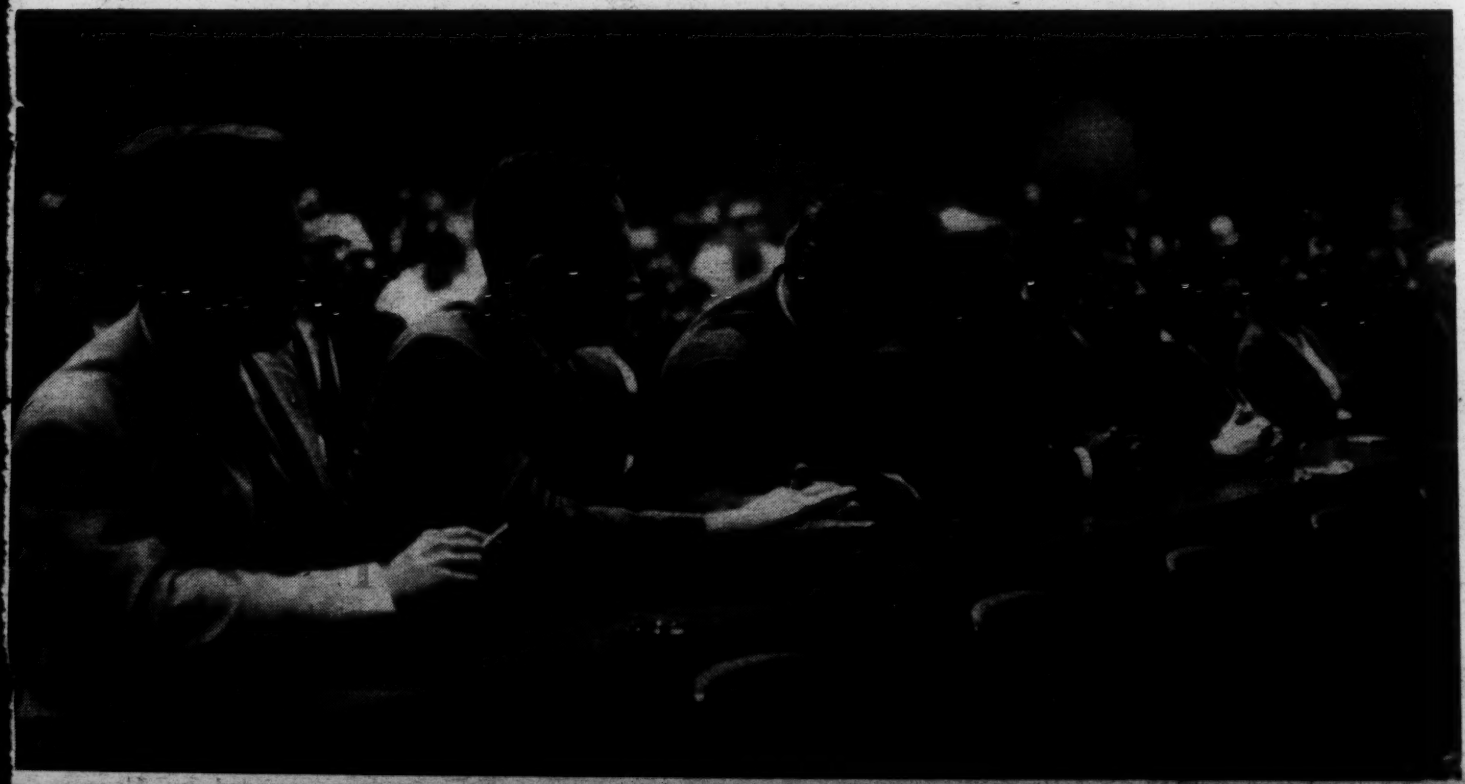
COOPERATION makes for success in organizing, Coordinator James Pierce of AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Dept. tells listeners at Southern Staff Training Institute sponsored by AFL-CIO and National Institute of Labor Education.



ARBITRATION is subject of this study by three trainees—Willis Robinson, Connelly Springs, N.C.; Kenneth Lax of Ft. Worth, Tex.; Hugh Owen, Memphis, Tenn.

MAKING A POINT in class discussion is John W. Jennings of Transport Service Employes. Others, from left, Mrs. Michael Volk, wife of an Auto Worker delegate; Eugene Gore of IUD and Hub Cope, of Mayfield, Ky., Clothing Workers.

Union Staffs Sharpen Skills at Institute



Full-time staff representatives of unions with locals in the South went to school for a month at the University of Georgia at Athens. They analyzed all phases of union work under modern conditions, got up-to-date reports on use of tools they need for union service. School was the Southern Staff Training Institute, third in a series sponsored by National Institute of Labor Education and AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights. To date institute has trained 57 staffers from 20 unions, 18 states. Instructors came also from Universities of Texas and North Carolina, Michigan State and Clark University.

PICTURE at left shows some trainees and wives hearing Roy Wilkins, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, tell of changes made and what lies ahead for the South.

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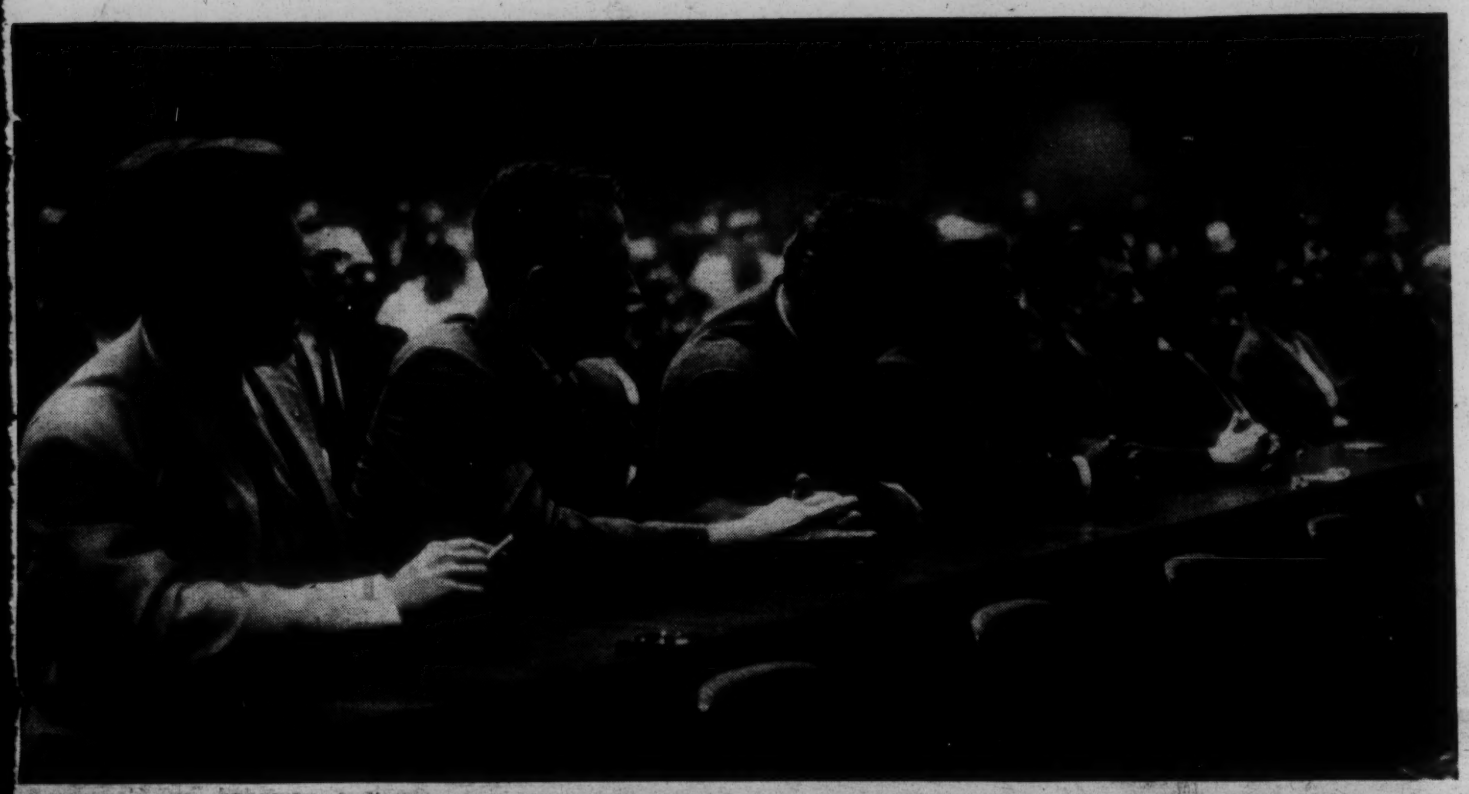

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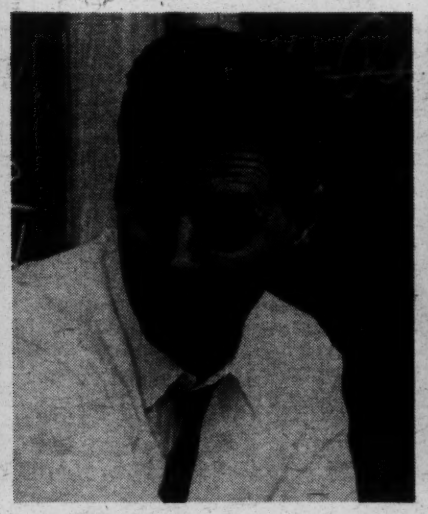
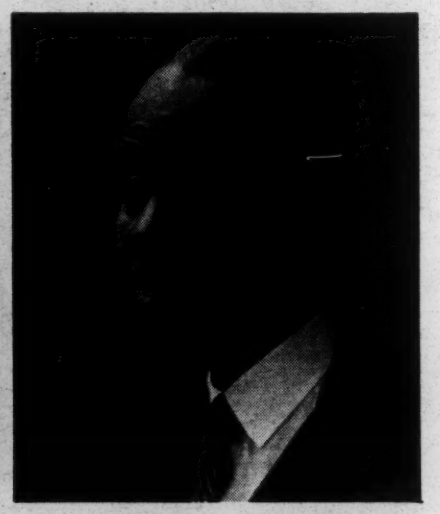
FOUR TRAINEES from Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers talk legislative reapportionment after class session on that subject. Blackboard shows percentages of members that control state houses.

INSTRUCTORS at first week's institute sessions, from left, seated, Marvin Friedman, AFL-CIO Dept. of Research; Co-Dir. George Guernsey, Federation's Dept. of Education; Dir. Emory Via, Southern Regional Council; standing, E. T. Kehrer, AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights; Russell Allen, Michigan State University.

TWENTY-ONE DELEGATES to staff training institute pose with instructors on university steps during break in month-long training period. Not present for picture was Dir. Donald Slaiman of AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights, who taught several sessions.



INFORMAL POSE catches concentration of Alan Kistler, AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization.



NAACP'S ROY WILKINS gave trainees first-hand report of progress in civil rights developments.

The Dirksen Filibuster

IT WAS the principles of representative democracy that suffered the most when a filibuster denied to the Senate its right to act on the bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

As the votes proved, a majority of the Senate favored repeal and wanted to act on it. But this majority was prevented from even considering the bill when Sen. Dirksen led a filibuster coalition that included all but six of the Senate Republicans and all but four of the southern Democrats.

Sen. Dirksen succeeded in blocking repeal of 14(b). But by renewing the Republican-Dixiecrat alliance, he has raised once again the question of whether his party is the anti-labor party, the party that stands unalterably opposed to any social progress legislation.

This is the situation:

1. Section 14(b) remains on the books. The one break in an otherwise uniform edifice of labor relations law is unrepaired. The inequities that arise from compulsory open shop laws in 19 states will continue; the corrosive interstate competition for industry, based upon low wages, weak unions and minimal social benefits, will proceed; the costly intrastate conflicts over so-called "right-to-work" laws will be renewed and intensified.

2. Rule XXII of the Senate, which permits unlimited debate on any motion or any bill offered to the Senate unless a limit is imposed by a two-thirds majority of the senators present and voting, continues to frustrate majority action. It perpetuates the threat of negative government by 34 out of 100 senators. The threat became a reality on 14(b), and Sen. Dirksen has raised the same threat against minimum wage and unemployment compensation bills.

We in the AFL-CIO do not argue for shotgun government. We believe the Senate should have the power to delay, to debate at length, to give public opinion a chance to mobilize. As a minority we cherish the rights of all minorities. We are for full debate, as long as it ultimately reaches a terminal point when a vote is taken. We oppose debate whose only objective is to prevent a vote. The Senate does democracy a disservice by insisting that the only true majority is two-thirds.

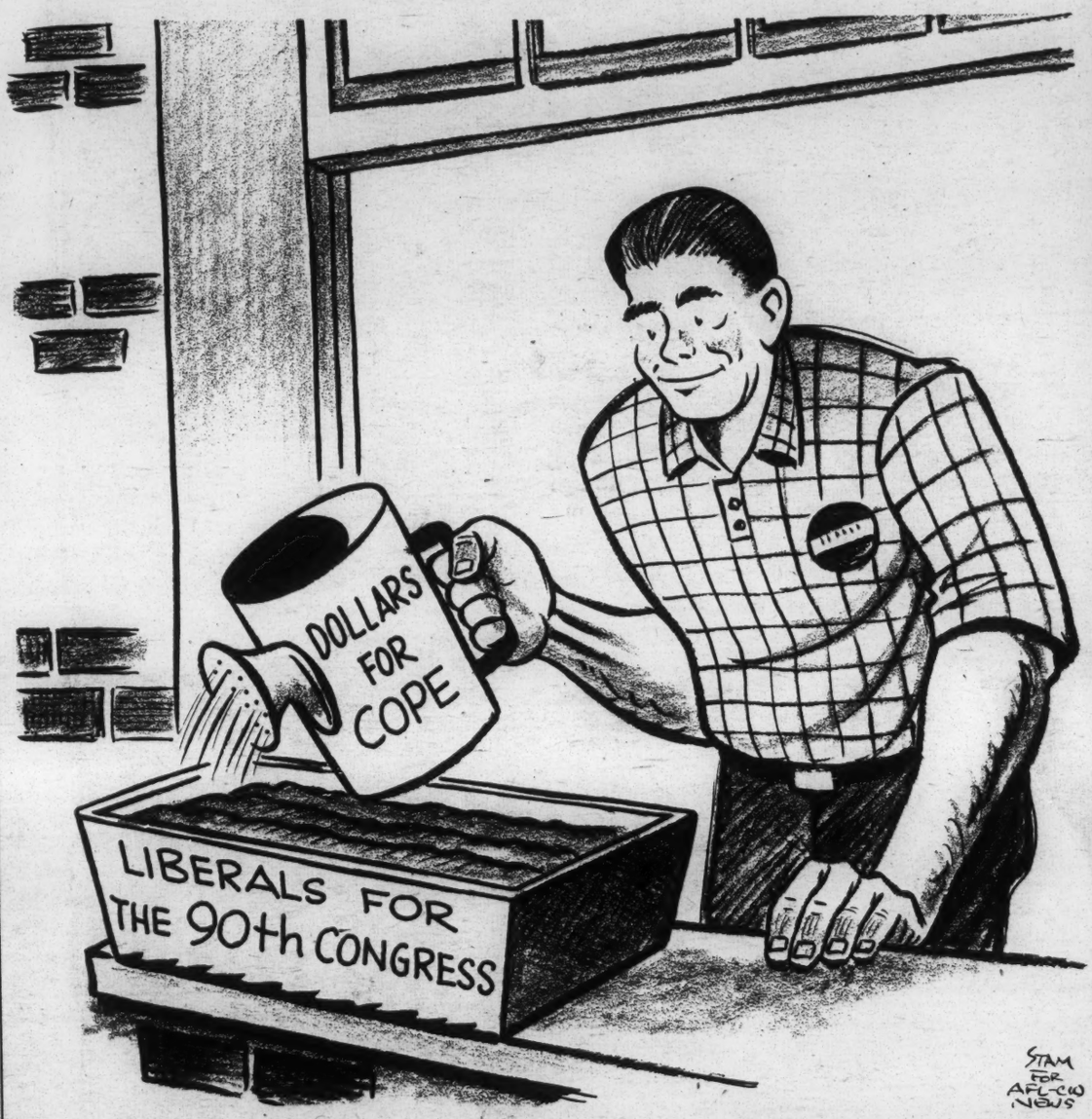
3. The professional promoters of the invidious doctrine that masquerades as "right-to-work" have proclaimed their intention of mounting new campaigns in a number of the 31 free states. The turmoil and rancor these contests will arouse will be of their making. We will meet these attacks any place they arise.

4. All these problems call for political action. The liberals in the House and Senate must be re-elected in the 1966 elections, and their ranks increased. This means an even greater united effort by the labor movement.

The obstacles are formidable. The propaganda barrage against 14(b) repeal, based upon the most outrageous and inflammatory falsehoods, has misled thousands of well-meaning citizens.

There was literally no place where most citizens outside the labor movement could find an objective statement of the 14(b)

Seeding Time



Tradition May NOT Be Served:

Changing Voter Power Patterns New Element in 1966 Elections

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There was literally no place where most citizens outside the labor movement could find an objective statement of the 14(b) issue or of the trade union position. The wells of information upon which Americans rely were for the most part poisoned by unbridled venom and deliberate dishonesty. Never have the purveyors of opinion been more unanimous in a shabbier cause.

Yet the truth can and will prevail, as it has prevailed before. Repeal of 14(b) is supported by a majority in the House and the Senate. It is supported by civil rights leaders and by the churches. It is supported by the people. Therefore, we look to the future with confidence that 14(b) will be repealed.

—Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Feb. 21, 1966.

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AFL-CIO Headquarters: 815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006
Telephone: NAtional 8-3870

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Tradition May NOT Be Served:

Changing Voter Power Patterns New Element in 1966 Elections

The following is excerpted from "New Factors in the '66 Elections" by Willard Shelton appearing in the February issue of the AFL-CIO American Federationist.

THE VOTERS in the November 1966 midterm elections will choose 435 members of the House, 35 members of the Senate and 35 governors, in addition to literally thousands of other officials for lesser state and municipal posts.

It has long been a generally accepted rule of American politics that in midterm elections (that is, the non-presidential years), the opposition party scores gains over the party in control of the White House.

Most of the one-time "rules" are now, however, out the window. It is no longer true, for example, that a presidential candidate who wins by a shattering majority can automatically pull in with him the coattailriders in races for the House and Senate. Eisenhower beat Stevenson in 1956 by more than 9 million votes but Democrats retained their grip on both houses of Congress. Kennedy Democrats in the midterm election of 1962 lost only a net of two House seats to the Republicans—practically a standoff, and far below the average of more than 40 seats that had shifted in midterm balloting for many years.

Besides, new elements must be taken into account this year. More than 20 states have rejiggered their congressional districts in line with the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" doctrine and more will have completed redistricting before next November. A member of the House may find himself running in a district that is more strongly Democratic or more strongly Republican than it was in 1964 and is at least partly unfamiliar.

In the southern states, the fact of heavier Negro registration—not as high as might have been hoped but nevertheless substantial enough to command respect among old-line white politicians—is a new element.

Still, it is possible nine months in advance of the elections to note certain facts and certain imponderables and apply them even to the races for governor, where the voters in recent years have shown a remarkable alacrity in throwing out whichever party was in power and voting in the other party.

The elections of 1966, indeed, may be the first where the ancient "rules" no longer apply because of changing power patterns among the voters—the influence of cities and the suburbs going up, the ancient dominance of sparsely-populated rural areas dipping.

THE DEMOCRATIC Party has shown great strength, as measured in votes for members of the House for many years. Its congressional candidates ran ahead of its presidential candidates in the elections of 1948, 1952, 1956 and 1960; only the disastrous Goldwater nomination of 1964 handed the Democratic nominee, Mr. Johnson, a national plurality so enormous that it outstripped the natural strength of his party. And the Johnson landslide, in turn, pulled into victory other Democratic candidates in districts they scarcely dreamed of ever winning, some by such thin pluralities that they obviously must now be counted as potentially vulnerable.

It is not generally realized how strong and steady a tide of Democratic victories has been flowing for at least 14 years, even when the GOP had the father image of Gen. Eisenhower as a presidential candidate.

Eisenhower had one Republican Congress—just one—and this by the narrowest of margins, in his eight years in the White House. He lost control in the mid-term elections of 1954 and Democratic victories since then have been piling up.

The Democrats scored a net gain of 47 seats in the House in 1958 and great successes in the Senate, including the election of the remarkable group labeled the Class of '58 that was totally re-elected in 1964.

Republicans in 1960 regained 21 of the 47 House seats they had lost in 1958, although their presidential candidate, former Vice Pres. Nixon, rolled up a personal vote surpassing the total GOP vote for Congress. But this was, for the time being, the end of the line. In the mid-term elections of 1962, when John F. Kennedy was in the White House, as noted above, the GOP's net gain in the House was only two seats.

With the Johnson landslide, the GOP suffered a net loss of an additional 37 House seats and two Senate seats to the Democrats in 1964. The party was left with only 17 governors out of 50—not even a quorum at the annual Governors Conference. It lost state legislatures and the mayors of municipalities, and sheriffs and judges in the counties.

So we come to 1966—and there aren't really any familiar "rules."

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Labor Education -

Staff Training

STAFFING NEW PROGRAMS FOR HUMAN AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Brendan Sexton
Director, UAW Leadership Studies Center

A paper prepared for the Governor's Conference on Education, State of New Jersey, at Rutgers University, April 2, 1966

The public programs in most acute need of staff are the new activities developing in anti-poverty programs. With the establishment of the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute by the state Office of Economic Opportunity a first and important step to meet that need has been taken.

Previously untrained neighborhood workers, aides to professionals, and secondary administrators have already begun work here and there in programs initiated and founded by local community action groups.

But these are, or in the very near future will be, only a small percentage of the new programs that soon will be created. For New Jersey, continuing growth and crowding in the urban areas is as inevitable as "death and taxes." More highrise apartment buildings are being built; larger numbers of automobiles and trucks continue to crowd the highways; greater and denser masses of poisonous fumes fill the air; more sewage and industrial waste pollutes the streams. Simply because there will be more of them more people will need and seek medical care; more older people will be retired and alone; more young people will drop out of school, be unemployed and get into trouble; more children will go to school part time or sit in crowded classrooms; more mentally disturbed will go untreated.

In a few cases apparent advances may be made. The median school years completed will no doubt rise slightly from year to year, but because the population will increase also the number of dropouts and functional illiterates almost certainly will grow. Because a few centers for older people will open their doors, larger numbers of the elderly will be reached by social agencies, but since the over age 65 population grows at an accelerated pace, the numbers of unreached will increase also. The same operating principle will frustrate public efforts in many areas.

In some cases the need for new programs and new types of workers to staff them is obvious and accepted. It seems evident that we shall have to train new types of public health workers to deal with the myriad problems of pollution. Just as evident, but not so widely accepted, is the need for new types of workers to expand the scope of the serving professions--education, medicine, mental health, social work.

Yet, in every one of these fields we shall have to create new classifications of professionals and sub-professionals, as well as new and sometimes unorthodox methods of developing and training the personnel needed to fill the newly created jobs. Old prejudices about professionalism and education will need to be abandoned. It simply is not true that a person must achieve professional standing along hitherto always used roadways in order to learn to practice competently. It simply is not true that we can learn only in the traditional ways. It simply is not true that every act performed by professionals in their daily rounds is of such a nature that only a completely trained

professional can perform it. It simply is not true that we can fit all the newly developing positions and careers into the already established professions. It simply is not true that the training for professions is as transferable as some professionals will make it.

There is nothing in the social work curriculum, for example, that particularly equips one to administer a community action program funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, though the need for an MSW degree has been written into the qualifications for director in more than one such organization. In pre-school programs, it is evident that women who have been trained in caring for their own children may be able to contribute to certain aspects of such programs more meaningfully than a twenty-two year holder of the Masters degree in Education. With imagination and will, many opportunities can be found for the academically untrained to play a role in these programs, and with supplementary training many who are employed on limited tasks can be upgraded gradually and, perhaps ultimately be raised even to professional levels.

The more imaginative of the professionals will react to this challenge with eagerness and excitement. They will see the opportunity to induct new candidates as helpers and trainees as a challenge--not as a threat. For the society as a whole, creation of new jobs and careers in the serving professions is a must. In his introduction to the recently issued report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, Chairman Howard Bowen wrote, "the relatively high post-war labor productivity," combined with a faster growth in the number of job seekers, "increases dramatically the number of jobs which must be created continually to achieve and maintain full employment."

The commission itself found not only that a high and sustained level of economic growth is possible, but also indispensable if we are to cope with the economic and social complexities resultant from continuously advancing technology. Bowen, president of the University of Iowa, warns, however, that as a nation, we have always willingly accepted technological change because of its many benefits, but "have never been fully successful in dealing with its problems."

The Commission confirmed what economists have been saying for some time: if the goals of increasing productivity and full employment are to be met, public employment must increase each year. It is predicted, for example, that by 1975 there will be nearly 76 million wage and salary workers in the labor force, an increase of about 30 per cent over the end of 1964. But if all 76 million workers are to find work, new jobs must be created.

Even now, with the economy operating at apparent full tilt, about 3.5 per cent of the work force is unemployed--and much larger percentages of Negroes and young people are without jobs. It is not possible to believe that we can, without paying a price in continuing violence, crime and social disruption, continue our current practice of shutting out of the economy and the society large numbers of people in such potentially volatile groups. Yet, the prospect is bleak. The supply of young workers--precisely those who have the greatest difficulty finding work--is growing at a fantastically rapid rate. In the '50s about 400 thousand young people, between the ages of 14 and 24 entered the work force, in the '60s fifteen times that number, about 6 million, will be looking for jobs.

If we do not improve our recent performance, only about 60 per cent of these younger job seekers will have earned high school diplomas. Among the Negroes, not much more than 40 per cent will hold that certificate. This means that something like 2.5 million "drop-outs" will be among the young people who begin looking for work in the 60's. Actually, of course, many more will be carrying "general" or "vocational" diplomas, and these in all too many cases signify only that the holder has spent the required number of years in school--not that he has learned anything that might equip him to work productively.

If we achieve full employment and consequent continuously rising productivity, we have nothing to fear from this increased burden. The Commission on Automation, Technology and Economic Progress, predicts that with continuing full employment we can at the minimum double our output in 24 years. In that many years our Gross National Product can rise to about 1,200 billion dollars. Per capita income can jump from the present $3,181 to more than $6,000.

We can, in short, pay for jobs if only we will have the good sense to provide them.

The demand for state and local governments to provide new and improved service is greatly intensified as the population becomes more urbanized and living arrangements more complex. Because New Jersey is almost completely urban, it is under most acute and insistent pressure.

But New Jersey is not alone. Between 1946 and 1964 expenditures by state governments increased at the rate of about 10 per cent a year, rising from 11 billion in 1946 to 69.3 billion in 1964. This gigantic increase caused 32 of the 47 state legislatures that met during 1965 to adopt new taxes or increase those already existing.

At the beginning of 1966, New Jersey alone among all the 50 states did not levy either a sales tax or individual income tax. Just exactly half of all the states now employ both. The acceptance of income taxes by state governments makes it possible for those governments to share in the increasing national wealth and to use that wealth to underwrite the costs of providing needed services to their citizens. At the same time, they can create job opportunities that will help the nation achieve full employment and support continuing prosperity.

Public employment must expand because technological advance brakes the growth of employment in other sectors of the economy. Under the most favorable circumstances, for example, jobs in manufacturing are expected to increase by only about 2.5 million between now and 1975, in construction by a little more than 1 million, in federal employment by only 200 thousand. While larger increases will occur in service and in the retail and wholesale trades the 5 million new jobs projected by the U. S. Department of Labor for the next 10 years in state and local government must be created if we are to achieve full employment.

But the problem is how and where to provide the jobs and how to open them up to groups now more or less effectively excluded from the job market, and thus shut out from opportunities for career development.

The most obvious place for the development of new job opportunities is in education at all levels--primary, secondary, undergraduate, graduate, adult and vocational. The enormous burden imposed on educational institutions by exploding population has been too often detailed to need restatement here, and the need for trained personnel at all levels already grown to crisis proportions will increase each semester for many years to come. Colleges and universities already are raiding high schools in the effort to staff bulging college enrollment. As community colleges increase in number--and they do almost every day--the pressure on high schools will intensify. At the same time, high school population increases and the elementary schools--many of whose teachers are less well paid than are secondary teachers--are raided from above also. Thus by a kind of cannibalism, the education system begins to devour itself, and also subverts its ability to provide quality education.

The need to create new employment opportunities in the schools should not be regarded as a burden. On the contrary, economists increasingly lean to the view that money spent to support education is as direct an investment in capital goods as is money spent for the construction of a modern, highly automated and computerized manufacturing plant.

Theodore Schultz, of the University of Chicago, for example, estimates that between 1929 and 1957 investment in education accounted for about one-fifth our total economic growth. He claims, in fact, that "the contribution of education to economic growth between 1929 and 1957 exceeded that of physical capital."

Another economist, Burton Weisbord of Washington University, says "Investment in future productivity is occurring increasingly outside the private market and in intangible forms. Our traditional conception of investment as a private market phenomenon and only as tangible plant, machinery and equipment must give way to a broader concept which allows not only for government investment but also for intangible investment in the quality of human capital."

On the negative side, New Jersey's failure to provide adequate training for scientists and engineers is said, even now, to be threatening the state's economic development. In a recent speech, Dr. William J. Sparks said that the state's failure to support scientific education "could lead in time to a deterioration of the area's competitive position as a place to carry on research and development."

But it is not only at the graduate level that education pays off. The average annual income in any given state can be predicted with accuracy if one knows the average number of years of schooling completed by its citizens.

To the extent, then, that the state maintains or improves the quality of its education offerings to that extent its chances of promoting economic development and general well-being seem to be enhanced. But it is a mistake to believe that this increased investment in education must all be made only in the already established educational institutions--or in soon to be created expanded facilities. Much of it must be made there, but other opportunities for learning and training should be created and expanded also.

It becomes increasingly evident, for example, that the best kind of career training is on-the-job training. Apprenticeships, internships, in-service training, co-operative work-study programs inevitably are more effective than classroom teaching because they are relevant in a way that training conducted in a classroom rarely, if ever, can be. Wherever it is possible to do so, training should be moved from classroom to job so that the schools may concentrate on cognitive learning, and the development of democratic attitudes--tasks they are best equipped to perform.

The State of New Jersey is peculiarily well situated to begin developing widespread systems of on-the-job training that should have the effect of upgrading the efficiency of the state's work force, improving services offered, and, as importantly, opening new jobs and opportunities for career development to citizens who are now excluded. The state civil service commission has under its jurisdiction more than 111,000 full-time employees. If the predictions of the U.S. Department of Labor are accurate, and if New Jersey follows national trends, it is likely that this number will just about double by 1975. Civil service jobs then may increase at the rate of about 10,000 a year--or very nearly 1,000 a month. Under the most favorable economic conditions, these jobs probably will amount to between one-third and one-half the number of new jobs created in the state in that period.

In general ways, we can predict with some accuracy where new jobs will open up. It is unlikely, for example, that clerical jobs at the lowest level will increase, since state and local government units, like private industry, will place increasing emphasis upon the use of computers--and these computers will be faster, more sophisticated and versatile than those now in use. It is estimated that more than 25,000 computers are in use today, whereas only 400 were being used in 1954. And the newer computers will be incredibly fast with operating speeds measured in nanoseconds, each of which is equal to one-billionth of a second. "A sliver of time," says David Sarnoff, Board Chairman of RCA, "so thin that it is beyond mental grasp."

But just as we can assume that the need for clerical workers will not rise, we can also assume a need for programers and computer technicians of all kinds--not only in state government but in private business and industry as well. In developing on-the-job training programs for skilled computer workers, then, the State will be acting to meet its own developing job needs, while also producing a supply of skilled workers who will be able to find employment in private business and in the quasi-public institutions, such as hospitals, which increasingly will rely upon the use of computers to perform work now done by unskilled, skilled and professional workers.

What is more, for the underprivileged this seems a most promising line of career development since there is reason to believe that young people who drop out of school because of their difficulty with manipulation of the language in acceptable ways, sometimes possess unspoiled mathematical potentialities.

By looking at the job market in this way, it is possible to anticipate job needs and begin training programs in the State which will equip young people to qualify for openings as they occur. Such programs can be mounted, however, only if the State's on-the-job training capacity is greatly expanded. If this problem is faced realistically and imaginatively a new and highly productive training capacity can be created with considerable ease and great speed.

Within every department of state government, and most sub-divisions thereof, there are numbers of people who can be equipped and qualified to plan and administer training programs covering subject areas in which they have achieved expertise as a result of their work for the state. An intelligent foreman in building or highway maintenance, for example, given a relatively short period of training in teaching techniques, and an opportunity to teach for a time under the guidance of a trained professional, can be upgraded to a new classification as Building Maintenance Trainer, and thereafter used to train new employees of the state as well as to conduct training programs for workers going into private employment. So also with a whole range of manual occupations.

A Food Service Supervisor can almost overnight be transformed into a Food Service Training Officer, and can develop on-the-job training programs to prepare people for work in a field where openings will continuously occur during the next couple of decades.

In medicine: medical technologists and technicians, nurses, lab technicians can be trained as trainers of personnel that we know of a certainty will be in great demand as the population and scope of insurance programs expand.

Thus, needed workers can be trained, and unorthodox but effective lines of upward movement developed concurrently. The State of New Jersey can select and usefully employ several hundred such trainers in the next few years.

What is more, in a great many cases federal appropriations for manpower training can be tapped to underwrite state sponsored on-the-job training programs, so that the drain on state resources will be minimized.

Once such a training program has been established, it can be used for the creation of new positions that will enable the state to meet needs that will be unmet unless new careers are developed and workers trained to fit into them. It is unlikely, for example, that we shall ever be able to meet the enormous demands for mental health services if we simply continue to build new hospitals and out-patient facilities. What is called for in this case, as in others, is the creation of new professions and new services that will attempt to deal affirmatively with problems in order to avert individual breakdown.

Many mental health practicioners have begun to question methods now in use, and for good reason. It seems evident that we are doomed to frustration and failure if we continue to live by the fiction that psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers will some day get around to helping, on a one-to-one basis, all the anxious and troubled who need help. By reaching out to the community,

however, we can perhaps begin to provide help where and when needed. But "reaching out" calls for the development of new breeds of professionals and non-professionals.

Though I would claim no expertise, nor argue that the classifications hereafter described are precisely what is needed, I would urge very strongly that experts using as a model the design hereafter outlined could create a whole range of new occupations:

Mental Health Neighborhood Case Worker - Trainee

A person who has been given preliminary training in dealing with older people and an awareness of programs affecting them. Carries a case load of perhaps 25 or 50 older people with whom he keeps in continuous touch. Not less than once a week he visits or calls on the phone each person to whom he is assigned. He is a part of a team of ten, all of whom work in consultation with a professional case worker, with whom they meet individually at least once each week. He is responsible for organizing small groups of 3, 4 or 5 older people, who live near one another, for mutual self-help and for reciprocal home visiting in order to minimize loneliness and consequent deterioration. He accompanies older people to public agencies when necessary, arranges for medical care, makes visits to hospitals, and arranges for others to do so. He will earn academic credit for work on his job, and will, when possible, be working in a co-operative work-study program.

Mental Health Neighborhood Worker - Senior

Person with at least one year's experience working in neighborhoods with older people. Works as intermediary between neighborhood workers and supervising professionals. Is assigned by professional to work with neighborhood workers in dealing with complex and difficult problems. Trains newly recruited neighborhood workers by working with them directly during period of orientation and continues to consult with new neighborhood workers for a period of time after employment. Consults with and advises professional regarding difficult problems. Is required to read relevant literature and write at least one modest paper for submission to professional each month. Is trained by professional for high-school equivalency and to enter community college work-study program for limited program when equipped to do so. Earns appropriate academic credits for field work.

Neighborhood Psychiatric Group Worker

Initially, person with some academic competence and training, but in time a person having had from six months to one year's experience in each of the mental health neighborhood worker classifications. Organizes neighborhood groups of persons who have been released from mental hospitals and meets with them for group discussions not less than once each week. Writes reports of group meetings and arranges for individual consultation with professional case-workers or psychiatrists when needed.

Assists group members in contacts with public agencies, seeking employment, entering training programs and so forth. Consults with psychiatric case worker or psychiatrist at least once each week for advice in dealing with groups. Is enrolled in community college-work-study program in courses relevant to work. Earns academic credit from community college for work on job.

Assistant Mental Health Worker

Supervises work of group worker and works to assist them with groups or with individuals in crisis periods. Attempts to help group members deal with discordant and tension creating factors in individual environment--acts as transmission belt between the group members' families, employers, neighbors when it seems possible that changes in individual's environment will promote individual health and adjustment. Participates in education at upper undergraduate levels, is given academic credit for field work. Achieves full professional status with a minimum of two years of work at this level plus the achievement of academic competence equal to the Bachelor requirements.

(Parallels can be drawn for similar new occupations and career lines in the work of the probation department, and work with drop-outs who may be at the edge of, or involved in, deviant behaviour.)

In the Public Health Field, it should be possible to create new careers in which hundreds can be usefully employed and enrolled in co-operative work-study programs. For example:

Public Health Patrolman - Smoke

Is trained to recognize dangerous smoke formations, and make on the spot judgments regarding emissions and issue complaints against responsible persons, and when necessary play role in prosecution of offenders.

Public Health Patrolman - Water

In connection with rivers, lakes and other sources of public water supply, plays role similar to that of Public Health Patrolman - Smoke.

Public Health Technician

Performs general and overall tasks of Public Health Patrolmen, is responsible for restaurant inspection, inspection of specified food processing groups. Inspect drainage, septic tanks, sewage disposal. Advises individuals on rodent and insect control. Assists public health officer, as assigned, with other related tasks.

Thousands can thus be usefully employed. Opportunities will open in programs that have not yet been created, but soon will be, and many can be opened up immediately if the will to move is present. The New Jersey Civil Service Commission, for example, in its fifty-eighth annual report tells of its

inability to recruit suitable candidates for social work positions. When representatives of the Commission travelled to the National Conference on Social Welfare to seek out recruits, they found a total of more than 2,000 jobs listed, for which only 200 candidates could be found.

Social workers and other professionals, quite obviously, increasingly will have to be employed as supervisors and trainers of others to whom they will delegate much of the work previously reserved to the professions. Only the most witless can continue to believe that New Jersey--or any other state--will be able to staff its programs of service with people trained for the traditional professions in traditional ways. But new occupations and new methods of reaching out will make it possible for the state at least to begin to meet increasing demands for social service.

Indispensable to the development of such programs is the creation of a training capacity that can develop new on-the-job, in-service training and co-operative work-study programs in which candidates can be enrolled and moved along as they develop capacity. The training facility should work in close cooperation with the Civil Service Commission, and credits earned in its program should be made acceptable at the community and state colleges as well as universities. The training center should be in a position to schedule classes at or near places where trainees are employed, command an important share of the sums spent by the state for education and training.

The training center should be able to employ a staff large enough to: (1) carry on research regarding developing occupational needs; (2) help design training programs through which continuous upgrading of state workers is made possible; (3) design and establish at the training center itself, and where feasible in cooperation with community and state colleges, cooperative work-study programs in the new professional and sub-professional positions; (4) choose and, when necessary, develop program materials for use with trainees; (5) plan, produce and make available relevant TV programs; (6) make effective use of the trainers developed in the various programs of departments of state and local government; (7) work with private industry, especially small employers, to develop training programs that will make New Jersey a more attractive place in which to do business; (8) plan and conduct such other training activities as may make the state training programs more effective and productive.

Such a center can perhaps be constructed on the foundations now being set down in the New Jersey Community Action Training Institute--but wherever it is established a state training center seems indispensable to meet demands for staff in new programs of service--and to provide opportunities for career development to the poor of New Jersey and to members of minority groups who are now, whatever the law may say, effectively excluded.

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Reprinted from INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS, VOL. 5, NO. 2, FEBRUARY 1966.

BRENDAN SEXTON*

Staff and Officer Training to Build Successful Unions

"RADICAL" intellectuals often complain that workers' education has lost its "humanistic tone." They are nostalgic for the thirties when (such is their dream) thousands of workers poured out each night to sit and listen as scholars analyzed the economy, the power structure, and the relative merits of Aristotelian and Hegelian systems. "In its traditional sense," says one, workers' education "has all but disappeared";[1] and, speaking to middle-aged contemporaries, another sighs, "[union members] don't care to be educated on labor history. . . . We were the ones who were interested in labor education."[2]

The complaints derive from a basic, historic schism in approach to labor education between ideologists (mainly intellectuals), on one side, and trade union activists, on the other.

In the absence of a more appropriate term to describe the "revolutionary," or at any rate grand, design of the ideologists, their approach to labor education might be labeled deductive, while the trade unionists' methods tend to be inductive. The schism, like those that occurred with breathtaking frequency among the radical sects, is no longer of much significance—chiefly because American radicalism was buried by onslaughts of war (hot, cold, external, and fratricidal), prosperity, and McCarthyism. The trade union inductive approach in labor education won ascendancy not only as a product of the times but also as a more natural reflection of the style and personality of the working class. Ideologists remaining in or near the union movement—mainly in the industrial unions—of necessity learned to balance the extremes, but with a heavy accent on what critics regard as narrow

* Director, Leadership Studies Center, United Auto Workers.

[1] B. J. Widick, *Labor Today* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1964), p. 111. A short time after he wrote these words, Widick accepted an appointment to the staff of the labor education program sponsored jointly by the University of Michigan and Wayne State University. There, one may hope, he is working to revive workers' education "in its traditional sense."

[2] Paul Jacobs, in *Labor Looks at Labor* (Santa Barbara, California: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1963), p. 7.

LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
ANUNCIA UN
CURSO DE

CAPACITACION SINDICAL PARA LIDERES OBREROS DE PUERTO RICO

PARA

MIEMBROS DE ORGANIZACIONES
SINDICALES DE PUERTO RICO

PREPARADO POR EL
INSTITUTO DE RELACIONES DEL TRABAJO
DEL COLEGIO DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES
DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO

1RO. DE AGOSTO AL
24 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1966

Labor Ed. — Staff Training

PROGRAM

1966 ADVANCED SOUTHERN LABOR SCHOOL
Sans Souci Hotel, Miami Beach, Florida
November 13-18, 1966

Sunday, November 13

4:00 p.m. Registration

6:00 p.m. Dinner

Speaker: Representative Claude Pepper, (D), Florida

Monday, November 14

9:00 a.m. "Looking at the 90th Congress" -- Arnold Mayer, Legislative Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters

2:00 p.m. Continued

7:30 p.m. Film Program: "YOU AND MEDICARE," "TROUBLED WATERS," "OPERATION HEADSTART

Tuesday, November 15

9:00 a.m. Stanley Ruttenberg -- "Training Programs in the South"

Wednesday, November 16

9:00 a.m. Roy Reed, Southern Office, New York Times -- "What Happened in the Southern Election"

Panel Discussion with Dan Powell, Wilbur Hobby, Phil Weightman

2:00 p.m. "Facing the Civil Rights Issue" -- Chairman, E. T. Kehrer, Southern Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department; Speaker, Bayard Rustin, Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

Thursday, November 17

9:00 a.m.	Marvin Friedman, AFL-CIO Research Department -- "Economic Issues Confronting the Labor Movement"
2:00 p.m.	David Seeley, Office of Education -- "Applying the Guidelines for Southern Education"
8:00 p.m.	"Cooperation Between International Union Representatives and State Body Officers"

Friday, November 18

9:00 a.m.	Professor James Silver -- "The Changing South"
12:00 noon	Professor James Silver -- "Southern Labor Faces the Next Five Years"
	Closing Luncheon

ADVANCED SOUTHERN LABOR SCHOOL

President, Barney Weeks

Secretary-Treasurer, J. Bill Becker

Education Coordinator, George T. Guernsey

opeiu#2 afl-cio
11/10/66

6 NUEVOS CURSOS ESPECIALIZADOS PARA BECARIOS SINDICALISTAS DE AMERICA LATINA

INSTITUTO DE RELACIONES DEL TRABAJO
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LABOR RELATIONS INSTITUTE

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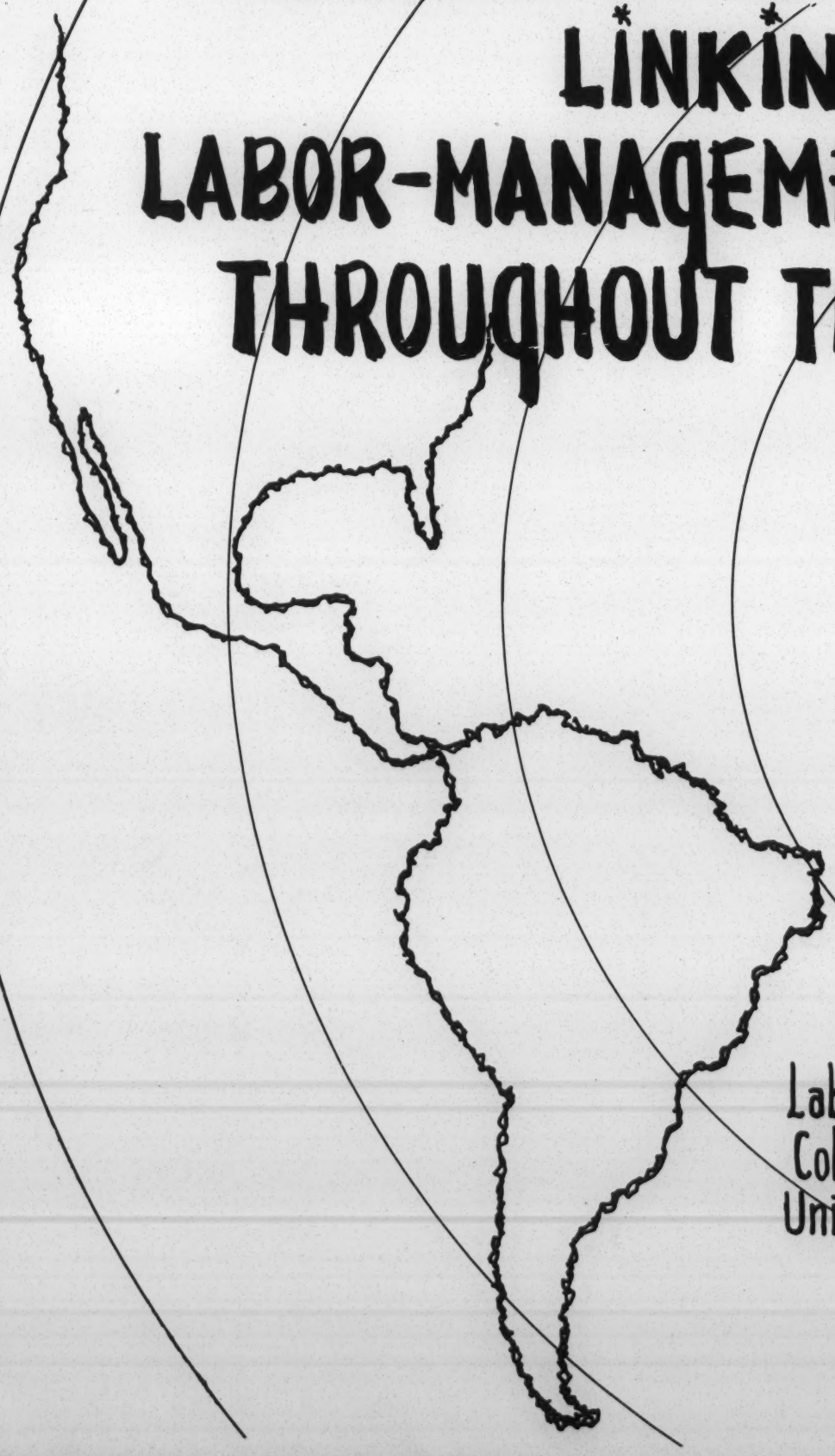

Labor Relations Institute
College of Social Science
University of Puerto Rico

SLEP

Labor Education

VIEWPOINTS

Issue Number 9 Spring 1965 $1

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Workers Education Local 189
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS — AFL-CIO

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 16, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All State Affiliates of the Southern Regional Council

FROM: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council

RE: Special union staff training institute to be held in conjunction with Fisk University Race Relations Institute.

The enclosed letter and mimeographed sheet gives the details and purposes of a special program for union leaders on problems related to desegregation, race relations, and civil rights.

One of our chief problems in this area is to give concerned unionists, who are often faced with very practical problems in this field, an opportunity to exchange experiences, receive information, and discover the resources available to them in meeting problems related to race relations.

In many instances the union staff people recruited for such programs will not only work more effectively on the problems faced by their own organization but will be the persons most likely to give union support to the activities of SRC's state affiliates.

What I would like you to do. Send me the names, union affiliation, and addresses of all union persons who belong to your organization. Send the same information about any unionists with whom you have worked successfully or whom you have good reason to believe is searching for better answers to racial problems that affect his union. We are not at this point seeking persons who would need to be completely convinced that a more democratic society is desirable. In the main we are looking for full-time union staff persons; however, competent local union leadership would be most welcome, too.

Thanks for your attention to this matter. Please call on me for any aid that I may be able to give you in relating your work to the labor movement. I trust that in the near future I will get to all of the state offices to discuss with you personally labor's role in the Southern scene. I look forward to seeing you at the State Staff Conference in Atlanta next week.

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 5, 1957

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Directors of State Organizations

FROM: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant

The enclosed is a follow-up letter on our Union Staff Training Seminar to be held at Fisk.

Further suggestions of persons to receive such a communication will be appreciated.

EFV:mm

Enclosure

APPLICATION BLANK

A.M.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Date July 3, 1957

Name Theodore E. Brown

Address 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Room 507

City Washington State D.C.

Present Occupation: (If teaching indicate the field)

Assistant Director, Civil Rights Department

Name of Organization or Agency AFL-CIO

Membership in religious, social or civic organizations:

Give specific problems in race relations on which help is needed from the Institute:

Signature Theodore E. Brown.

~~Please return application blank to~~

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Return to: Emory F. Via
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
RM. 432, 63 AUBURN AVE., N. E
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

~~A Five Dollar Deposit should accompany Application~~

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
July 1 - July 13, 1957

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE
OF RACE RELATIONS

ROSTER

Registered Membership

Aaragon, Jose, 512 Oalies Avenue, Belen, New Mexico. Supervisor of speech and dramatic activities, Las Lunas consolidated schools.

Asbury, The Reverend Beverly Allen, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. College Chaplain. Representing Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Ballentine, The Reverend, 1707 Home Avenue, Hartsville, South Carolina. Representative South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Barner, Sophia, 2703 Morena Street, Nashville 8, Tennessee. Teacher.

Barr, The Reverend John C., 20 Felix Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Representative South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Berthiaume, Rene P., Box 689, Rock Hill, South Carolina. Representative Textile Workers Union of America.

Binkley, John I., 3679 Broadway, Denver 3, Colorado. Deputy Co-ordinator of Colorado State Anti-Discrimination Commission.

Boartfield, Charles D., 136½ South Second Street, Memphis 3, Tennessee. Representative TWUA.

Boddy, Raford, 2029 7th Street, Riverside, California. Student University of California at Riverside.

Bollard, Robert, 8629 Brent Drive (Office 806 Heath Building) Cincinnati, Ohio. Representative District 25, United Steelworkers of America.

Braun, The Reverend Theodore A., 435 First Street, Henderson, Kentucky. Pastor Pastor, Zion E. and R. Church. Representative Commission on Christian Social Action E. and R. Church.

Breaks, Mrs. Marion Skeggs, 447 East 87th Street, Chicago 9, Illinois. Representative Operation Inspiration.

Bronson, Mrs. Edna B., 507 Eighth Avenue, South, Nashville 3, Tennessee. Director Missionary Education Sunday School Publishing Board.

Brown, Theodore E., 625 South 8th Avenue, Mt. Vernon, New York. Assistant Director of Department of Civil Rights AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Browning, The Reverend D. Warner, 2480 Park Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee. Representative Integration Service, Inc.

Calvin, Earl, 2626 N. 13th Street, Milwaukee 12, Wisconsin. Milwaukee Defender.

Carper, Julian F., Middletown, Virginia. Vice-President, Virginia State AFL-CIO, 102 N. Belvidere Street, Richmond, Virginia.

Carter, Franklin, 7 South Lewis Place, Rockville Centre, New York, N.Y. High School teacher, Woodmere Academy, Woodmere, New York.

Castillo, Thelma, 737 Crotona Park, North, Bronx 57, New York, New York. Latin American Consultant for Planned Parenthood, 501 Madison Avenue.

Collier, Mrs. A.B., 1701 Scovel Street, Nashville 8, Tennessee. Housewife. Representing PTA.

Crank, Sujette Fountain, 242 Boulevard, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Branch Executive Director, YWCA, 599 Tatnall Street, N.W.

Creitos, Raquel, 410 Riverside Drive, New York, New York. Health Educator, Spanish American organizations.

Davis, Charles E., 618 Broad Avenue, Greensboro, North Carolina. Associate Director of School Program, P. O. Box 1307 High Point, N.C.

Dernoncourt, Wayne L., 3002 Sigmund Circle, Columbia, South Carolina. Representing TWUA - AFL-CIO.

du Pont, Ethel B., 1418 James Court, Louisville 8, Kentucky. Teachers Union Work. Representing Kentucky Federation of Teachers.

Ethridge, Gene B., 209 S. Nash Street, Starkville, Mississippi. Associate YMCA Secretary.

Fleming, Edith, 403 W. Concord Street, Morganton, North Carolina. Teacher.

Frazer, Julius, 6314 W. 83 Street, Overland Park, Kansas. Field representative, Fair Practice Department, UAW, 729 Trailway Exchange Building, Kansas City, Missouri

Flying, Vine Comes, Crow Creek Indian Reservation, Pukwana, South Dakota. Representing Crow Creek Reservation.

Galvan, Molly C., 614 W. Kiowa, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Secretary, Adjutant's Office. Representing American G. I. Forum.

Gates, Edith H., 1030 24th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee. Teacher.

Gomez, Carlos, Hotel Sterling, Cleveland, Ohio (2400 Euclid Avenue). Director, Cleveland Office, Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. Representing Department of Labor of Puerto Rico.

Gonzales, Richard A., 1313 Claire Court, N. W. Albuquerque, New Mexico. Supervisor Barelas Community Center.

Guthrie, Bess Ann, Sullins College, Bristol, Virginia. Chairnab if[illegible] Social Science Department; YWCA sponsor. Representing Sullins College.

Hampton, Dorothy E., 1503 Benehan Street, Raleigh, North Carolina. Consultant on Racial Relations. Representing Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches.

Hargrave, Thomas R., 1004 Desota Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia. Associate Secretary for College Work -- Student YMCA, Southern Area Council, YMCA (706 Standard Building)

Hayes, Mrs. John Etta, 2519 Heiman Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Housewife. Representing 1st Community Church.

Henderson, Earl H., 526 St. Paul Place, Baltimore 2, Maryland. Field Representative United Auto Workers.

Hickey, Neal, 5321 Rinccoid Road, Chattanooga, Tennessee. International Representative. Representing International Union of Brewery Workers.

Holt, Mabel H., 34 W. Church Street, Martinsville, Virginia. Student worker. Representing YWCA.

House, Mrs. Teresa, 758 N. Garfield, Pasadena, California. Housewife. Representing United Church Women - Southern California and Southern Nevada.

Hughes, Ruth C., 810 West 8th, Topeka, Kansas. National Student Secretary, YWCA.

Jackson, Brue, 124 3rd Street, Rankin, Pennsylvania. Photostating Department and Representing United Steelworkers of America.

Jennings, Mrs. L. D., 5718 McKinley Street, Bethesda, Maryland. Housewife. Observer for Arrow, Inc.

Johns, Mrs. Helen B., 917 15th Avenue, South, Nashville 12, Tennessee. Teacher. Representing National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa.

Johnson, The Reverend A. James, 1348 8th Avenue, East Moline, Illinois. Representing Quad Cities Council on Human Rights (319 12th Street)

Jones, Harry S., Yorkmont Road, Rt. 3, Charlotte, North Carolina. Executive Secretary, North Carolina Council on Human Relations (121 East 3rd Street).

Keefer, Mrs. C. Murray, 146 Tremont Street, Ansonia, Connecticut. Housewife; State chairman Christian Social Action of the Connecticut Fellowship of Congregational Christian Women.

Kelly, The Reverend Charles W., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Representing Tuskegee Civic Associati

Kelly, Mrs. Charles W., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Dean of Women

Knox, Mrs. Luesta H., 1206 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Secretary and representing Georgia Council on Human Relations (63 Auburn Avenue).

Kraabel, Pastor Alf. M., 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Representing National Lutheran Council.

Land, Emerson Mae, 2612 13th Street, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Teacher, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa,

Laneuville, Alexander E., 1763 You Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Assistant to Administrator, Veterans Administration.

Larkin, Lenice J., 3533 Southwestern, Dallas, Texas. National Student YWCA Secretary. Representing National Student YWCA.

Lee, Mrs. Eva Myers, Route 3, Rucker Subdivision, Franklin, Tennessee. Supervisor of schools. Representing Council of PTA workers.

Lee, Ethel Jeanne, 120 College Street, Macon, Georgia. Fisk University student.

Lemon, E. Elaine, 2533 Harrison Street, Gary, Indiana. School administrator. Representing Anselm Women

Lincoln, Eric, 588 South Orleans Street, Memphis, Tennessee. Professor in Philosophy, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Lipp, Frederick, Sperry Road, Mentor, Ohio. University student.

Lisk, H. D., 110 W. 6th Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. Representing TWUA - AFL-CIO.

Mackie, Wade M., 5248 Adams Avenue, Baton Rouge, Lousiana. Representing American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) Director, Merit Employment - Southwest Region.

Manderson, Marge, 1403 West Peachtreet Street - Apt. 4, Atlanta, Georgia. Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council.

Martin, Galen A., 6 Blackberry Circle, Knoxville, Tennessee -- Use office address -- Box 887. Field representative. Representing Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

McCabe, Mrs. Wilbert T., 1026 North 43rd Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Teacher, Pratt-Arnold School, 22nd and Dauphin Streets.

McFarlin, Marion, 4124 Belmont Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Insurance salesman.

McJunkin, Mrs. Charles F., 323 Bay Run Street, Orlando, Florida. Representing Interracial Committee of Winter Park.

Miller, Charlotte Mary, 324 Piedmont Avenue, San Antonio, Texas. Student. Member Methodist Student Movement.

Miller, A. C., 125 9th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee. Representing Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention.

Millgate, Michael, Bars Hill, Cowes, Isle of Wight,England. Teacher.

Moll, Evelyn C., 511-W North Bay Street, Tampa, Florida. YWCA Program Director, National Conference of Methodist Youth. Representing Methodist Student Movement.

Morris, The Reverend S. S., 1404 Hawkins Street, Nashville 4, Tennessee, General Secretary and representing Division of Christian Education, AME Church.

Morrison, The Reverend J. W., 334 E. Harden Street, Graham, North Carolina. Representing Convention of the Southern United Church of Christ.

Morton, The Reverend Charles Evans, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee. Director of Religious Life; Chairman, Department or Religion and Philosophy. Representing YMCA (Student Council).

Morton, Naomi, 2500 Corprew Avenue, Norfolk 12, Virginia. Teacher. YWCA sponsored.

Owens, Daniel, 314 Market Street, E. St. Louis, Illinois. Truant officer. Representing Mayor's Human Relations Committee.

Owens, Mrs. Margaret. Housewife. Sponsored by United Church Women.

Parker, Rupert, Box 124, Peach Springs, Arizona. Carpenter and Electrician. Representing Hualapai Tribal Council.

Parks, Mrs. Vivian J., 545 Mathewson Street, Witchita, Kansas. Housewife. Representing State of Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission.

Pauley, Mrs. Wm. C., 943 Clifton Road N.E., Atlanta 7, Georgia. Housewife. Representing Georgia Council on Human Relations.

Payne, James E., Maxwell House Hotel. Representing United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO (508 Exchange Building). Nashville, Tennessee.

Peterson, Eleanor, 2205 North Fourth Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Executive Secretary, Department of United Church Women. Representing Pennsylvania Council of Churches.

Powell, Daniel A., 5298 Revere Road, Memphis 17, Tennessee. Director, Area V., Committee on Political Education AFL-CIO.

Prater, Mrs. Helen, 1410 Quinn Avenue, Memphis 6, Tennessee. Teacher. Representing The United Church of Christ.

Provencial, Sam, c/o by the way, Mission, South Dakota. Rancher. Representing Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council.

Puryear, Pauline S., Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia. Consultant - Racial Relations. Representing Commission on Christian Social Organizations - Council for Social Action.

Pyle, Kenneth, 743 McKee Street, State College, Pennsylvania. Education Department, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO (Pittsburg, Pennsylvania).

Reed, Mrs. Pearl T., 760 Douglas Avenue, Winter Park, Florida. Teacher. Representing Inter-Racial Committee.

Reynolds, Louis B., 3740 Hydes Ferry Road, Nashville, Tennessee. Editor, Message magazine. Representing Southern Publishing Association 2119-2125 24th Avenue North, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

Ryder, Morrison L., 806 Birch Street, Lansing, Michigan. Community Center Director. Representing Lincoln Center.

Salinas, Manuel, 2618 Minnequa, Pueblo, Colorado. Pueblo Ordinance Department (Government). Representing American G.I. Forum.

Savage, Cecelia, 2625 N. 8th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Student, University of Wisconsin. YWCA sponsorship.

Savilla, Mrs. Agnes, Box 205, Poston, Arizona. Tribal Welfare worker. Representing Colorado River Tribes.

Siceloff, Mrs. Courtney, Frogmore, South Carolina. Housewife, Community Worker (part time)

Siceloff, Courtney, Frogmore, South Carolina. Community Worker.

Sloan, J. T., 2134 Fairfax Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Engineer.

Stadelman, Joan Blythe, 823 Stanley Street, Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Student. Representing the Southern Region, YWCA.

Swartz, Ben, 809 16th Avenue, Middletown, Ohio. Staff Representative, United Steel Workers. Representing United Steelworkers of America. 809 Keith Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Talgo, Oliver, P.O. Box 71, Bylas, Arizona. Farmer and Rancher. Representing San Carlos Tribal Council.

Tancil, Sallye E., 5823 Dix Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. Teacher.

Thomas, Don M., 171 Lorairs Street, Oberlin, Ohio. Teacher

Toffler, Al, 637 Arlington Boulevard, Falls Church, Virginia. Newspaperman. Representing Labor's Daily, York (Penna) Gazette and Daily, 524 Mills Building, Washington, D.C.

Treadway, Esther, 2001 Warren Street, Winfield, Kansas. School Nurse.

Trotter, Jessie L., Paseagoula, Mississippi. Student. Representing the Department of Sociology, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.

Troy, Mrs. Ruby, 1530 Poppy Peak Drive, Pasadena, California. Credential Technician. Representing Pasadena Womens' Interracial Club, Box 146, Glendale, California.

Turner, James. E., 609 Edgewood Avenue, Akron, Ohio. Director, Fair Practice Department-- United Rubber Workers.

Washington, The Reverend John R., 395 Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island. Representing the Rhode Island Congregational Christian Conference.

Weakman, George, 1405 Greenland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Representative, Steelworkers. Representing the United Steelworkers of America, 508 exchange Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

Weaver, Mrs. Galen R., 94 White Road, Scarsdale, New York. Housewife.

Webber, Charles C., 531 W. 122nd Street, New York 27, New York. AFL-CIO Representative for Religious Relations.

Weems, Anna, 414 Dane Street, Waterloo, Iowa. Director of Human Relations for AFL-CIO. Representing AFL-CIO, 1651 Scyamore Street, Waterloo, Iowa.

Wells, Guy H., 974 Los Angeles Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations. Representing the Georgia Council on Human Relations, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.

Wells, Mrs. Lynn, 822 N. 32nd Street, Milwaukee 8, Wisconsin. Teacher. Representing Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Wells, Lynn S., 822 N. 32nd Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Rate Engineer- Bell Telephone Company.

Weston, Mrs. C.M., 2400 Endinburgh Terrace, N.E., Atlanta 7, Georgia. Homemaker. Representing United Church Women.

White, The Reverend Andrew, 1505 South Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Editor of Religious Literature for the AME Church.

Whitebird, Robert, Sr., Box 462, Inapaw, Oklahoma. Chairman, Inapaw Indian Business Committee. Representing Inapaw Indian Business Committee.

Whitebird, Robert A., Jr., Route #3, Box 254, Miami, Oklahoma. Farmer.

Wilson, Boyd L., 3353 McNeil Place, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. International Representative, United Steel Workers of America. Representing United Steel Workers of America, International Office, U.S.A. AFL-CIO, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania.

Wolfe, James E., Cincinnati, Ohio. Education Director, United Brewery Workers.

Younts, Robert W., 2415 W. Reynolds Road, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Director, Wesley Foundation, Wake Forest College.

Zollinger, Edward Werner, 5659 S. Woodlawn, Chicago 37, Illinois. Student

Jefferies, Ellison, Cincinnati, Ohio. Representative, United Steel Workers of America.

Social Studies Teachers

Anderson, George, 819 Marina Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Teacher, Gibson County Training School, Milan, Tennessee.

Boclair, Floyd A., Box 504, Grenada, Mississippi. Teacher, Granada High School, Granada, Mississippi.

Brown Mrs. Eva J., 14 Minor Street, Natchez, Mississippi. Teacher, S. V. Thompson High School, Natchez, Mississippi.

Cherry, Naomi, 201 Lane Avenue, Elizabeth City, North Carolina. Teacher, J. B. Bond High School, Lewiston, North Carolina.

Crawford, Raymond, 420 Throckmorton, Gainsville, Texas. Teacher, J. H. Rowe High School, Jasper, Texas.

Cummings, Vera T., 844 Ioka Street, Memphis, Tennessee. Teacher, Melrose High School, Memphis, Tennessee.

Drake, Fred, 1113 Jackson Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Teacher, Druid High School, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Duncan Mrs. Ida H., 1010 Piedmont, Reidsville, North Carolina. Teacher, Washington High School, Reidsville, North Carolina.

Ellington, Mrs. Peggy, P.O. Box 423, Tuskegee, Alabama. Teacher, Macon County Training School, Roba, Alabama.

Foster, Troy, 1807 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Arkansas. Teacher, Dunbar High School, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Glenn, Reliford, 516 Alabama Street, Dublin, Georgia. Teacher, Oconee High School, Dublin, Georgia.

Harris, Mrs. Clementine, 1354 W. 11th Street, Jacksonville, Florida. Teacher, New Stanton High School, Jacksonville, Florida.

Hollingsworth, Mrs. Fannie, 443 Macon, McDonough, Georgia. Teacher, Henry County Training School, McDonough, Georgia.

James, Annie L., 261 Campbell, Elberton, Georgia. Teacher, Blackwell Memorial, Elberton, Georgia.

James, Nava L., 117 Patton Lane, Batesville, Mississippi. Teacher, Hull Junior High School, Coahoma, Mississippi.

Johnson, Freddie L., 428 College Street, Natchez, Mississippi. Teacher, S. V. Thompson High School, Natchez, Mississippi.

Jones, Rachel V., 64 Washington Terrace, Raleigh, North Carolina. Teacher, J. E. Sheppard High School, Zebulon, North Carolina.

Moon, Mattie Lee, 935 Athens Street, Gainsville, Georgia. Teacher, Fair Street High School, Gainsville, Georgia.

Murchison, Mrs. Maude B., 212 Wolfe Street, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Walker-Grant High School, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Nelson, Mrs. Goldye, 3319 E. Tuskegee, Montgomery, Alabama. Teacher, Carver High School, Montgomery, Alabama.

Olds, James Issac, 205 Standish Street, Salisbury, North Carolina. Teacher, Price High School, Salisbury, North Carolina.

Penny, Mrs. Eliza Lee, 1821 Short 16, Bessemer, Alabama. Teacher, Westfield High School, Westfield, Alabama.

Polk, Eugene, 411 E. Green, Monroe, North Carolina. Teacher, J. E. Shepard High School, Zebulon, North Carolina.

Rhodes, Alice L., 315 Flint Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. Teacher, Second Ward High School, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Smith, Mrs. Lois Conley, 767 Davidson, Montgomery, Alabama. Teacher, Carver High School, Montgomery, Alabama.

Tinsley, Mrs. Susie B., 726 Younglove Street, Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Teacher, Attucks High School, Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

Tracy, Mrs. Charlotte D., 559 Rutledge Avenue, Charleston, South Carolina. Teacher, Burke High School, Charleston, South Carolina.

Wade, Cora Bell, 550 Martin Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Teacher, Burglund High School, McComb, Mississippi.

Walker, Frank, P.O. Box 371, Union Springs, Alabama. Teacher, Van Buren Street High School, Eufaula, Alabama.

Whitehead, Eddie Lee, Housing Project #11 6972, Camilla, Georgia, Teacher, Camilla Consolidated, Camilla Georgia.

Errata

Comes Flying, Vine instead of Flying, Vine Comes.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
JULY 1 -- JULY 13, 1957

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE
OF RACE RELATIONS

Lecturers, Discussants and consultants

Dr. Charles Bish, Principal, McKinley High School, Washington, D. C.

Mr. L. Maynard Catchings, Secretary, Committee on Interracial and Intercultural Relations, National Student Councils of the YMCA and the YWCA, New York, New York.

Mr. Paul Christopher, Director, AFL-CIO Region 8, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York.

Mr. John Feild, Executive Director, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Committee, Detroit, Michigan.

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. Frederick Gearing, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago.

Mr. Luis Gonzales, President, Hispanic Young Adult Association, New York, New York.

Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Senior High Schools, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer, Industrial Union of Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Philip Hauser, Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Mr. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, New York.

Mr. John Hope II, Director of Industrial Relations, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches. Fisk University.

Dr. Martin Jenkins, President, Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Robert B. Johnson, Research Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York, New York.

Mr. Frayser T. Lane, Referral Secretary, Chicago Urban League.

Dr. Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches, Fisk University.

The Reverend Chester L. Marcus -- Evangelical and Reformed Church -- Staff CCSA, United Church of Christ, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Director, Legal Defense and Educational Fund and Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Peter Melette, Virginia Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Joseph Monserrat, Director, New York Office, Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, New York, New York.

Mr. Boyd Payton, Southern Director, Textile Workers of America, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Miss Antonia Pantoja, New York Commission on Human Relations.

Dr. Albert T. Rasmussen, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York. (Transferring to Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California.)

Mr. Joseph Ray, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

Attorney Abbott Rosen, Mid-West Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. George Sanchez, Department of History and Philosophy of Education, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Dr. Benjamin Segal, Trade Union Consultant, The Fund for the Republic, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Stanton Smith, President, Tennessee State Labor Council, Nashville.

Mrs. Bonita Valien, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Reverend Galen R. Weaver, Religion and Race, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches, New York, New York.

Dr. Robert Weaver, Commissioner, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission, New York, New York.

Mr. John Y. Yoshino, Liaison Officer, President's Commission on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D. C.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
July 1 - July 13, 1957

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE
OF RACE RELATIONS

ROSTER

Registered Membership

Aaragon, Jose, 512 Oalies Avenue, Belen, New Mexico. Supervisor of speech and dramatic activities, Las Lunas consolidated schools.

Asbury, The Reverend Beverly Allen, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. College Chaplain. Representing Department of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Ballentine, The Reverend, 1707 Home Avenue, Hartsville, South Carolina. Representative South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Barner, Sophia, 2703 Morena Street, Nashville 8, Tennessee. Teacher.

Barr, The Reverend John C., 20 Felix Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Representative South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Berthiaume, Rene P., Box 689, Rock Hill, South Carolina. Representative Textile Workers Union of America.

Binkley, John I., 3679 Broadway, Denver 3, Colorado. Deputy Co-ordinator of Colorado State Anti-Discrimination Commission.

Boartfield, Charles D., 136½ South Second Street, Memphis 3, Tennessee. Representative TWUA.

Boddy, Raford, 2029 7th Street, Riverside, California. Student University of California at Riverside.

Bollard, Robert, 8629 Brent Drive (Office 806 Heath Building) Cincinnati, Ohio. Representative District 25, United Steelworkers of America.

Braun, The Reverend Theodore A., 435 First Street, Henderson, Kentucky. Pastor Pastor, Zion E. and R. Church. Representative Commission on Christian Social Action E. and R. Church.

Breaks, Mrs. Marion Skeggs, 447 East 87th Street, Chicago 9, Illinois. Representative Operation Inspiration.

Bronson, Mrs. Edna B., 507 Eighth Avenue, South, Nashville 3, Tennessee. Director Missionary Education Sunday School Publishing Board.

Brown, Theodore E., 625 South 8th Avenue, Mt. Vernon, New York. Assistant Director of Department of Civil Rights AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Browning, The Reverend D. Warner, 2480 Park Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee. Representative Integration Service, Inc.

Calvin, Earl, 2626 N. 13th Street, Milwaukee 12, Wisconsin. Milwaukee Defender.

Carper, Julian F., Middletown, Virginia. Vice-President, Virginia State AFL-CIO, 102 N. Belvidere Street, Richmond, Virginia.

Carter, Franklin, 7 South Lewis Place, Rockville Centre, New York, N.Y. High School teacher, Woodmere Academy, Woodmere, New York.

Castillo, Thelma, 737 Crotona Park, North, Bronx 57, New York, New York. Latin American Consultant for Planned Parenthood, 501 Madison Avenue.

Collier, Mrs. A.B., 1701 Scovel Street, Nashville 8, Tennessee. Housewife. Representing PTA.

Crank, Sujette Fountain, 242 Boulevard, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Branch Executive Director, YWCA, 599 Tatnall Street, N.W.

Creitos, Raquel, 410 Riverside Drive, New York, New York. Health Educator, Spanish American organizations.

Davis, Charles E., 618 Broad Avenue, Greensboro, North Carolina. Associate Director of School Program, P. O. Box 1307 High Point, N.C.

Dernoncourt, Wayne L., 3002 Sigmund Circle, Columbia, South Carolina. Representing TWUA - AFL-CIO.

du Pont, Ethel B., 1418 James Court, Louisville 8, Kentucky. Teachers Union Work. Representing Kentucky Federation of Teachers.

Ethridge, Gene B., 209 S. Nash Street, Starkville, Mississippi. Associate YMCA Secretary.

Fleming, Edith, 403 W. Concord Street, Morganton, North Carolina. Teacher.

Frazer, Julius, 6314 W. 83 Street, Overland Park, Kansas. Field representative, Fair Practice Department, UAW, 729 Trailway Exchange Building, Kansas City, Missouri

Flying, Vine Comes, Crow Creek Indian Reservation, Pukwana, South Dakota. Representing Crow Creek Reservation.

Galvan, Molly C., 614 W. Kiowa, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Secretary, Adjutant's Office. Representing American G. I. Forum.

Gates, Edith H., 1030 24th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee. Teacher.

Gomez, Carlos, Hotel Sterling, Cleveland, Ohio (2400 Euclid Avenue). Director, Cleveland Office, Department of Labor of Puerto Rico. Representing Department of Labor of Puerto Rico.

Gonzales, Richard A., 1313 Claire Court, N. W. Albuquerque, New Nexico. Supervisor Barelas Community Center.

Guthrie, Bess Ann, Sullins College, Bristol, Virginia. Chairnab if. Social Science Department; YWCA sponsor. Representing Sullins College.

Hampton, Dorothy E., 1503 Benehan Street, Raleigh, North Carolina. Consultant on Racial Relations. Representing Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches.

Hargrave, Thomas R., 1004 Desota Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia. Associate Secretary for College Work -- Student YMCA, Southern Area Council, YMCA (706 Standard Building)

Hayes, Mrs. John Etta, 2519 Heiman Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Housewife. Representing 1st Community Church.

Henderson, Earl H., 526 St. Paul Place, Baltimore 2, Maryland. Field Representative United Auto Workers.

Hickey, Neal, 5321 Rinccoid Road, Chattanooga, Tennessee. International Representative. Representing International Union of Brewery Workers.

Holt, Mabel H., 34 W. Church Street, Martinsville, Virginia. Student worker. Representing YWCA.

House, Mrs. Teresa, 758 N. Garfield, Pasadena, California. Housewife. Representing United Church Women - Southern California and Southern Nevada.

Hughes, Ruth C., 810 West 8th, Topeka, Kansas. National Student Secretary, YWCA.

Jackson, Brue, 124 3rd Street, Rankin, Pennsylvania. Photostating Department and Representing United Steelworkers of America.

Jennings, Mrs. L. D., 5718 McKinley Street, Bethesda, Maryland. Housewife. Observer for Arrow, Inc.

Johns, Mrs. Helen B., 917 15th Avenue, South, Nashville 12, Tennessee. Teacher. Representing National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa.

Johnson, The Reverend A. James, 1348 8th Avenue, East Moline, Illinois. Representing Quad Cities Council on Human Rights (319 12th Street)

Jones, Harry S., Yorkmont Road, Rt. 3, Charlotte, North Carolina. Executive Secretary, North Carolina Council on Human Relations (121 East 3rd Street).

Keefer, Mrs. C. Murray, 146 Tremont Street, Ansonia, Connecticut. Housewife; State chairman Christian Social Action of the Connecticut Fellowship of Congregational Christian Women.

Kelly, The Reverend Charles W., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Representing Tuskegee Civic Associati

Kelly, Mrs. Charles W., Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. Dean of Women

Knox, Mrs. Luesta H., 1206 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Secretary and representing Georgia Council on Human Relations (63 Auburn Avenue).

Kraabel, Pastor Alf. M., 327 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Representing National Lutheran Council.

Land, Emerson Mae, 2612 13th Street, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Teacher, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa,

Laneuville, Alexander E., 1763 You Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Assistant to Administrator, Veterans Administration.

Larkin, Lenice J., 3533 Southwestern, Dallas, Texas. National Student YWCA Secretary. Representing National Student YWCA.

Lee, Mrs. Eva Myers, Route 3, Rucker Subdivision, Franklin, Tennessee. Supervisor of schools. Representing Council of PTA workers.

Lee, Ethel Jeanne, 120 College Street, Macon, Georgia. Fisk University student.

Lemon, E. Elaine, 2533 Harrison Street, Gary, Indiana. School administrator. Representing Anselm Women

Lincoln, Eric, 588 South Orleans Street, Memphis, Tennessee. Professor in Philosophy, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Lipp, Frederick, Sperry Road, Mentor, Ohio. University student.

Lisk, H. D., 110 W. 6th Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. Representing TWUA - AFL-CIO.

Mackie, Wade M., 5248 Adams Avenue, Baton Rouge, Lousiana. Representing American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) Director, Merit Employment - Southwest Region.

Manderson, Marge, 1403 West Peachtreet Street - Apt. 4, Atlanta, Georgia. Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council.

Martin, Galen A., 6 Blackberry Circle, Knoxville, Tennessee -- Use office address -- Box 887. Field representative. Representing Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.

McCabe, Mrs. Wilbert T., 1026 North 43rd Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Teacher, Pratt-Arnold School, 22nd and Dauphin Streets.

McFarlin, Marion, 4124 Belmont Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Insurance salesman.

McJunkin, Mrs. Charles F., 323 Bay Run Street, Orlando, Florida. Representing Interracial Committee of Winter Park.

Miller, Charlotte Mary, 324 Piedmont Avenue, San Antonio, Texas. Student. Member Methodist Student Movement.

Miller, A. C., 125 9th Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee. Representing Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention.

Millgate, Michael, Bars Hill, Cowes, Isle of Wight,England. Teacher.

Moll, Evelyn C., 511-W North Bay Street, Tampa, Florida. YWCA Program Director, National Conference of Methodist Youth. Representing Methodist Student Movement.

Morris, The Reverend S. S., 1404 Hawkins Street, Nashville 4, Tennessee, General Secretary and representing Division of Christian Education, AME Church.

Morrison, The Reverend J. W., 334 E. Harden Street, Graham, North Carolina. Representing Convention of the Southern United Church of Christ.

Morton, The Reverend Charles Evans, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee. Director of Religious Life; Chairman, Department or Religion and Philosophy. Representing YMCA (Student Council).

Morton, Naomi, 2500 Corprew Avenue, Norfolk 12, Virginia. Teacher. YWCA sponsored.

Owens, Daniel, 314 Market Street, E. St. Louis, Illinois. Truant officer. Representing Mayor's Human Relations Committee.

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Parker, Rupert, Box 124, Peach Springs, Arizona. Carpenter and Electrician. Representing Hualapai Tribal Council.

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Reed, Mrs. Pearl T., 760 Douglas Avenue, Winter Park, Florida. Teacher. Representing Inter-Racial Committee.

Reynolds, Louis B., 3740 Hydes Ferry Road, Nashville, Tennessee. Editor, Message magazine. Representing Southern Publishing Association 2119-2125 24th Avenue North, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

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Sloan, J. T., 2134 Fairfax Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Engineer.

Stadelman, Joan Blythe, 823 Stanley Street, Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Student. Representing the Southern Region, YWCA.

Swartz, Ben, 809 16th Avenue, Middletown, Ohio. Staff Representative, United Steel Workers. Representing United Steelworkers of America. 809 Keith Building, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.

Talgo, Oliver, P.O. Box 71, Bylas, Arizona. Farmer and Rancher. Representing San Carlos Tribal Council.

Tancil, Sallye E., 5823 Dix Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. Teacher.

Thomas, Don M., 171 Lorairs Street, Oberlin, Ohio. Teacher

Toffler, Al, 637 Arlington Boulevard, Falls Church, Virginia. Newspaperman. Representing Labor's Daily, York (Penna) Gazette and Daily, 524 Mills Building, Washington, D.C.

Treadway, Esther, 2001 Warren Street, Winfield, Kansas. School Nurse.

Trotter, Jessie L., Paseagoula, Mississippi. Student. Representing the Department of Sociology, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.

Troy, Mrs. Ruby, 1530 Poppy Peak Drive, Pasadena, California. Credential Technician. Representing Pasadena Womens' Interracial Club, Box 146, Glendale, California.

Turner, James. E., 609 Edgewood Avenue, Akron, Ohio. Director, Fair Practice Department-- United Rubber Workers.

Washington, The Reverend John R., 395 Benefit Street, Providence, Rhode Island. Representing the Rhode Island Congregational Christian Conference.

Weakman, George, 1405 Greenland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. Representative, Steelworkers. Representing the United Steelworkers of America, 508 exchange Building, Nashville, Tennessee.

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Wells, Guy H., 974 Los Angeles Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia. Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations. Representing the Georgia Council on Human Relations, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia.

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White, The Reverend Andrew, 1505 South Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Editor of Religious Literature for the AME Church.

Whitebird, Robert, Sr., Box 462, Inapaw, Oklahoma. Chairman, Inapaw Indian Business Committee. Representing Inapaw Indian Business Committee.

Whitebird, Robert A., Jr., Route #3, Box 254, Miami, Oklahoma. Farmer.

Wilson, Boyd L., 3353 McNeil Place, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. International Representative, United Steel Workers of America. Representing United Steel Workers of America, International Office, U.S.A. AFL-CIO, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania.

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Younts, Robert W., 2415 W. Reynolds Road, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Director, Wesley Foundation, Wake Forest College.

Zollinger, Edward Werner, 5659 S. Woodlawn, Chicago 37, Illinois. Student

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Cherry, Naomi, 201 Lane Avenue, Elizabeth City, North Carolina. Teacher, J. B. Bond High School, Lewiston, North Carolina.

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Cummings, Vera T., 844 Ioka Street, Memphis, Tennessee. Teacher, Melrose High School, Memphis, Tennessee.

Drake, Fred, 1113 Jackson Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Teacher, Druid High School, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Duncan Mrs. Ida H., 1010 Piedmont, Reidsville, North Carolina. Teacher, Washington High School, Reidsville, North Carolina.

Ellington, Mrs. Peggy, P.O. Box 423, Tuskegee, Alabama. Teacher, Macon County Training School, Boba, Alabama.

Foster, Troy, 1807 Bishop Street, Little Rock, Arkansas. Teacher, Dunbar High School, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Glenn, Reliford, 516 Alabama Street, Dublin, Georgia. Teacher, Oconee High School, Dublin, Georgia.

Harris, Mrs. Clementine, 1354 W. 11th Street, Jacksonville, Florida. Teacher, New Stanton High School, Jacksonville, Florida.

Hollingsworth, Mrs. Fannie, 443 Macon, McDonough, Georgia. Teacher, Henry County Training School, McDonough, Georgia.

James, Annie L., 261 Campbell, Elberton, Georgia. Teacher, Blackwell Memorial, Elberton, Georgia.

James, Nava L., 117 Patton Lane, Batesville, Mississippi. Teacher, Hull Junior High School, Coahoma, Mississippi.

Johnson, Freddie L., 428 College Street, Natchez, Mississippi. Teacher, S. V. Thompson High School, Natchez, Mississippi.

Jones, Rachel V., 64 Washington Terrace, Raleigh, North Carolina. Teacher, J. E. Sheppard High School, Zebulon, North Carolina.

Moon, Mattie Lee, 935 Athens Street, Gainsville, Georgia. Teacher, Fair Street High School, Gainsville, Georgia.

Murchison, Mrs. Maude B., 212 Wolfe Street, Fredericksburg, Virginia. Walker-Grant High School, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Nelson, Mrs. Goldye, 3319 E. Tuskegee, Montgomery, Alabama. Teacher, Carver High School, Montgomery, Alabama.

Olds, James Issac, 205 Standish Street, Salisbury, North Carolina. Teacher, Price High School, Salisbury, North Carolina.

Penny, Mrs. Eliza Lee, 1821 Short 16, Bessemer, Alabama. Teacher, Westfield High School, Westfield, Alabama.

Polk, Eugene, 411 E. Green, Monroe, North Carolina. Teacher, J. E. Shepard High School, Zebulon, North Carolina.

Rhodes, Alice L., 315 Flint Street, Charlotte, North Carolina. Teacher, Second Ward High School, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Smith, Mrs. Lois Conley, 767 Davidson, Montgomery, Alabama. Teacher, Carver High School, Montgomery, Alabama.

Tinsley, Mrs. Susie B., 726 Younglove Street, Hopkinsville, Kentucky. Teacher, Attucks High School, Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

Tracy, Mrs. Charlotte D., 559 Rutledge Avenue, Charleston, South Carolina. Teacher, Burke High School, Charleston, South Carolina.

Wade, Cora Bell, 550 Martin Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Teacher, Burglund High School, McComb, Mississippi.

Walker, Frank, P.O. Box 371, Union Springs, Alabama. Teacher, Van Buren Street High School, Eufaula, Alabama.

Whitehead, Eddie Lee, Housing Project #11 6972, Camilla, Georgia, Teacher, Camilla Consolidated, Camilla Georgia.

Errata

Comes Flying, Vine instead of Flying, Vine Comes.

SOUTHERN UNION STAFF TRAINING SEMINAR

WHEN: July 6 - July 13, 1957

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

PURPOSES: To provide an opportunity for selected Southern union leadership to meet together with expert resource people and other interested persons to discuss and learn about race relations and civil rights problems. You will participate in an established and effective institute, Fisk University's 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Labor representatives will use the afternoon sessions to concentrate on the problems faced by unions and union members relative to race relations.

PROGRAM: On the evening of July 6 and through July 7 there will be an orientation session for the union training institute. The topics which will be discussed in the special union workshops will include: "A Survey of Southern Labor History," "Background of the Resistance and Hate Groups of the South," "Economic Problems and the South Today," "The Impact of White Citizens Councils on Unions and Union Activities," "Use of the Race Issue Against Unions," "How to Counteract the Use of the Race Issue Against Unions," and "Resources Available to Assist Unions in their Civil Rights Work in the South."

Beside the top-level staff recruited for the Race Relations Institute as a whole, there will be special union resource people for the workshop on labor problems. Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic, and Emory Via, Labor Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, will serve as coordinators for the special union program.

HOW MUCH: The cost for room, board, and tuition fees will be about $50.00 for the eight days. The unions will be expected to pay the expenses of staff people. Some limited funds may be available to assist persons who otherwise couldn't get to the institute.

WRITE: For application forms or further information to: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. You may use the form below and the self-addressed envelope which is enclosed.

- -

____ I plan to attend the Southern Union Staff Training Seminar to be held in connection with Fisk University's 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Please send me an application form.

____ I will be unable to attend the Southern Union Staff Training Seminar.

Name: _____

Position: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

City and State: _____

Follow-up letter (June 5) forwarded to all but Pippin, Haigler, Christopher, and Bateman.

Letters of invitation to union staff training institute (Fisk University, July 6 - July 13) forwarded to:

Nick Bonanno
Special Assistant
Southeastern Regional Office
ILGWU
1489 Gordon Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Julius R. Fry
Representative
TWUA
509½ S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

James P. Harden
Education Department
UAW
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Earl H. Henderson
Field Representative
UAW
526 St. Paul Place
Baltimore, Maryland

Charles Jones
Minister
Community Church
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

E. T. Kehrer
Southeast Regional Director
ILGWU
1489 Gordon Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Ned Kocher
Representative
USA
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

J. C. McFarlin
Secretary-Treasurer, Atlanta Div.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
117 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Lorne H. Nelles
Director, District 35
USA
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

William H. Oliver
Co-Director, Fair Practices Department
UAW
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit 14, Michigan

Ken Peterson
Civil Rights Coordinator
IUE
1126 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

John M. Powderly
Department of Education
USA
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

R. E. Starnes
Field Representative
USA
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

James E. Turner
Asst. Director, Fair Practices Department
URWA
URWA Building
Mill and High Street
Akron, Ohio

Paul D. Ward
Director of Special Services
American Federation of Teachers
28 E. Jackson
Chicago, Illinois

George Weaver
Executive Secretary
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee
815 - 16th Street
Washington, D. C.

Lee White
CWA
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

E. R. Williamson
Area Director
COPE Area No. 3
P. O. Box 231
Durham, North Carolina

Henry T. Wilson
Legal Assistant
American Federation of State, County,
and Municipal Employees
448 W. Washington
Madison 1, Wisconsin

James E. Wolfe
Director, Research and Education
United Brewery Workers
2347 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

Eric Polisar
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Jackson Curry
District Manager
American Federation of Hosiery Workers
119 Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Paul R. Christopher
Director, AFL-CIO Region 8
216 Flat Iron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Earl W. Davis
AFL-CIO Representative
419 West Clay Street
Richmond, Virginia

Charles H. Gillman
Director, AFL-GIO Region 6
1026 Hurt Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

~~Lester Graham~~
~~Director, AFL-CIO Region 5~~
~~1106 Independence Building~~
~~Charlotte 2, North Carolina~~

Omit

Carey E. Haigler
Director, AFL-CIO Region 5
1106 Independence Building
Charlotte 2, North Carolina

Lester Graham
Director, AFL-CIO Region 17
1318 Continental National Bank Building
Fort Worth, Texas

Woodrow G. Pendergrass
Director, AFL-CIO Region 16
705 Enterprise Building
522 South Boston
Tulsa 3, Oklahoma

Omit

E. C. Pippin
Legislative Representative
Alabama Labor Council
Leu Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Oliver Singleton
AFL-CIO Region 4
1216 East Baltimore Street
Baltimore 2, Maryland

E. H. Williams
Director, AFL-CIO Region 7
1919 St. Claude Avenue
New Orleans 16, La.

Thomas W. Culpepper
President, Atlanta Division
Sleeping Car Porters
942 Parsons Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

George Gill
Director, District 3
CWA
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Norbert Blume
Kentucky Federation of Labor
312 Armory Place
Louisville 2, Kentucky

W. Millard Barbee
President
N. C. Labor Council
705 Mangum Street
Durham, N.C.

Sam Ezelle
Kentucky State Federation of Labor
312 Armory Place
Louisville 2, Kentucky

~~Frank Parker~~
~~International Representative~~
~~Furniture Workers~~
~~509½ South Main~~
~~High Point, North Carolina~~

David Herman
President, Local Number 6
Hotel and Restaurant Workers Employees
305 West 44th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Bob Sharpe
Business Agent
ILGWU
187½ Trinity Avenue, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Howard D. Walton
President, Florida State IUC
43 N. E. Second Street
Miami 32, Florida

Jarvis Baughman
International Wood Workers of America
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

E. L. Abercrombie
Vice President
Laundry Workers International Union
1119 West Flagler Street, Room 3
Miami, Florida

W. T. Archer
Laundry Workers International Union
345 Washington Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dial Murphy
Director, District Number 9
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers
220 Flatiron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Irving Lebold
International Representative
Retail-Wholesale-Department Store Union
655 East Bay Street
Charleston, S. C.

Berthiaume -

Ray ~~Berthiume~~
International Representative
Textile Workers Union of America
North Wilson Street
Rock Hill, S. C.

Scott Hoyman
International Representative
TWUA
Greensboro, North Carolina

Boyd Payton
Regional Director, TWUA
100 West 6th Street
Charlotte, N.C.

Omit

John Bateman
Assistant Regional Director
UAW
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Michael Volk
International Representative
UAW
Box 128
Waxhaw, N. C.

Ray Nixon
United Rubber Workers of America
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Estes Riffe
1259 Farmdale
Louisville, Ky. (USA-CIO Representative)

Wilbur Hobby
Editor, Durham Labor Journal
Durham, N. C.

Matthew Lynch
Legislative Representative
Tenn. State Labor Council
939 Church Street
Nashville, Tenn.

Stanton Smith
President
Tenn. State Labor Council
939 Church Street
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Alfred Holmes
732 Jones Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
(IAM)

1

brochures

with info. sheet, envelope, ~~brochures~~ ~~other~~

Letters of Invitation to Fisk (first letter; not follow-up) sent to the following June 10:

Mrs. Gertrude ~~Ross~~ Ross (President, Ladies Auxiliary, Sleeping Car Porters)
567 Pulliam Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. James Roland
1032 - 40th Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. J. R. Neely
1411 Phillip Street
Nashville, Tennessee (ALL McLAURIN REC.)

FIRST ANNUAL UNION-STAFF TRAINING SEMINAR
July ~~6-13, 1957~~

This Seminar is in conjunction with the ~~Fourteenth~~ 15th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University and sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with Benjamin D. Segal, ~~Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic~~. Director, Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties & Rights

Saturday, July 6

Afternoon: Registration --- Scribner Hall

5:00 P.M. Picnic --- Jubilee Hall Lawn

Evening: Square Dance (Livingston Hall Tennis Court) or free.

Sunday, July 7

7:15 - 8:00 Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

Room 302, Park Hall 9:30 Orientation and introductions

10:00 Background on Southern Problems and Race Realtions Patterns in Southern Unions..... Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council.

1:00 - 2:00 Dinner -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

2:00 - 4:00 A Glance at the History of Unions in the South.... Benjamin Segal, President, Local #189, American Federation of Teachers.

Supper -- (On your own: Try Brown's Restaurant right off campus on Jefferson Street)

Evening: Bull sessions and refreshments -- Boyd House, Room #23, 1603 Meharry Blvd.

Monday, July 8

6:15 - 7:30 Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - 8:50 The Southern Rural Migrant and the Urban Community... Frayser T. Lane

9:00 - 9:50 The Status of Desegregation in Southern Higher Education ..... Guy B. Johnson

9:50 - 10:30 Factors Influencing Inter-racial Acceptance on American College Campuses..... L. Maynard Catchings

10:50 - 11:30 Panel and Discussion

Monday, July 8 (continued)

11:15 - 12:30 Lunch -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

1:00 - 3:00 UNION SEMINAR -- "LEGAL ASPECTS OF RACIAL PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH" --- Paul Sanders, Vanderbilt Law School.

4:00 - 5:00 Dinner -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - Nature, Purpose and Strategy of Resistance Groups in the South ..... Oscar Cohen, Program Director, Anti Defamation League.

Tuesday, July 9

6:15 - 7:30 Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - 10:15 SOUTHERN ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE RACIAL CRISIS ... Ben Segal, Emory Via, John Hope, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Paul Christopher, Director, Region #8, AFL-CIO.

10:15 - 10:40 Coffee Break (Park Hall)

10:40 - The Wage Earner in the Ameri can Economy -- Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.

11:15 - 12:30 Lunch -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

1:00 - 3:00 LABOR SEMINAR: PRO SEGREGATION GROUPS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT ..... Fred Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council.

THE RACE ISSUE IN ORGANIZING CAMPAIGNS ..... Paul Christopher.

4:00 - 5:00 Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RACIAL CRISIS FOR SOUTHERN ORGANIZED LABOR ** Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Electrical Workers.

Wednesday, July 10

6:15 - 7:30 Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - 8:50 State Fair Employment Practices ..... John Field

9:00 - 9:50 The President's Committee on Government Contracts ... John Y. Yoshino

10:20 - 11:30 Panel and Discussion..... Philip Hauser, Field and Yoshino

Wednesday, July 10 (continued)

11:30 - 12:30	Lunch --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR: THE RACE ISSUE IN ONE INDUSTRY AND UNION ..... Boyd Payton, Southern Director, T.W.U.A. RACIAL ISSUES IN THE LOCAL UNION..... Stanton Smith, President, Tennessee Labor Council
4:00 - 5:00	Dinner -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00	Implications of Population Trends for Race Relations, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Thursday, July 11

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00	Policies and Programs of Public and Private Agencies for the Elimination of Housing Discrimination..... Joseph Ray and Robert Weaver.
11:15 - 12:30	Lunch -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR: FILM --- "CLINTON AND THE LAW", DESEGREGATION MOVES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS: A REGIONAL PICTURE.
4:00 - 5:00	Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
Evening	Open

Friday, July 12

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
9:00 - 11:30	Desegregation in the Washington, D.C. Public Schools..... Charles F. Hansen and Charles Bish.
11:30 - 12:30	Lunch --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR: MEETING THE ATTACKS OF PRO SEGREGATION GROUPS AGAINST THE LABOR MOVEMENT --- RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO UNIONS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WORK AND MEETING RACIAL ISSUES.

Friday, July 12 (continued)

4:00 - 5:00	Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00 -	The Status of Legal Developments in the Desegregation Issue ..... Thurgood Marshall, Chief Legal Counsel, N.A.A.C.P.

Saturday, July 13

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00 - 11:00	UNION SEMINAR: NEXT STEPS FOR UNIONS IN THE SOUTH, CONFERENCE SUMMARY.

* Topics may be shifted to another day to suit schedules of our resource persons.

* All program sessions will be held in Park Hall

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
JULY 1 -- JULY 13, 1957

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE
OF RACE RELATIONS

Lecturers, Discussants and consultants

Dr. Charles Bish, Principal, McKinley High School, Washington, D. C.

Mr. L. Maynard Catchings, Secretary, Committee on Interracial and Intercultural Relations, National Student Councils of the YMCA and the YWCA, New York, New York.

Mr. Paul Christopher, Director, AFL-CIO Region 8, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, New York.

Mr. John Feild, Executive Director, Michigan Fair Employment Practices Committee, Detroit, Michigan.

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. Frederick Gearing, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago.

Mr. Luis Gonzales, President, Hispanic Young Adult Association, New York, New York.

Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Senior High Schools, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer, Industrial Union of Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Philip Hauser, Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Mr. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, New York.

Mr. John Hope II, Director of Industrial Relations, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches. Fisk University.

Dr. Martin Jenkins, President, Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Dr. Robert B. Johnson, Research Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York, New York.

Mr. Frayser T. Lane, Referral Secretary, Chicago Urban League.

Dr. Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches, Fisk University.

The Reverend Chester L. Marcus -- Evangelical and Reformed Church -- Staff CCSA, United Church of Christ, Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Director, Legal Defense and Educational Fund and Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Dr. Peter Melette, Virginia Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Joseph Monserrat, Director, New York Office, Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, New York, New York.

Mr. Boyd Payton, Southern Director, Textile Workers of America, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Miss Antonia Pantoja, New York Commission on Human Relations.

Dr. Albert T. Rasmussen, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York. (Transferring to Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California.)

Mr. Joseph Ray, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

Attorney Abbott Rosen, Mid-West Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. George Sanchez, Department of History and Philosophy of Education, University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Dr. Benjamin Segal, Trade Union Consultant, The Fund for the Republic, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Stanton Smith, President, Tennessee State Labor Council, Nashville.

Mrs. Bonita Valien, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Reverend Galen R. Weaver, Religion and Race, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Board of Home Missions, Congregational and Christian Churches, New York, New York.

Dr. Robert Weaver, Commissioner, Temporary State Housing Rent Commission, New York, New York.

Mr. John Y. Yoshino, Liaison Officer, President's Commission on Government Contracts, Washington 25, D. C.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

[1957]

In March of this year, the Southern Regional Council sponsored a two-day conference on unions and civil rights problems in the South. One of the pressing needs which the conference participants emphasized was special staff training in handling race relations and civil rights issues.

As one follow-up to this conference, we are planning a union staff training institute July 6-13, in conjunction with the 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. This is an unusual opportunity to draw on the excellent resources provided by the Fisk Institute and to concentrate on the special needs of unions in this whole area.

The enclosed sheet will give more details of our planning thus far. Also enclosed are two leaflets on the Fisk Institute, itself. You are urged to set these dates aside for your own participation. Please let us know if there are other unionists whom you feel would contribute to and profit from this experience.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council

Ben Segal

Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Registration: Fisk Institute Labor Seminar

Definite:

(1) Earl H. Henderson, UAW

(2) Theodore E. Brown, AFL-CIO

(3) Eula McGill, ACWA

(4) Ellison Jefferies, USA Dist. #25

4 - 9 Frank Shane letter to EV.

(5) Ben Schwartz, USA Dist. #25

(6) Robert Bollard, USA Dist. #25

(7) Floyd Hill, USA Dist. #25

(8) USA Local 3657, Pittsburgh, Pa.

First page - add Wilson

(9) USA Committee on Civil Rights, Los Angeles, Calif.

(10) Julius Frazier, UAW

(11) Julian Carper, Va. AFL-CIO

To Fisk

(12) James E. Turner, URWA

(13) James Wolfe, Brewery Workers

Page 2 - Definite:

(14) "Red" Lisk - TWUA - Application - $5.00 cash

(15) Rene Berthiaume - TWUA - Application
~~Int. Rep.~~

(16) Boyd Payton, ½ week TWUA

(17) Wayne ~~Burringcourt~~ Dernoncourt, 9th-13th TWUA - Application

(18) Paul Christopher, 1 or 2 days AFL-CIO Reg #4

(19) Stanton Smith, 1 day Tenn Labor Council

(20) Matt Lynch, 1 day Tenn. Labor Council

(21) Charles D. Boartfield. Application - $5.00 Check

~~2 AFT - Ben Segal Scholarships~~

~~Boartfield~~

(22) Dan Powell - Memphis - C.O.P.E.

(23) Joe Thornton - IUE Miss. - PO Box 789 Columbus Miss

(24) Mrs. Veronica B. Hill, AFT - (Ben Segal Schlsp)

(25) 1 Other AFT - Segal Schlsp.)

Registration for Fisk Institute
Labor Seminar

Maybe:

2 USA District #13, Johnstown, Pa.

1 USA District #35, Atlanta

1 USA District #36, Birmingham

1 USA District #37, Houston

1 S.E. ILGWU
(Frank Cisco)

1 IUE - ~~Ken Peterson~~ - Ken has written to Fisk for application blank

1 CWA — Lee White "promised" at least one.

2 UAW - Wagner
Harden

1 AFSCME - Hank Wilson

1 TWUA - Dave Terry

~~1 TWUA - Ranfield~~ Benfield

Total: 13

Definite Attendants - Fisk Union Seminar

Name, Union Affiliation, Address:	Application Received?	Deposit Received?	No. of days in attendance:
1. Earl H. Henderson Field Representative UAW 526 St. Paul Place Baltimore, Md.	SRC		1 week
2. Theodore E. Brown Assistant Director, Civil Rights Dept. AFL-CIO 815 - 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.	SRC		"
3. Eula McGill Organizer Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Amer. P. O. Box 161 Cookeville, Tennessee	SRC		"
4. Boyd L. Wilson International Rep., United Steelworkers 1500 Commonwealth Building Pittsburgh 22, Pa.	Share		"
5. Ellison Jefferies Representative, District 25 United Steelworkers of America 806 Keith Building 525 Walnut Street Cincinnati, Ohio	Share		"
6. Ben Schwartz Representative, District 25 United Steelworkers of America 806 Keith Building 525 Walnut Street Cincinnati, Ohio	Share		"
7. Robert Bollard Representative, District 25 United Steelworkers of America 806 Keith Building 525 Walnut Street Cincinnati, Ohio	Share		"

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Name, Union Affiliation, Address:	Application Received?	Deposit Received?	No. of days in attendance:
8. Floyd Hill Representative, District 25 United Steelworkers of America 806 Keith Building 525 Walnut Street Cincinnati, Ohio	Shown		1 week
9. (name?) United Steelworkers Local 3657 1500 Commonwealth Building Pittsburgh 22, Pa.			"
10. (name?) United Steelworkers of America Committee on Civil Rights 810 William M. Garland Building 117 West 9th Los Angeles 15, California			"
11. Julius Frazer Field Representative Fair Practices Anti-Discrimination Department - UAW 729 Railway Exchange Building Kansas City 6, Missouri	SRC - letter		Arriving July 7; (1 week)
12. James E. Turner Assistant Director, Fair Practices United Rubber Workers 87 South High Street Akron 8, Ohio	SRC - letter		~~1 wk~~ 1 week
13. James E. Wolfe Director, Research and Education United Brewery Workers 2347 Vine Street Cincinnati 19, Ohio	SRC - letter		"
14. H. D. Lisk International Representative TWUA 110 West Sixth Street Charlotte 2, North Carolina	Yes	$5.00 Check	"

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	Name, Union Affiliation, Address:	Application Received?	Deposit Received?	No. of days in attendance:
15.	Rene P. Berthiaume International Rep. TWUA P. O. Box 689 Rock Hill, South Carolina	Yes		1 week
16.	Boyd Payton Regional Director, TWUA 100 West 6th Street Charlotte, North Carolina	To BFV		½ week
17.	Wayne L. Dermoncourt Representative, TWUA Local 325 Box 105 Converse, S.C. (HOME: 3002 Sigmund Circle, Columbia, S.C.)	Yes		Arrive afternoon July 9th
18.	Paul Christopher Director, AFL-CIO Region 8 216 Flat Iron Building 705 Broadway, N.E. Knoxville 17, Tennessee			1 or 2 days
19.	Stanton Smith President Tenn. State Labor Council 939 Church Street Nashville, Tenn.			1 day
20.	Matthew Lynch Legislative Representative Tenn. State Labor Council 939 Church Street Nashville, Tenn.			1 day
21.	Charles D. Beartfield Representative, TWUA 136½ So. Second St. Room 4 Memphis 3, Tenn. (HOME: 4835 Avondale Ave., Memphis)	Yes	$5.00 check	1 week
22.	Julian F. Carper, Vice-President Va. State AFL-CIO 102 N. Belvidere Street Richmond 2, Virginia	yes (Fisk)		?

	Name, Union Affiliation, Address:	Application Received?	Deposit Received?	No. of days in attendance?
23.	Mrs. Veronica B. Hill Vice President American Federation of Teachers 2607 Soniat Street New Orleans 15, Louisiana	SRC	Scholarship	1 week
24.	Ethel B. du Pont Legislative Representative Kentucky Federation of Teachers 1418 St. James Court Louisville 8, Kentucky	SRC		1 week
25.	Joseph Thornton IUE P. O. Box 789 Columbus, Mississippi	Ben Segal		?
26.	Dan Powell COPE 1041 Colonial Road Memphis, Tennessee	Ben Segal		?
~~27.~~	~~An additional American Federation of Teachers Representative?~~		~~Scholarship~~	
27	Al Toffler Labor's Daily 637 Arlington Blvd Falls Church, Va.			

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University Labor Education

For Discussion Only

December 13, 1965

PROPOSED OUTLINE FOR A LABOR EDUCATION BILL

I. OBJECTIVES

To promote the welfare of employees through a better understanding of their rights and responsibilities at their worksites, in their employer-employee relationships, in their labor organizations, and in their communities and in the nation, so as to develop free and responsible persons for a democratic society.

II. FEDERAL GRANTS

Federal grants shall amount to $5,000,000 for the fiscal years 1967 and 1968, $7,000,000 for the fiscal year 1969 and $10,000,000 for the fiscal years 1970 and 1971.

The amount allotted to a state shall be in the proportion of its civilian labor force to that of the total population in the United States.

III. USES OF FEDERAL GRANTS

Federal grants shall be used for the extension of existing labor education programs and for the establishment of new labor education programs by contributing to the costs of promotion, instruction, supervision, materials development, and research in connection with programs for employees which shall provide information, training and education in such areas as:

-- The nature of work, working conditions and the working place, the labor force and the impact of the technological changes thereon;

-- All phases of labor-management relations including collective bargaining;

-- Labor legislation and its administration;

-- History of employees' organizations and their role in the economic and social development of the United States;

-- Development of leadership resources for more efficient administration of employees' organizations;

-- Development of leadership resources for greater participation of employees in all areas of the economic and social life of the community and the nation.

IV. ADMINISTRATION

(1) The Labor Education Program shall be administered by the Secretary of Labor who shall, for this purpose, establish an Office of Labor Education.

The Secretary of Labor shall establish a National Advisory Council on Labor Education which shall consist of persons representing education (including some familiar with labor education), Federal, state and local government, labor and the general public.

(2) In order to be eligible for Federal grants, a state institution or agency designated by the governor of the state shall prepare and submit a State Plan to the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the regulations established by the Secretary of Labor.

The State Plan shall be approved by a State Advisory Council on Labor Education which shall consist of persons representing education (including some familiar with labor and continuing education), labor and the general public.

(3) Eligible for Federal grants shall be public and private institutions of higher education, state and local school systems, and non-profit educational associations whose interests are in the area of labor education, in accordance with the policies and procedures contained in the State Plan and approved by the Secretary of Labor.

(4) In order to be eligible for a Federal grant, the cooperating institution shall maintain its level of expenditures for the fiscal year 1966 and shall add to its budget an amount equal at least to 20% of the Federal grant.

In the case of a program that was not in existence prior to the passage of this law, the cooperating institution shall match the Federal grant by an amount equal at least to the amount of the Federal grant.

For the purpose of determining the level of expenditures, the cooperating institution shall not include fees and other charges to participants in its programs.

(5) Federal funds can be used for research, experimental, demonstration and pilot projects for the purpose of improving the quality and broadening the coverage of labor education activities. Federal grants for research, experimental, demonstration and pilot projects can cover the cost of tuition, travel and subsistence allowances of students.

(6) The Secretary of Labor shall retain 20% of the annual appropriations for grants to cooperating institutions for the purpose of research, experimental, demonstration and pilot projects.

oeiu#2afl-cio

me

Harold Flaud — La (?)

Harry Ahearn
Pres & Ed Dir
ICWU

Also Hay Johnson

Hamner
Leigh
U of Ga.
Jack Wann

Jackson Mess
Hubert Mills
ICWU — Local 553
friend Dick Spears (Other State)

Floyd Brown
St. Simons Isl.
ICWU

"Skeeter" Nutt, Jr.
(J. R.)
Brunswick ICWU.

Homer Wilson
farm
mill
Strawberry
Plains, Tenn
ICWU
65 yrs old.

Phil Whitehead — Jacksonville, Fla
good egg GR — ICWU
[out of painting trades]

Flews
~~Bell~~ SWA
Rep — Inland
Steel, N.O. La.
La — Miss. —

Int'l Rep
NAACP

365
104
261
75
1305
1827
1575
1475

Shady Davis, BA
Painters — Brunswick

Willi Wood
Carpenters
Jacksonville
Fla —

Negro Rep.
James Washington
ICWU — Jacksonville
also State Ex Bd NAACP

Fitzsimmons, Brunswick
IBEW (Ga Pam Lodge)

J. Harley Thomas —
good egg — Dick Spears

Ralph Bramson, Chattanooga
ICWU

Jimmy Nicholson — trated Tale on CR — good
Memphis, Tenn
ICWU

Lab Ed—Univ

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

Department of Labor Education
209 Engineering E Building

Date: January 10, 1966

From: Helmut J. Golatz, Chairman
ULEA Committee on Federal Labor Education Extension Bill

To: ULEA Executive Committee: Murphy, Robinson, Ozanne, Humza, McCallister
ULEA Committee on extension bill: Brickner, (Ozanne), (Humza)

Re: Status of Union-University Work on Extension Bill

This is to report the present status of our union-university efforts to draft a labor education extension bill.

Enclosed you will find the outline of a proposed bill as prepared and circulated among the union educators by Otto Pragan. This is a rearranged and improved version of the outline I distributed to you, and meets some of the objections voiced by you to me. Other objections, which have not been resolved, are indicated in the running report of your previous reactions which follows:

I. Objectives: No comments by you.

II. Federal Grants: One of you suggested the sums ought to be smaller and available by direct application to the federal agency without the intermediate state mechanisms.

III. Uses of Federal Grants: No comments.

IV. Administration:

(1) Secretary to have no control over academic content of programs. One suggestion to omit all categories of representation in the National Advisory Council, especially adult educators.

(2) Governor to designate state institution, not state agency.

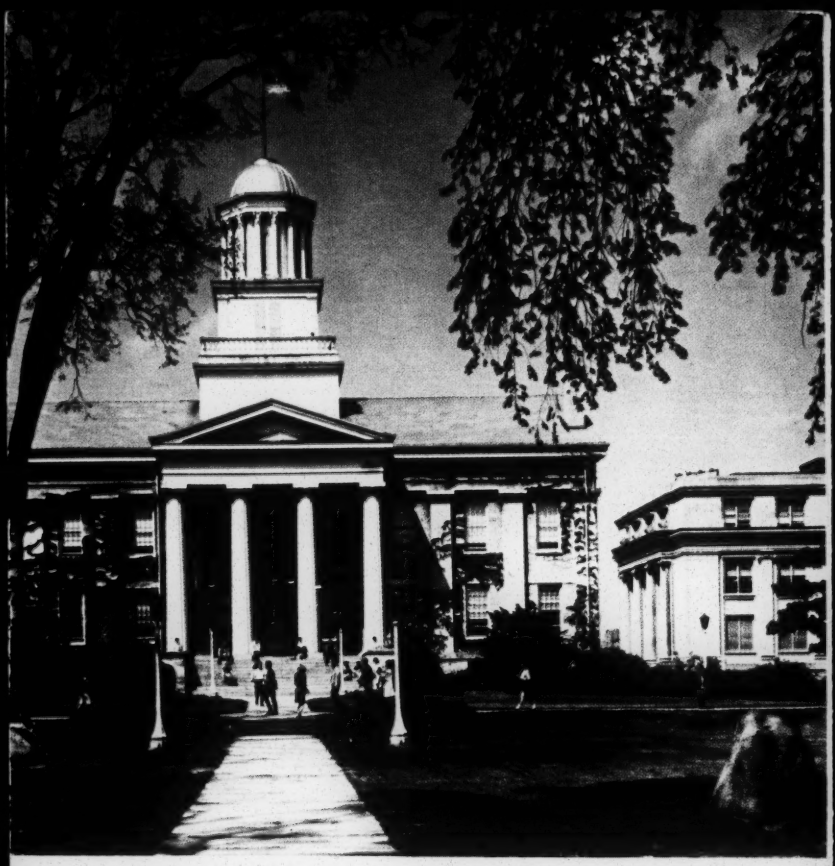
(3) Several suggestions to restrict grants to "public institutions of higher learning," or institutions capable of doing research; and certainly exclude local school districts.

(6) 20% for research ought to be explicitly exempted from matching requirements.

I reported your sentiments in a discussion of the outline with Otto and a group of union educators on January 5. Larry Rogin expressed the consensus in this way: the union educators prefer a direct federal program, but will accept a federal-state arrangement if needed to pass the bill; various kinds of educational institutions ought to be eligible for grants, and not only institutions of higher learning.

Here the matter rests. On the one hand, the AFL-CIO will probably make no further move until the disposition of 14(b) is in sight. On the other, some of you certainly will take exception to "various kinds of educational institutions" above. I suggest we mark time until (1) Congress resolves 14(b); and (2) the university educators further explore "eligibility" in informal sessions with their union counterparts.

HJG/m



FIFTH ANNUAL WAGE DETERMINATION INSTITUTE

April 17-22, 1966

UNIVERSITY OF

Iowa

IOWA CITY, IOWA

PEACE: THE FRUIT OF JUSTICE AND CHARITY

PROGRAM IN ADULT EDUCATION

SPRING 1966

March 7 - April 25

Labor Ed. Program
Loyola

THE LABOR MANAGEMENT CENTER

Division of:

THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY

NEW ORLEANS

4/25/66

Joan

Let's set up a folder on Georgia - Labor education.

Inlcude these notes:

EV met with Monta gue, Pres. State AFL-CIO pres. and George Warner of CWA and Bill Clitheroe of IAM on 4/20/66. Herb Green of UAW was invited but could not attend. Indeed, Herb's conversations with Monty, following earlier ones by him and EV and between EV and Herb had led to the meetining.

The prospects of labor education at either Ga. Tech., Univ of Ga or Ga State were reviewed. discussion included whether to ask for a labor education program to be established or to simply ask for cooperation on specific programs. Decision on this to await further informal investigation by EV to determine potential interest in the various schools with especially empahis on Ga. State based on some expressed interest by Jim Crawford, chmn. of econ., and John Lewis, Assoc. dean of bus. Also check Mack Moore at Tech.

Via to clear with Rogin of natl. AFL-CIO ed. dept. to keep informed of interest in Ga. and need for national level attention. Rogin already indicated interest and advisability of national union participation at point of formal approach to a school.

EV discussed possibilities of programs and what they do and how organized in other universities. Agreed to secure information on several schools that could be shown to university or labor people.

Regarding board of regents: Monatague assessment -- Draper a possiblity, Carmichael might go along, Langdale no good, (Deceased?) Father of Ga State President (?) (Acting)

Montague indicated that the Ga AFL-CIO and he would do all that is required to support a labor education effort. This is quite a change in the past posture of Ga AFL-CIO.

5/2/66

Via talked W.M

John Lewis, Assoc Dean of

Bus. Admin.

He will get an informal

group of interested faculty -

persons together to meet

With Via as preliminary

to hearing from AFL-CIO

Labor Ed
Program

INSTITUTE ON

Labor Law

Trends and Developments

TUESDAY, MAY 3, 1966

UNDERWOOD AUDITORIUM

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

SPONSORED BY

VANDERBILT SCHOOL OF LAW

IN COOPERATION WITH

NASHVILLE AND TENNESSEE BAR ASSOCIATIONS

NASHVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

TENNESSEE MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

TENNESSEE STATE LABOR COUNCIL

UNIO. Lab. Ed.
pages

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

presents a two-day conference on

Emerging Urban Transportation Policies:

Impact on the Economic Future of the Metropolitan Area

MAY 6 AND 7, 1966
HOTEL ROOSEVELT, NEW YORK CITY

With the cooperation of

Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Inc.

New York City Central Labor Council

U.S. Small Business Administration

Conducted by

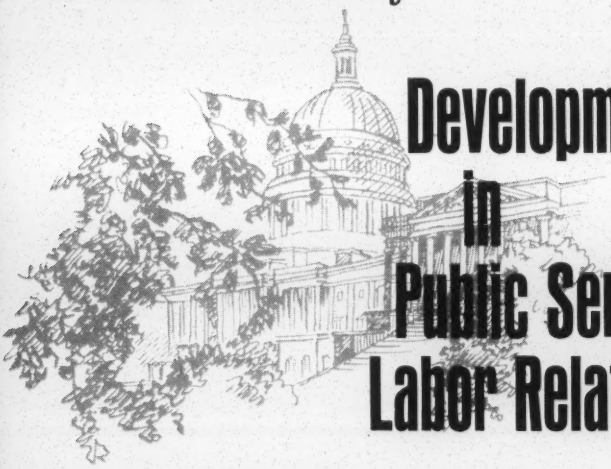
The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations

A Contract College of the State University

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

presents

A One-Day Conference
In New York City



Developments in Public Service Labor Relations

Hotel Roosevelt, New York City
Thursday, May 12, 1966

Conducted by:

The New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations

A Contract College of the State University

RESPONDANTS TO REQUEST FOR INFO ON UNIV. LABOR EDUC. PROGRAMS:

(compiled 19 May) 1966

If letters accompanied the materials, the letters are attached here.

Wally

1. Walter H. Uphoff
   Center for Labor Education and Research
   University of Colorado
   Economics Department
   Boulder, Colorado 80304

2. Hy Kornbluh
   108 Museums Annex
   Ann Arbor, Michigan

Joe

3. Joseph S. Smolen
   Asst. Dir.
   Labor Educ. Center
   Univ. of Conn.
   Storrs, Conn. 06268

4. Jack Mann
   Ohio State Univ.
   Columbus, Ohio
   (Lab. Ed. & Res. Service)

5. D. W. (Witt) Murphy, Director
   Labor Educ. and Res. Center
   Indiana Univ.
   Division of Univ. Extension
   Owen Hall
   Bloomington, Ind. 47401

Ron

6. Ronald Donovan, Assoc.Prof.
   NYState School of Ind.&Labor.Relations
   Cornell Univ.
   Ithaca 14850

Frank McCallister

Frank

7. _____
   Roosevelt University
   430 S. Michigan Ave.
   Chicago 60605

Tony

8. Anthony V. Sinicropi, Assoc.Dir.
   Center for Labor and Management
   Phillips Hall
   The Univ. of Iowa
   Iowa City, Iowa 52240

The School for Workers
9. University Extension Division
The Univ. of Wisc.
Madison, Wisc. 53706

Norris

Norris T. Butts

Don Vial — Univ of Calif ?

ADD TO RESPONDANTS FOR LABOR EDUC. INFO:

20 May 1966

10. Don Vial, Chairman

Center for Labor Res. and Educ.
Institute of Indistrial Relations
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

CENTER FOR LABOR RESEARCH
AND EDUCATION
INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

May 10, 1966

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We have been so busy launching our Center and getting programs going that we have not been doing a good job of preparing materials to explain them. I am enclosing the Institute's annual report which includes our Center's report for the first year on pages 26 through 40. Also I am enclosing the last issue of the Institute's bulletin, which includes a very brief description of a few of our activities under Community Service Programs.

In the near future we will be starting our own Center's newsletter but this doesn't help at the moment. You might also be interested in a set of Guidelines developed jointly by the AFL-CIO and the University which we are in the process of implementing. A copy is enclosed.

Sorry I can't be more helpful.

Sincerely,

Don

Don Vial
Chairman

DV:lr

Encs.

May 6, 1966

Dear Via —

In answer to your recent request, here are five copies of our general descriptive brochure pertaining to our labor program —

Hope all is going well with you —

Jack Mann

Labor Ed — Univ.

Ohio State U.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Division of University Extension
AREA CODE 812, TEL. NO. 337-4500
OWEN HALL
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

Audio-Visual Center
Bureau of Public Discussion
Labor Education and Research Center

Regional Campuses
Conference Bureau
Correspondence Study

May 6, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing several copies of our most recent Annual Report and some material relating to our Union Leadership Program and Resident Program.

Each University department was asked last year to conduct a self-survey. These are for internal use only and not for release outside the University. However, I am enclosing a copy since I think it does give a pretty good picture of the origin and development of the program here at Indiana University. I would appreciate it, however, if you do not let this get out of your hands; though it is certainly not confidential, the University might feel that I am releasing an internal document.

It was good to see you in Detroit, I am sorry we did not have a chance to get together.

Best personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Will

D. W. Murphy, ~~Director~~
~~Labor Education~~ and
Research Center

our address

DWM:me

Enclosure

New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations
A Contract College of the State University
Cornell University Ithaca, New York 14850

May 3, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am enclosing a selection of a few program notices which I have been able to round up. Although at Cornell the programs are high quality ones, in most respects we do not do a very good job of putting things down on paper. I hope that the little bit that is here may be of some use to you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Donovan
Associate Professor

RD/eas

encs.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT
STORRS, CONNECTICUT
06268

Labor Ed - Univ

May 4, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I was out of town when your letter of April 21, 1966 arrived in the office.

I am sending you the enclosed material immediately and will look through the files for any other material that is available.

Very best wishes.

Fraternally,

Joe Smolen

Joseph S. Smolen
Assistant Director
Labor Education Center

JSS/bja
Enclosures

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA 52240

College of Business Administration
Center for Labor and Management
Phillips Hall
Area 319: 353-4274

April 28, 1966

Professor Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing a small packet of recent program announcements. Although they may not be varied they may be colorful.

Good luck in the South land. About this time I envy you since it is cold as hell here!

Sincerely,

Tony

Anthony V. Sinicropi
Associate Director

AVS/jm
Enc.

CENTER FOR LABOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT
BOULDER, COLORADO 80304

April 30, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

It was good to hear from you and to know that you are trying to stimulate interest in labor education in the South. Your request for materials was general enough so that I was not sure what would be most useful and in what quantities. I have made up a collection of some of the material we have prepared and are using.

On the matter of announcements for programs we usually prepare a special one for each activity giving the pertinent details on Who, What, Where, When and Cost. Several samples are enclosed.

If you would like other types of materials or some additional copies of the enclosed, please let me know.

With best wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Walter

Walter H. Uphoff

WHU:mpy
enclosures

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN • WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

TO:

1. Emory Via
2.
3. (Coming under separate cover.)
4.

? Wishful only yes

FOR ACTION AS INDICATED:

- ☐ Signature
- ☐ Approved
- ☐ Action
- ☐ Comments
- ☐ Information
- ☐ Reply—Copy to Me
- ☐ Please Summarize
- ☐ Please Investigate
- ☐ Forwarded Per Request
- ☐ Note and Forward
- ☐ Note and File
- ☐ Note and Return
- ☐ Please Phone Me
- ☐ Please See Me
- ☐ Other (see below)

REMARKS As per your April 21 request: I've included the Fall and Winter announcements of our Workers' Basic Study Program for this year.

It was good seeing you in Detroit.

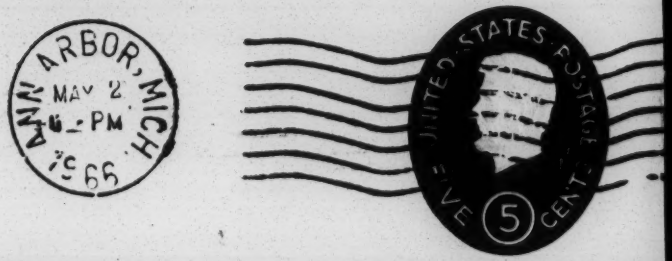
Regards.

FROM Irv Kornblum

DATE 4/27

Form 8003

Kornbluh
INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
Museums Annex
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48104



Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Annual Leadership Program

A week-long program on
Union Administration,
Collective Bargaining,
Labor and Politics, and
Leadership

Sponsored by

The Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO

and

The Center for Labor and Management

College of Business Administration

The University of Iowa

in cooperation with

AFL-CIO Education Department

Iowa Center for Continuation Study

Iowa Department of Public Instruction
Division of Vocational Education

May 15 - 20, 1966

eenth Annual Labor Short Course

A week-long program on steward training, local administration, labor history, collective bargaining, psychology of leadership, public speaking and current political and social issues.

Sunday, May 15, 2:00 P.M. to Friday, May 20, 2:00 P.M.

Iowa Memorial Union
The University of Iowa

Iowa labor leaders and members who are interested in improving and acquiring new skills in union work. Full-time staff representatives, local officers and stewards as well as members are expected to attend.

Presentations — discussions, panel discussion, skill and workshop sessions and pass out materials. Students are expected to actively participate in the program. Special sessions are designed for newcomers, those who attended before and full-time staff.

A registration fee of $55.00 per person ($40.00 for those commuting) includes tuition, meals, lodging, parking, materials and picnic.

For further information, write or call:

Harry L. Branscomb,
Secretary-Treasurer and
Acting Education Director
Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
900 Paramount Building,
Des Moines, Iowa
(Area Code 515) 244-4225

REGISTRATION FORM

Registration fee $55.00 ($40.00 for those commuting)

Check enclosed..... Pay on arrival.....

Make check payable to

Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO

Return to: Harry L. Branscomb, Secy-Treas.
and Acting Education Director
Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
900 Paramount Building
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

May 15 - 20, 1966

15th Annual Labor Short Course

Name.....Local #.....

International.....

Union Position.....

Address.....

Check one of the following:

Attended past courses.....

New Student..... Full-Time Rep.....

(If more than one person per Local enrolls, please use same format for registration.)

ABOUT THE SHORT COURSE

In its 15th year, the Iowa Labor Short Course will focus its attention on current problems confronting unionists in Iowa and the nation. Classes in economic policy, collective bargaining developments, international issues, local union administration, grievance handling, public speaking, psychology of leadership, and labor heritage will be held.

Unionists who have attended previous short course programs, unionists who **have not** attended past short course programs and full-time union representatives may enroll this year. There will be specific classes, special materials and tailored instruction for each of the above groups. Participants enrolling in the program **must** indicate their status; they will be assigned to courses on that basis.

The specialized classes will give each participant more opportunity to participate in class discussions and receive the full benefit of the tailored program.

THE SHORT COURSE STAFF

The Short Course staff will consist of Stanley Rosen, Coordinator, Labor Education Programs, University of Illinois Chicago Campus; Owen Tapper, Lecturer in Labor Education, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin; AFL-CIO Education staff, Washington, D. C.; Prof. A. Costantino, J. Harlow, Charles Marberry, The University of Iowa; Don Sheriff, Jude West, Tony Sinicropi, Center for Labor and Management, University of Iowa.

REGISTRATION

Registration deadline is May 1. Early registration is encouraged since maximum class sizes are fixed and applications will be accepted on a first come, first serve basis.

UNIVERSITY OF Minnesota

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CENTER · MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455

May 24, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Please forgive the delay in responding to your letter of April 21. I recently arrived from spending two weeks with the Appalachian Trade Union Council program meeting in Morgantown, West Virginia. I returned to some hectic negotiations over the VISTA training program and the departmental budgets.

I hope I have enclosed information sufficiently timely to be of some value to you.

With every best wish.

Cordially,

Jack

John J. Flagler
Associate Professor and Director
Labor Education Service

den

Encl.

May 30, 1966

Professor John Lewis
Assistant Dean
School of Business Administration
Georgia State College
33 Gilmer Street, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

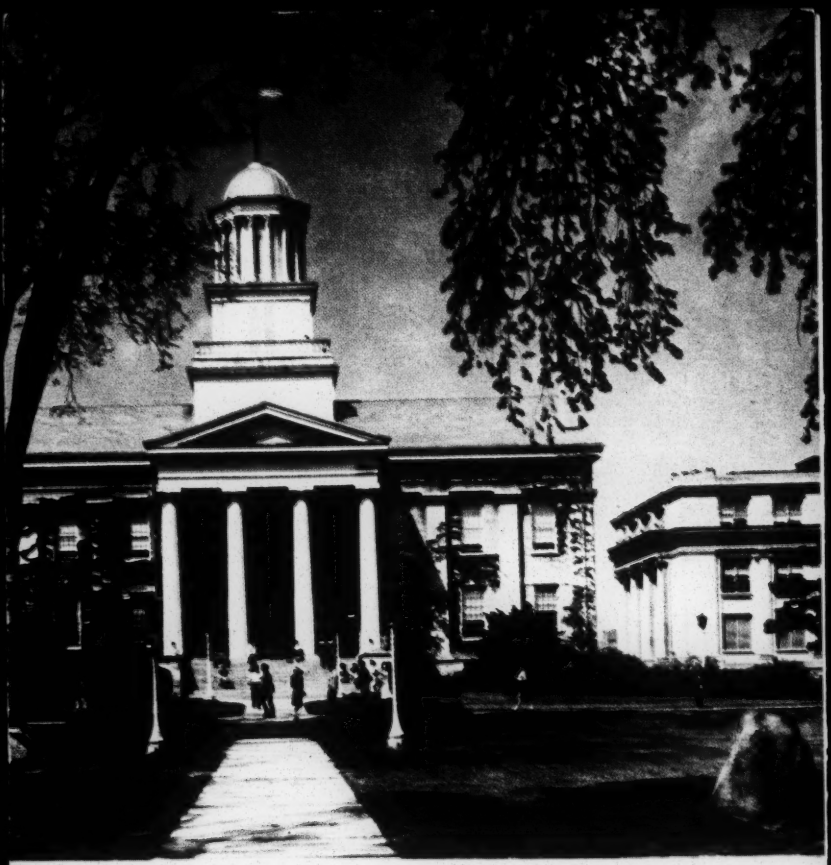
Dear John:

I know this has been an exceptionally busy time for you. This is just a reminder that I would be happy to meet with a group of faculty members from Georgia State to discuss labor education programs at other universities. I hope we can get together soon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb



MIDWEST LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

JUNE 2-4, 1966

INTERNATIONAL LABOR PRESS AFL-CIO ASSOCIATION

Iowa

June 6, 1966

Professor John J. Flagler
Director, Labor Education Service
Industrial Relations Center
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Dear John:

Thanks so much for sending the materials on your program to me. They will be quite useful in stimulating interest in labor education in some Southern situations.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

SAME LETTER SENT TO:

Walter (Wally) H. Uphoff
U. of Colorado

Hy Kornbluh
Univ. of Michigan

Joseph (Joe) S. Smolen
U. of Connecticut

Jack Wann
Ohio State U.

D. W. (Witt) Murphy
Indiana U.

Ronald (Ron) Donovan
Cornell U.

Frank McCallister
Roosevelt U.

Anthony (Tony) V. Sinicropi
U. of Iowa

Norris Tibbetts
U. Wisconsin

Don ~~Vix~~x Vial
U. California,
Berkeley

Lab Ed — Univ.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF SECOND ANNUAL

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI LABOR EDUCATION INTERNSHIP, 1966-67

The Labor Education Program of the University of Missouri (Columbia) will offer a one-year internship in labor education sponsored by the University Extension Division, to begin July 1, 1966. The intern selected will participate in organizing, coordinating, and teaching in labor education programs in the State of Missouri to the fullest extent of his abilities and desires and within the limitations of his responsibilities as a student. He will pursue a graduate degree in the academic field of his choice, with preference given to persons desiring to study economics, political science, or community development.

Applicants should possess a degree from an accredited university or college and experience in the trade union movement as a full-time officer or staff member. He should be willing to travel extensively within Missouri and must satisfy admission requirements for graduate study in the field he selects. The internship provides a stipend of $3,400 to be paid in monthly segments. All expenses connected with his labor education work are paid by the Program.

For further information and application forms, write

Prof. James W. Robinson, Coordinator
Labor Education Program
35 B&PA Building
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Labor Ed — University

UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Semi-Annual Report

October 1, 1966

University of Colorado
Center for Labor Education and Research (CLEAR)

1) Recent Changes in Social Security Legislations: U.C., W.C., Medicare
Sponsored by the Denver Area Labor Federation
Held at Denver, Colorado
Attendance: 50

Materials on changes in laws provided for class.
Week-end course.

2) Psychology for Workers
Sponsored by the Denver Area Labor Federation
Held at Denver, Colorado
Attendance: 95

Course materials prepared.
6-week course
Second 6-week course scheduled

3) Bargaining Under Executive Order 10988
Sponsored by American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE)
Held at Denver and the Air Force Academy
Attendance: 200

8-week courses at Denver and at the Air Force Academy. Also week-end course for United Federation of Postal Clerks and for NALC. Extensive mimeographed materials prepared.

4) Left, Right and Center in American Politics
Sponsored by Northern Colorado Central Labor Council
Held at Fort Collins
Attendance: 12

5) The Role of Labor in the 20th Century
Sponsored by the Center for Labor Education and Research (CLEAR)
Held at Denver Center, University of Colorado
Attendance: 23-Spring of'65
13-Spring of'66

3-credit (semester) course on the labor movement for union leaders and regular CU students.

Cornell University

1) Handling Conflict in Union Affairs
Sponsored by Local 342, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union
Held at New York City
Attendance: 19

(Continued)

A 4½ day program for officers and business agents of a large local union with the objectives being to reduce interpersonal conflict and to increase personal and group abilities in working together. Laboratory training utilizing the "T-Group" and other devices was the teaching method employed by the four trainers conducting the program. A description of the methodology and some of the trainers' conclusions are reported in the Fall 1965 issue of National Training Laboratories' Human Relations Training News.

2) Leadership Training
Sponsored by Hanover Tenants Union
Held at Rochester, New York

Attendance: 12

A newly organized group of tenants in a public housing project, mostly women and all but one of whom were welfare recipients, wanted to learn ways of handling grievances with the management of the housing unit. Originally scheduled for six meetings, the program was extended to ten weekly sessions. Using much of what they learned in class, the group succeeded in winning recognition of their organization from the housing management and in establishing grievance procedure.

The University of Iowa
Center for Labor and Management

1) Midwest Labor Press Association
Sponsored by Midwest Labor Press and Center for Labor and Management
Held at Iowa City, Iowa

Attendance: 70

A 2½ day program for labor editors including those representing national union publications, central bodies (state and local), and local union. Workshops included advanced sessions for the more sophisticated publications and basic sessions for publications which were conducted by the School of Journalism, while Center staff and trade union personnel conducted sessions dealing with administrative and union skills.

The program highlight was a speech by Michael Harrington (Author of the Other American) entitled The Role of the Labor Press in Effecting Social Change. The speech will be published by the Center in the fall.

University of Massachusetts
Labor Relations and Research Center

1) Invasion of Privacy
Sponsored by Southeastern Massachusetts District Council, ILGWU
Held at Amherst, Massachusetts

Attendance: 250

(Continued)

Examination in depth of the problem of personal privacy invasion. Speakers included the chairman of the State Commission to Investigate Invasion of Privacy, the chairman of the Civil Liberties Union and the director of the Jewish Labor Committee. The highlight of the program was a demonstration of room tapping, single telephone call bugging, and continuous wire tapping done by a private detective who specializes in this. Speakers and panel members discussed federal and state laws, long and short term ramifications, and the current telephone company investigation.

2) A Critical Study of Predetermined Time and Motion Studies
Sponsored by Local 255 IUE
Held at Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Attendance: 27

An eight-session study in depth of predetermined time and motion studies for workers in a GE Plant to better prepare them for the handling of grievances and arbitration resulting from Work Measurement problems.

3) Labor Relations in the Public Sector
Sponsored by the University of Massachusetts Graduate School
Held at University Massachusetts Campus, Amherst, Massachusetts

Attendance: 27

An academic three credit course for graduate students (primarily in the School of Education) to give an historical and practical basis for application of new state legislation providing for collective bargaining in the public sector. Participants were evenly divided between administrative personnel and class room teachers. The course will continue to be given as a part of the University Graduate Program on a one semester per year basis.

4) Organizational and Bargaining Techniques in Community Action Programs
Sponsored by Commonwealth Service Corps (State Anti-poverty agency)
Held at Amherst, Massachusetts

Attendance: 6

A one-day conference highlighting trade union techniques and their application to problems faced by area community action coordinators. The case study method was used.

The University of Michigan-Wayne State
Division of Labor Education and Services

1) The Labor School
Sponsored by the Michigan AFL-CIO, Wayne County AFL-CIO and other union organizations.
Held at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan

Attendance: 140

(Continued)

A two-year curriculum, one-night-a-week, which includes units on Reading and Writing Efficiency, Science Today, The Development of Man, American Society Today, The Enjoyment of Reading, and The Union Leader in Today's Problems. Original pilot group now starting with second year, while some 120 started the curriculum in September.

2) Workers Basic Study Program
Sponsored by the Wayne County AFL-CIO
Held at Three locations in Detroit

Attendance: Approx. 350 twice per year

Includes some 20 courses offered in the fall and winter.

3) The Scientific Revolution and Social Change
Sponsored by The School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University and Trade Unions in Michigan.
Held at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Attendance: 65

A two-day state-wide conference for Labor Leaders in Michigan on THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE in cooperation with The School of Labor and Industrial Relations, Michigan State University.

4) Communication Workers of America 10-Week Residential Leadership Academy
Sponsored by the Communication Workers of America
Held at University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

Attendance: 10

The program of study will include: Economics, Logic and Public Speaking, Psychology of Groups, History and Current Problems, Modern Society, Political Science, Reading Efficiency, Effective Communications, Community Power Structure and Psychology of Public Relations.

Michigan State University
Labor Program Service

1) Program In Labor Studies
Co-Sponsorship of Central Labor Bodies

Attendance: 15 to 30

This consists of six different courses, each of ten weeks duration. The courses include Labor History and Labor Legislation; Economics of Income, Employment and Collective Bargaining; either Labor and the Political System or Social Problems in Industry; Reading Improvement; Written and Spoken Communication; and a final Seminar in Labor Problems. A paperback book and other materials are used in each course.

(Continued)

2) Oakland Labor Lunches
Held at Oakland University near Pontiac

Attendance: 25 to 70

Union officers from a three-county area meet monthly at Oakland University near Pontiac, where a full-time MSU Labor Program Service man is located, for lunch and to hear an expert discuss a topic of general interest to labor. Speakers at the first luncheons were the president of Oakland University discussing "The University and Adult Education," experts on "Poverty Program and Job Retraining," and "Workmen's Compensation."

3) East Lansing Labor Luncheons

Lansing union officials are invited to a lunch each time an American Universities Field Service man visits the campus. These scholars spend two out of every three years abroad in the region of their expertise, the third year they tour the campuses of the sponsoring universities. This luncheon meeting provides an opportunity for informal discussion (about 15 attend) with highly qualified experts on complicated subjects. This year's meetings were on "U.S., China and Southeast Asia", and "United Arab Republic and Social Change."

4) American Society and the Future

The UAW Staff Training Center located in Detroit conducts 3-week residential programs for its staff from throughout the country. Periodically these groups (of 15-20) spend two days on the Michigan State University campus for a half day with each of four top faculty men in different disciplines: a sociologist, and economist, a scientist and a political scientist. These scholars discuss new developments in their disciplines and their implications for American society.

The Pennsylvania State University
Department of Labor Education

1) Project to develop teachers of stewards training
Sponsored with Pennsylvania AFL-CIO and Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.

The purpose of the project is to encourage local school districts to add stewards training to their vocational education programs and local unions to apply to their school districts for stewards training classes. The Department of Labor Education is preparing teachers who will be acceptable to both the unions and the schools.

Funds were allocated by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction from the Vocational Education Act of 1963 to support the project for one year in the cities of Philadelphia and Reading.

(Continued)

The program consists of 16 hours of instruction in stewards training, 20 hours of teaching stewards training, and 16 hours of practice teaching with a local union. The trainees who successfully complete these three phases will then attend an evaluation institute on campus. Currently, there are 21 trainees enrolled in Reading and 28 in Philadelphia.

2) An evaluation of the impact of the Union Leadership Academy on the occupational and citizenship roles of union members

A 37-month study of an accelerated, 32-weeks-per-year program in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Lehigh Valley Labor Education Council and the Penn State Department of Labor Education jointly sponsor the ULA center under examination. Measures of behavior and attitude change have been and are being developed and administered to students in the center and to a comparison group comprised of ULA dropouts with no more than two terms of exposure to the curriculum. The curriculum provides such academic subjects as history, economics, sociology, psychology and political science. The research project - now nearly seven months along - is presently financed by university research funds. Application for support from the U.S. Office of Education for the final 27 months has been made. Wells Keddie, department research director, is principal investigator.

Roosevelt University
Labor Education Division

1) Labor Film Meeting
Held at Roosevelt University

Attendance: 11

On May 7, 1966 the Labor Education Division invited interested people from the universities and the unions to Roosevelt University to discuss:

(1) How extensive is the use of labor films (2) What kind of films have been produced (3) In what areas are new films needed (4) Where can we get them and who will make them (5) How can they be financed.

2) MDTA Teacher Workshop
Sponsored by Labor Education Division and Illinois State Board of Vocational Education and Rehabilitation
Held at Roosevelt University

Attendance: 78

Two week long programs of in-service training for teachers of a vocationally oriented literacy program. The teachers were divided into subject-area work groups and assigned to develop a unit of study. One morning was spent in T-group and role-playing sessions.

(Continued)

Rutgers - The State University

1) Labor and Vocational Rehabilitation
Sponsored by the Middlesex County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
New Jersey Rehabilitation Commission.
Held at the Labor Education Center, New Brunswick, New Jersey

Attendance: 47

This short course, a part of the education program of the Labor-Rehabilitation Project, was designed for members of local union labor education and community services committees. Classes met weekly, for six weeks, in two-hour sessions. Subjects discussed were: Rehabilitation Needs of Labor Families, Labor's Role in Vocational Rehabilitation, Work of a Rehabilitation Agency, Vocational Rehabilitation and Workmen's Compensation, Visit to the Kessler Institute for Rehabilitation, Jobs for the Rehabilitated, and Local Unions' Rehabilitation Programs.

2) 17th Annual ICWU Summer School
Sponsored by the Intl. Chemical Workers Union, AFL-CIO
Held at New Brunswick, New Jersey

Attendance: 55

This six-day, annual summer school was attended by ICWU local labor leaders from eight states. Its theme, explored in evening sessions examined Collective Bargaining and National Political Issues. Workshop subjects were: Committee Functions, Publicity, Shop Steward and Grievance Handling, and Financial Affairs. Instructors were drawn from the ICWU, AFL-CIO, and Labor Program staff.

West Virginia University
Institute for Labor Studies

1) West Virginia Federation of Teacher Leadership Training Conferences
Sponsored by West Virginia Federation of Teachers
Held at Madison and Charleston, West Virginia

Attendance: 77

The program consisted of a series of three all day Sunday conferences to familiarize rural teachers with the trade union as an organization. Its methods, political, social, and legislative activities, and to study the internal problems of developing unions in the rural community.

2) Leadership Training Conference
Sponsored by Local 132 International Union of Operating Engineers AFL-CIO
Held at Jackson Mill, West Virginia

Attendance: 41

(Continued)

The local is state wide and it brought in its available officers, business agents, job stewards, and master mechanics for one week of training. The purpose was two fold. First to create internal skills in handling job problems and second to make the locals leadership more aware of problems facing labor at the state and national level.

3) Community Action Leadership Training Program for Appalachian Trade Union Officials
Sponsored by AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
Held at Morgantown, West Virginia

Attendance: 101

This program of training was made possible by a grant from O.E.O. and it includes 4 weeks of training for approximately 90 trade union officials from throughout the Appalachian Region (excluding Penna. as Penn. State has a similar program). Generally the intent of this program that extends over a year's time is to familiarize the selected trade unionists with the problems of poverty, the Federal programs that exist to combat poverty, and labor's role, councils etc. to assist the poverty groups in their community.

A secondary aspect is to build into the labor movement in the Appalachian Region knowledge of the region's problems and how governmental programs can be utilized by organized labor, etc. on a continuing basis to find solutions to the problems.

Attached to the project are three project associates that work in the field assisting the trainee throughout the term of the project.

The staff included labor educators from several universities, Government officials, AFL-CIO Departments and State Central Body officers and staff along with several university representatives. At present, two weeks of the four week program have been completed.

4) Understanding Basic Unionism
Sponsored by L.U. 132 I.U.O.E. and the Barbour County Heavy Equipment
Held at Philippi, West Virginia

Attendance: 42

This program attempted to provide a basic understanding of the unions, their functions and methods with emphasis on the construction industry to M.D.T.A. Trainees. It also tried to COPE with the problems of family adjustment caused by the demands of the construction industry due to travel and its affect in the role of the husband and wife.

As part of this program, 25 wives participated in a special program with a family sociolgist and the local business manager who explained the hiring hall procedures to the women.

(Continued)

5) Appalachian Manpower Conference
Sponsored by the AFL-CIO Appalachian Council
Held at Morgantown, West Virginia

Attendance: 319

This conference was an effort to focus the best thinking available on the manpower problems of Appalachia now and in the years to come. Considerable effort was made to have papers produced that would stand on the frontiers of knowledge, yet provide practical, down-to-earth guidance to leaders in the Appalachian Region. This conference was open to and had representatives from labor, business, the professions, including academicians, the various levels of government and others interested in manpower and manpower problems. The conference lasted three days and present plans call for the publishing of the papers that were presented.

6) West Virginia Pipe Trades Association Joint Apprentice Qualifications and Education Conference
Sponsored by the Plumber and Pipefitters local unions in West Virginia
Held at Morgantown, West Virginia

Attendance: 27

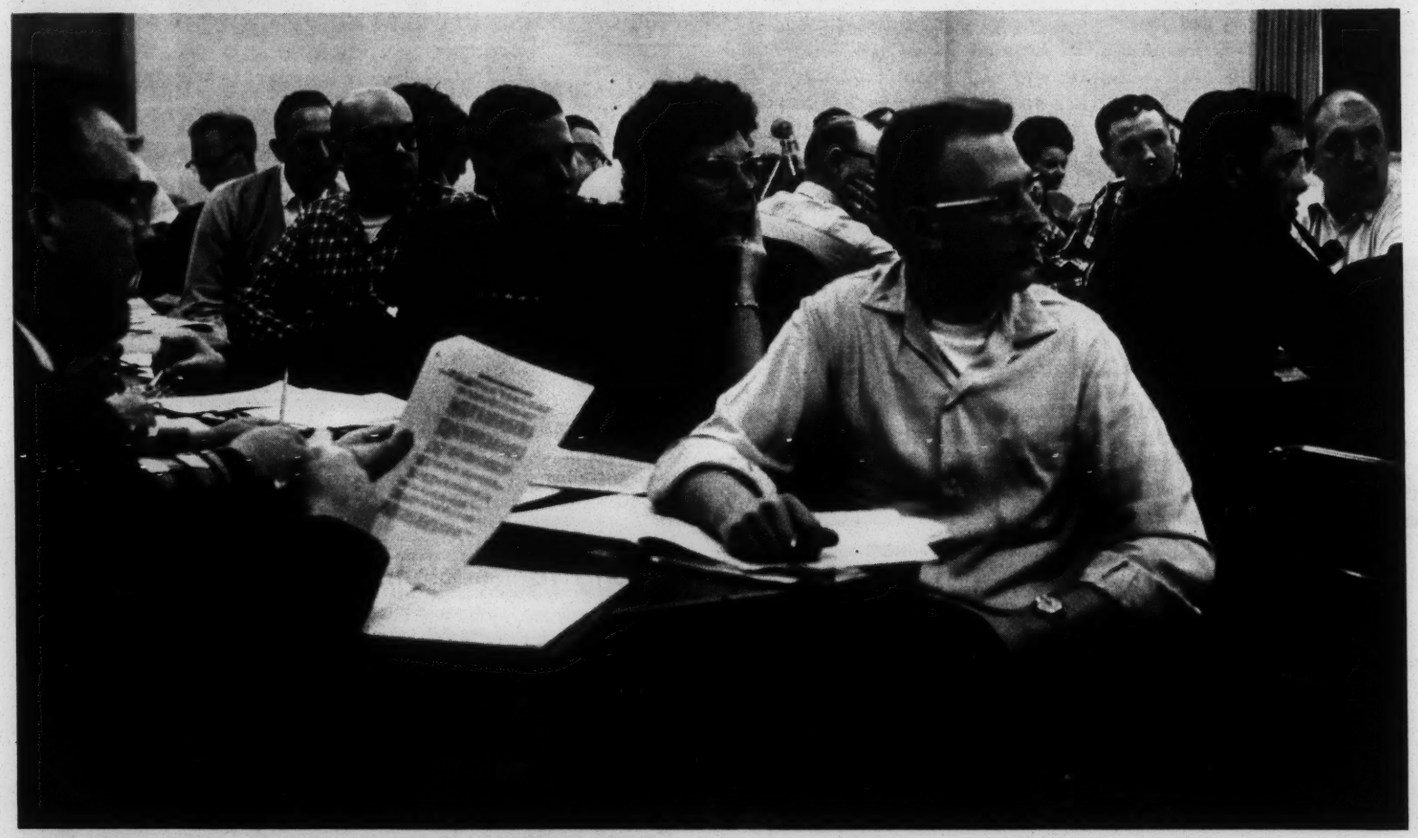
University facilities were provided for the Statewide apprentice contest during the day with a special education program on trends in labor legislation, situs picketing, and laws governing the construction industry for business managers and
1 local officers. In the evening, the apprentices joined the local officers for films and a seminar to discuss the problems and goals of the labor movement.

Labor Ed – University

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

newsletter

FALL, 1966



—winter, spring class requests coming in

20 Extension Classes Concluding in 9 Communities

In cooperation with local vocational and adult schools and various local unions and central bodies, the School for Workers is completing its fall program of labor classes in nine different Wisconsin communities. Classes run for eight or nine weeks, meeting one night (or afternoon) per week.

Eleven classes are concluding in Milwaukee—two sections of a Stewards Training class with District 48, AFSCME; two sections of a Stewards class with Local 1111, United Electrical Workers; a Speech and Parliamentary Procedure class, one in Time Study and Wage Incentives, and one in Arbitration and the Grievance Procedure, all part of the general offerings at Milwaukee Vocational School; a two-section class in Introduction to Unionism with DALU 19806, Smith Steelworkers; and a two-section class in the Law of Collective Bargaining with Local 200 of the Teamsters.

Other communities in which fall classes have been held are: Ripon (Stewards Training), Superior (Interpreting and Enforcing the Collective Agreement), West Allis (Steward Training), Green Bay (Union Administration), Wausau (Modern Wage and Salary Techniques), Waukesha (Building the Union), Beloit (Job Evaluation), and Cudahy (Contract Administration).

The winter classes will begin the first week in January and the schedule is filling up. Seven Milwaukee classes are already definite, with arrangements for several more still under discussion; the four general classes to be held at The Milwaukee Vocational School are listed on page 3 of this newsletter. Stewards Training will be offered at Stevens Point, and a class in Contract Negotiations will be held at Antigo. Other communities where union groups are considering classes are West Bend, Oshkosh, Sheboygan, Madison, Manitowoc, Green Bay and Two Rivers.

Class requests that cannot be fitted into the winter program may be scheduled for the spring session beginning the second week in March. Central labor bodies and locals throughout the state that have an interest in a class are urged to get in touch with the School for Workers as soon as possible, and to make a direct approach to the community's Vocational, Technical and Adult School as co-sponsor.

Labor Education — Univ.

by Mark L. Brown

The labor movement has paid a stiff price for the lack of effective labor education programs at the local union level.

Labor often finds its stewards and bargaining representatives at the local level ill-equipped to stand up to the training of management representatives. Labor often finds a public ignorant of or even hostile to labor's aims because many unions lack skilled public relations personnel. And labor finds a heavier burden being placed on paid staff as collective bargaining becomes more intricate and problems more specialized.

There are several reasons for the dearth of good labor education programs. Such programs are costly; some believe they create political problems; competent teachers are difficult to find; these programs sometimes are poorly structured and unreal and fail to survive; and they require planning beyond the capabilities of many locals.

To search for some answers, the Department of Labor Education at Pennsylvania State University decided to focus on three facets of the problem: cost, competent teachers and structure. Helmut Golatz, head of the department, consulted with union education directors and U.S. Office of Education officials and out of these discussions a pilot project was conceived. Its aim: to train trade unionists to become teachers of shop stewards.

Using funds provided under the 1963 Vocational Education Act, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction agreed to finance the project in two centers, Philadelphia and Reading. Project funds covered instruction, materials, administrative cost and a final evaluation institute at the University. Local school districts provided classrooms. The unionist trainees attended the classes on their own time in the evenings.

The project was divided into four phases. First would be 16 hours of instruction in the content of steward training. This would be followed by 20 hours of instruction in teaching methods. When this was completed, each trainee was expected to organize and teach a basic steward course to a class no smaller than six or larger than 15. Upon the completion of these courses, the whole program would be reviewed and evaluated at a conference at the University.

The program's goal was to establish a permanent corps of local instructors who could teach the basic skills of collective bargaining. These teachers would be a resource for the local public school adult education program which could then offer steward training courses, supported in part with vocational education funds.

The project was launched in November 1965 in both Philadelphia and Reading. Recruitment was placed in the hands of the labor movement. Each central labor body was asked to provide 30 trainees from among leading unions in the area and of the caliber that might become teachers. They came up with 26 and 21 students, respectively, from 13 internationals and 17 locals in Philadelphia and six internationals and 13 locals in Reading.

In both cities the cooperation of the school district was excellent. In Philadelphia, the Division of School Extension provided a modern, well-equipped building with parking facilities and in Reading a junior high school was opened especially for this purpose. The Philadelphia school district sent an observer to Phase I and II and to the evaluation institute.

MARK L. BROWN is Eastern Representative of the Department of Labor Education of Pennsylvania State University. He has served as president of two Steelworker locals and was on the union's national wage policy committee. He later returned to college and became a schoolteacher.

12/64

How was the curriculum organized? The basic course was divided into two portions. In order for the teacher trainees to understand the framework in which they were operating, the first portion gave them a quick rundown on the history of collective bargaining in America, on labor laws and the rules laid down by contracts for continuous collective bargaining. The second portion concerned itself with skills; how to handle grievances, how to deal with members and management and how to prepare for arbitration.

In evaluating the project, both the teacher and teacher trainees agreed that more time must be allotted to labor history and labor law; thus the new basic course will be 20 rather than 16 hours to give more time to these subjects.

The teacher training course was divided into three areas: educational theory, methods and practice. In the first of these, the theory of labor education and the psychology of learning were discussed. In the second, the whole gamut of teaching processes was examined.

Study outlines developed over the years by the Department of Labor Education formed the basis of this work. They had been tested in university-sponsored classes over the years. The trainees also read the resource unit on "The Labor Movement in the United States" prepared by the Labor Education Department for the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction and Joseph Rayback's "A History of American Labor." Many of them took advantage of a list of optional readings.

Finally, the teacher-trainees began to experience teaching itself by preparing and presenting lesson plans and teaching a related subject for 20 minutes. What looks so easy from one's seat becomes terrifying in front of a class. Students froze, men wiped their brows feverishly and women twisted their handkerchiefs. Twenty minutes seemed an eternity and some just closed after 15 minutes, saying helplessly, "That's all I have to say."

But on the whole, the practice teaching went well, with the students showing imagination in choice of topic, visual aids and other teaching techniques.

It was at this point that there were the greatest number of dropouts, 11. Eight had left the classes at the end of the first phase. The remainder stayed on to complete the program. In planning the project, the sponsors had estimated that the dropout rate would be much higher and would have been happy to get five teachers from each group. In all, 29 teachers were graduated, 15 in Philadelphia and 14 in Reading.

As the group was studying teaching techniques, it was pressed to form classes for practice teaching. So far as possible, each trainee recruited in his own union, but there was one catch-all class in each city because the trainees' unions were not large enough to provide sufficient students.

In Philadelphia, 164 students from nine internationals and 25 locals were recruited; in Reading, 129 from 6 internationals and 17 locals. Of these 293, 80.5 percent graduated. Thus the project resulted in 236 trained stewards and 29 teachers for future classes.

But these figures do not tell the full story. In both cities for the first time, small locals were able to get a steward trained. They could never afford to have a program of their own, or their international in that area was too small to sponsor a program of its own, or the central body did not have a training program.

In Reading, a new Steelworkers' local of 2,000 members just wrested from an independent union after 17 years of effort was able to train its stewards through this project. It is a rare occasion that a new local can start off with such an advantage.

In Philadelphia, one of the teacher-trainees from the Auto Workers made possible the training of 13 night

shift stewards by organizing a noon class at which he repeated what he had taught under supervised conditions. This "forgotten" shift has always posed a problem in union activity. Because paying lost time is too expensive, they were neglected. But now, by paying one person lost time, 13 were trained.

Those who had successfully taught a class were brought to the University for a three-day institute. Here gaps in background were filled. Material and methods were evaluated. Revisions in the next project were hammered out. The participants also saw their sacrifice of time and energy crowned by a sense of having pioneered and achieved something. And here it was that Helmut Golatz, Project Director C. J. Slanicka, and the teacher-trainer were able to assemble the pieces for the first time. What had been a calculated guess, a hope, a possibility, had now succeeded beyond expectations.

This then was the structure of the steward training project. What is of interest to the labor movement are the observations and lessons gleaned from 68 hours of contact with these people. The Department of Labor Education at Pennsylvania State University considers the results to be highly successful.

Let us consider the human resources first. The peo-

ple who started were people with interest and promise. Only six persons out of 47 dropped out because of lack of interest. The other 12 dropouts were for valid reasons such as: press of union activities (6), inability to organize a class (4), drafted (1), became management personnel (1).

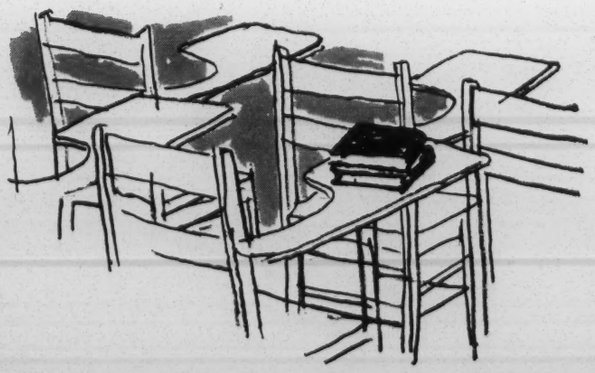
But the human material is more than a statistic. It was only after working with them, having them write a paper on why they were in the program, sitting over coffee with them and having passed on to me the remarks of other people that I realized how hungry these men and women were for the training they were receiving. They wanted desperately to be teachers and were willing to take a night a week for 26 weeks and three days at the University from their busy schedule to become instructors.

Why did they want to become teachers? Our impersonal evaluation questionnaire came up with some interesting answers. They listed their reasons in this order of importance: to help the labor movement, to serve the local, to gain personal satisfaction and to get ahead in the labor movement.

But I sensed that more powerful than any other reason was the high degree of respect they associated with the role of a teacher and the pressing need for education in their ranks. Over and over again, in response to questions or in discussions, their concern was very real over the lack of understanding of the heritage and function of the union by their fellow members and the fact that management faced them with educated personnel at the bargaining table. They saw this as a key to survival of the union and its effectiveness.

The project did something to them as well as for them. It taught them to be more objective about the labor movement, less defensive, less demogogic and more innovating. There was a real crisis in the first three weeks whenever there would be a criticism of the labor movement. It was only when they saw that this was constructive criticism (or, as I put it it, "We are all in the same family, now let's admit that Uncle Harry drinks,") that they got off the soapbox and began to look at their unions more objectively.

In addition, their desire for answers to be given to them as edicts from Mt. Sinai had to be broken. While some union members may appear to be rebels in local union meetings and conventions, many want and expect a line to be handed down. When this was refused, they were confused and had to search for answers and found that sometimes there was more than one answer. When they were inclined to quote the instructor as an authority, the rug had to be pulled from under them so they would advance their own ideas. They learned to question and think.



What is the future for the project? An expanded budget has been approved for 1966-67 from state vocational education funds to support four centers. Classes have already started in cooperation with the central labor unions in Chester County, Williamsport, Erie and Pittsburgh. That budget provides for follow-up by the University in Philadelphia and Reading so the labor movement will be encouraged to use the teachers and local school districts will be assisted in this new area of labor education.

The procedure will be for a local union, or a group of locals, or the central body, or a district council of an international, to request a class in steward training for at least 15 members. This application can be made to any school district which has an adult education program. Vocational education at the state level will compensate 80 percent of the instructional cost. The teachers will be drawn from those trained and paid by the local school districts at the rate set for evening school teaching. The union will purchase the classroom materials at a very nominal sum from the university so the students can retain their books.

The amount of interest shown in the project by unions leads the Department to be hopeful that this will at long last put steward training at a local level, without cost to the unions and in the hands of people who have had practical experience as well as academic training. District 9 of the UAW plans to use these teachers in its educational work and the Berks County United Labor Council (Reading) has sent out recruitment material to all its affiliates.

The school district of Philadelphia, which has had a labor education program, intends to use the Philadelphia teachers in its school extension and feels the depth of subject matter taught them will permit them to be used as teachers in labor history, labor law, problems of labor leadership and arbitration, as well as steward training.

The evidence is already available to show that this teacher training program can provide the labor movement with a group of qualified teachers of stewards at low cost. An added dividend has been the promotion of labor education as a part of public school adult education programs. Only time will tell whether these resources will be fully used. Some union leadership may still feel threatened by labor education. Others may not understand its importance and find something else is more pressing. But, for the vast majority of unionists who recognize the role of education in strengthening unionism, this Penn State project has given them an opportunity to move forward.

Lab Ed - Univ

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

1946 - 1966

LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY

Lab Ed — Univ

The Ohio State University

LABOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH SERVICE

College of Commerce and Administration

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

1965 - 1966

Prepared for a meeting of the
Labor Education and Research Service Advisory Committee
December 2 and 3, 1966
Columbus, Ohio

The Ohio State University

LABOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH SERVICE

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

1965 - 1966

During 1965-1966, the Labor Education and Research Service, an administrative unit of the College of Commerce and Administration, continued to try to carry out its two major purposes: (1) to make available university level education programs for workers and their organizations; and (2) to conduct and promote research and materials development projects in the area of labor and industrial relations to support and improve the quality of labor education. This report will summarize briefly what was done in attempting to accomplish these purposes in the three main areas of LERS activities: (1) the Union Leadership Program; (2) special programs, such as conferences, short courses, and summer schools; and (3) the research and materials development program.

I. THE UNION LEADERSHIP PROGRAM

The further development and expansion of long-term non-resident programs continues to reflect something of a major shift in emphasis which is taking place in the field of university labor education with eleven universities now offering some sort of long-term program. They include: University of California at Los Angeles; Cornell University; Indiana University; University of Michigan-Wayne State University; University of Minnesota; The Ohio State University; Pennsylvania State University; Roosevelt University; Rutgers-The State University; University of Wisconsin; and West Virginia University.

In addition, two other major universities with labor education programs, Michigan State University and the State University of Iowa, have recently indicated that they will offer such long-term non-resident programs in the near future.

The Union Leadership Program of the Ohio State University is a good example of this major shift in labor education and it continues to occupy a position in the forefront of long-term programs. It was one of the earliest of such programs in the country and remains one of the most successful in terms of participation, for it has consistently maintained the largest enrollment of any university in the country for such long-term programs for the past four or five years.

Courses and Labor Centers

During 1965-1966, the program consisted of nine courses in economics, political science, sociology, collective bargaining, union leadership, labor law, complex organizations, labor history, and comparative economic and political systems. (A list of the principal books used in these courses is included in Appendix A.) Participants in the program took three of the courses during the year. Classes met for two hours on one night each week for twenty-four weeks in the following sixteen Ohio cities:

Canton	Dayton	Mansfield	Newark
Cincinnati	Defiance	Marietta	Portsmouth
Cleveland	Kent	Marion	Toledo
Columbus	Lima	Mt. Vernon	Youngstown

Faculty and Cooperating Universities

Some of the instruction in the Union Leadership Program is provided by the small interdisciplinary staff of the Labor Education and Research Service whose present members received their major academic training in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, labor law, and labor and industrial relations. During 1965-1966, Richard P. Sears taught in the centers at Mansfield, Kent, and Portsmouth; Higdon C. Roberts taught in Cincinnati and Dayton; Leon Applebaum taught in Marion; and Harry R. Blaine taught in Marietta.

In addition, LERS utilized the services of a total of thirty-five other field instructors in the Union Leadership Program. Eleven of these faculty members came from six other departments of the Ohio State University and twenty faculty members were drawn from the following thirteen universities and colleges in Ohio: University of Akron; Antioch College; University of Cincinnati; Defiance College; Denison University; Kent State University; Kenyon College; University of Toledo; Western Reserve University; College of Wooster; Wright State University; Xavier University; and Youngstown University.

Also four highly qualified non-university instructors were used during the year: two labor attorneys, a staff member of the Ohio Civil Rights Commission, and a staff member of the Ohio Legislative Service Commission. (A list of the thirty-five field instructors is found in Appendix B.)

Program Participation

A total of 399 certificates were granted in 1965-1966 for completion of one or more years in the program. A detailed breakdown, by year, appears in the following table for comparative purposes.

Certificates of Completion Granted in the Union Leadership Program
by Year
1962 - 1966

Years[1]	One	Two	Three	Four[2]	Total
1962-1963 (7 Centers)	183	32	20	7	242
1963-1964 (15 Centers)	303	111	16	11	441
1964-1965 (15 Centers)	166	165	71	6	408
1965-1966 (16 Centers)	215	59	104	21	399
TOTAL	867	367	211	45	1490

[1]Total enrollment for years previous to 1962-1963 was: 1959-1960, (one center) 35; 1960-1961, (four centers) 154; 1961-1962, (four centers) 174. Separate completion figures for these years were not recorded.

[2]The fourth year has been a special program arranged on an optional basis for interested individuals at certain centers.

An additional breakdown of participants and certificate recipients is given below:

UNION LEADERSHIP PROGRAM
Participation and Certificate Recipients, by Labor Center
1965 - 1966

	Total Enrollment	No. Receiving Certificates
1. Canton - Richard P. Sears, Coordinator		
First Course: Economics		
Second Course: Political Science		
Third Course: Collective Bargaining	21	11

		Total Enrollment	No. Receiving Certificates
2. Cincinnati - Higdon C. Roberts, Coordinator			
Class I (First Year)			
First Course:	Political Science		
Second Course:	Sociology		
Third Course:	Economics	29	29
Class II (Second Year)			
First Course:	Sociology		
Second Course:	Labor History		
Third Course:	Political Science	18	15
Class III and IV (Combined Third and Fourth Year)			
First Course:	Complex Political Systems		
Second Course:	Complex Organizations		
Third Course:	Union Leadership	24	24
3. Cleveland - Eugene C. Hagburg, Coordinator			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Political Science		
Third Course:	Collective Bargaining	32	24
4. Columbus - Leon Applebaum, Coordinator			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Labor History		
Third Course:	Collective Bargaining	28	25
5. Dayton - Higdon C. Roberts, Coordinator			
Class I (First Year)			
First Course:	Economics		
Second Course:	Political Science		
Third Course:	Sociology	28	23
Class II and III (Combined Second and Third Years)			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Comparative Government		
Third Course:	Complex Organizations	15	11

		Total Enrollment	No. Receiving Certificates
6. Defiance - Eugene C. Hagburg, Coordinator			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Labor Law		
Third Course:	Collective Bargaining	34	22
7. Kent - Richard P. Sears, Coordinator			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Comparative Government		
Third Course:	Complex Organizations	36	23
8. Lima - Harry R. Blaine, Coordinator			
First Course:	Political Science		
Second Course:	Sociology		
Third Course:	Union Leadership	18	15
9. Mansfield - Richard P. Sears, Coordinator			
Class I (First Year)			
First Course:	Collective Bargaining		
Second Course:	Political Science		
Third Course:	Economics	24	13
Class II and III (Combined Second and Third Years)			
First Course:	Political Science		
Second Course:	Union Leadership		
Third Course:	Labor History	22	9
10. Marietta - Harry R. Blaine, Coordinator			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Political Science	32	21
(Courses ran twelve weeks each)			
11. Marion - Leon Applebaum, Coordinator			
First Course:	Labor History		
Second Course:	Collective Bargaining		
Third Course:	Union Leadership	19	17

		Total Enrollment	No. Receiving Certificates
12. Mt. Vernon - Higdon C. Roberts, Coordinator			
First Course:	Economics		
Second Course:	Sociology		
Third Course:	Political Science	16	13
13. Newark - Leon Applebaum, Coordinator			
First Course:	Complex Organizations		
Second Course:	Union Leadership		
Third Course:	Collective Bargaining	21	18
14. Portsmouth - Higdon C. Roberts, Coordinator			
First Course:	Complex Organizations		
Second Course:	Comparative Political Systems		
Third Course:	Union Leadership	15	10
15. Toledo - Eugene C. Hagburg, Coordinator			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Complex Organizations		
Third Course:	Comparative Political Systems	26	23
16. Youngstown - Harry R. Blaine, Coordinator			
Class I (Combined First, Second and Third Years)			
First Course:	Union Leadership		
Second Course:	Political Science		
Third Course:	Collective Bargaining	38	30
Class II (Special Fourth Year Program)			
"Great Books" Reading and Discussion Group		19	19
	TOTALS	515	399

A summary table of the above data compared with the previous year appears as follows:

Summary of Union Leadership Program
Participation and Certificate Recipients, by Year
1965-1966 Compared to 1964-1965

Year	Total Enrollment 1964-65	Total Enrollment 1965-66	Received Certificates 1964-65	Received Certificates 1965-66	Completions Percent 1964-65	Completions Percent 1965-66
FIRST	209	293	166	215	79	73
SECOND	194	78	165	59	85	75
THIRD	80	123	71	104	89	84
FOURTH	6	21	6	21	100	100
TOTALS	489	515	408	399	83	79

Note: The 79 percent satisfactory completions in 1965-66 compares with 83 percent in 1964-65; 73.5 percent in 1963-64; and 80.3 percent in 1962-63.

It should be noted that the granting of a certificate signifies that the individual has satisfactorily completed at least one year in the program. Separate certificates were awarded to those completing one year and two years, and a special "Certificate of Accomplishment" to those finishing the entire program of nine courses at the completion of the third year. The other individuals included in the total enrollment figures paid the tuition and attended portions of the program but did not attend a sufficient number of classes (75% or 18 of the 24 class sessions) to receive a certificate.

The above data reflect the involvement in 1965-1966 of seventy-one different national, international, and independent unions from the State of Ohio in the Union Leadership Program. The following six unions had more than fifteen members participating in the program: United Automobile Workers, United Steelworkers; International Association of Machinists; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Utility Workers Union; United Rubber Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and the National Cash Register Independent Union.

As in past years, a study of the personal data forms of those enrolled in the Union Leadership Program in 1965-1966 reveals that they are clearly among the more active members of their unions. A total of 75.8 percent were officeholders or served their union in some official capacity, while only 24.2 percent held no official position.

II. SPECIAL PROGRAMS - CONFERENCES, SHORT COURSES, and SUMMER SCHOOLS

Despite the continued shortage of staff and resources which has made it impossible to concentrate increased time and effort on the development, promotion, and conduct of conferences and short course programs, the Labor Education and Research Service did continue to do a number of such programs during 1965-1966. All of these special programs were done to meet specific requests of particular organizations and were designed to deal with the specialized needs and expressed wishes of the various co-sponsors. It was not feasible within present staff limitations for LERS to initiate and develop more generalized programs dealing with major current issues in the field of labor and designed for a broader group of labor representation than just those from one co-sponsoring organization.

The special programs which were done during 1965-1966 are as follows:

A. Conferences

National Association of Letter Carriers State Education Conference
August 22, 1965 (Youngstown)
LERS Staff Involved: Blaine and Hagburg
Attendance: 255

Utility Workers Regional Education Conference
October 21-23, 1965 (Dayton)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann, Roberts, and Blaine
Attendance: 67

Ohio Public Employees Council No. 8 Education Conference (AFSCME)
January 15-16, 1966 (Columbus)
LERS Staff Involved: Hagburg, Applebaum, Blaine, and Wann
Attendance` 102

Firefighters Local 67 Education Conference on Communications
February 19, 1966 (Campus)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann and Applebaum
Attendance: 51

Local 126 and Local 118 Utility Workers Steward Training Conference
February 26, 1966 (Akron)
LERS Staff Involved: Sears
Attendance: 44

International Association of Personnel in Employment Security (Ohio Chapter)
Employment Security Spring Institute
April 15-16, 1966 (Campus)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann and Applebaum
Attendance: 506

Conferences (Continued)

Utility Workers Regional Education Conference
April 21, 22, and 23, 1966 (Akron)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann and Roberts
Attendance: 77

Inter-Group Services Conference
Ohio Bureau of Unemployment Compensation
July 13-14, 1966 (Campus)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann
Attendance: 248

Ohio Mail Handlers Education Conference
July 23, 1966 (Cincinnati)
LERS Staff Involved: Blaine
Attendance: 40

Utility Workers Regional Education Conference
October 27, 28 and 29, 1966 (Dayton)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann and Roberts
Attendance: 78

Warren Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Conference on Labor and Politics
October 29, 1966 (Warren)
LERS Staff Involved: Blaine and Roberts
Attendance: 36

Ohio Printing Pressmen's Union
Education Conference for Officers
November 6, 1966 (Dayton)
LERS Staff Involved: Wann
Attendance: 19

B. Short Courses

Portage County AFL-CIO Short Course
Public Speaking and Parliamentary Procedure
September 30 - October 14, 1965 (Kent) (4 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Sears
Attendance 30

National Cash Register Employees Independent Union Short Course
Union Representatives' Training
October 7 - November 4, 1965 (Dayton) (5 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Roberts, Sears, and Applebaum
Attendance: 62

Short Courses (Continued)

Youngstown AFL-CIO Short Course
Public Speaking
October 19 - November 30, 1965 (Youngstown) (7 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Blaine
Attendance: 16

Portage County AFL-CIO Council Short Course
Steward's Training
January 18 - February 8, 1966 (Kent) (4 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Sears
Attendance: 47

Youngstown AFL-CIO Short Course
Parliamentary Procedure
April 14 - May 5, 1965 (Youngstown) (4 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Blaine
Attendance: 25

Local 175 Utility Workers Union Short Course
Steward's Training Program
April 27 - September 28, 1966 (Dayton) (5 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Roberts, Sears, Hagburg, and Applebaum
Attendance: 64

Cincinnati AFL-CIO Short Course
Public Speaking
September 26 - October 24, 1966 (Cincinnati) (5 Sessions)
LERS Staff Involved: Roberts
Attendance: 21

C. Summer Schools

In the summer of 1965, the 19th Annual Steelworkers Summer School was held on the campus from July 11 to 16. It was attended by 109 Steelworkers. Two were from District 23, sixty-six from District 26, twenty-four from District 27, and seventeen from District 28. The general theme of the Summer School was "The Steelworkers and the Great Society" and the instructional staff was composed of eight Ohio State University faculty members, one faculty member from Western Reserve University, and two staff members from the United Steelworkers.

A decision was made not to have a Steelworkers Summer School on the campus during 1966 because of an intensive study and reassessment of the union's educational activities which was being carried out by the Steelworkers Education Department in conjunction with the Educational Coordinators who had been appointed for each of the Steelworkers Districts, of which there are six operating in Ohio. A determination of whether additional Steelworkers Summer Schools will be held in the future at Ohio State has not been made as yet.

A summer school was held on the campus during the week of September 11-16, 1966 in cooperation with the United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America, AFL-CIO, at which there was a total enrollment of seventy. Properly, it would be

more accurate to say that there were two separate summer schools running simultaneously throughout the week, one on Time and Motion Study attended by thirty-one local union representatives, and the second on Job Evaluation attended by thirty-three. There were also six international union staff representatives in attendance throughout the week.

The staff for the two schools consisted of Bertram Gottlieb, Industrial Engineer of the AFL-CIO; Kermit Mead, Time Study Department, UAW; Anthony V. Sinicropi, Associate Director, Center for Labor and Management, University of Iowa; Dr. George Hagglund, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin; Dr. Charles M. Overby, Department of Industrial Engineering, OSU; Dr. A. J. Wann, Director of the Labor Education and Research Service, OSU; John C. Barton, Conference Coordinator, OSU; and H. Wayne Yarman, First Vice President in Charge of Research and Education, United Glass Workers.

The Director and some of the staff members of the Labor Education and Research Service were asked to serve in an advisory and consultative capacity to the officers and the Education and Research Director of the Ohio AFL-CIO in planning the program for the Ohio AFL-CIO Summer School which was held on the campus of Kenyon College at Gambier, Ohio during the week of July 24-29, 1966. The Director was also requested to present a "key-note" talk on "The Role and Importance of Labor Education" at the opening session of the school.

D. Miscellaneous Special Programs

As in past years, Labor Education and Research Service staff members were frequently requested in 1965-1966 to serve as speakers, instructors, or program participants in some capacity or other at numerous programs sponsored by a variety of organizations. Such appearances were made in cooperation with groups such as the following: United Steelworkers, American Federation of Teachers, National Association of Letter Carriers, United Rubber Workers, Textile Workers Union, United Auto Workers, Utility Workers Union, the Ohio AFL-CIO, the Columbus-Franklin County AFL-CIO, the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, United Federation of Postal Clerks, the American Arbitration Association, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the OSU Home Economics Extension Service, the OSU College of Agriculture Retail Marketing Conference, the Ohio Legal Center Institute Labor Law Conference, the Ford College Seminar Program on Labor Relations, and at various programs conducted at Indiana University, Miami University, University of West Virginia, University of Illinois and Cornell University.

III. RESEARCH AND MATERIALS DEVELOPMENT

In connection with its research and materials development activities, the Labor Education and Research Service this year initiated steps to disseminate some of its products to a somewhat wider audience by distributing a selected list of publications in a uniform cover with a distinctive, easily recognizable format to a

fairly sizeable mailing list of members of the University Labor Education Association, union education staff members, some faculty members in the field of labor and industrial relations at other universities, industrial relations librarians, some union participants in LERS education programs, some labor editors, and some interested Ohio State University faculty members from other departments. Persons interested in receiving such publications in the future were asked to return a request form so that a permanent mailing list could be prepared. Approximately 190 persons have thus far submitted such requests. To date, ten such publications have been distributed and it is intended that others will be issued from time to time as the occasion warrants. To be included in such distributions are selected reprints of journal articles, some major presentations made at LERS conferences or other education programs, and other significant items resulting from the LERS research and materials development program.

During 1965-1966, the following publications emanated from the Labor Education and Research Service:

Harry R. Blaine, Eugene C. Hagburg, Frederick A. Zeller, "Discipline and Discharge in the United States Postal Service: Adverse Action and Appeal," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, October, 1965. (Reprinted by PTTI for distribution in 89 countries.)

Leon Applebaum, "Officer Turnover and Salary Structures in Local Unions," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, January, 1966.

Glenn W. Miller, "Collective Bargaining by Public Employees," (a talk presented at a Labor Education and Research Service Education Conference), The Ohio State University, January, 1966.

Eugene C. Hagburg (Editor), Problems Confronting Union Organizations in Public Employment (selected papers presented at the University Labor Education Association meeting, Detroit, Michigan, April, 1966). Labor Education and Research Service, The Ohio State University, June, 1966.

Higdon C. Roberts, Jr., "Russian Boarding Schools," The Educational Forum, May, 1966.

Eugene C. Hagburg, "Correlates of Organizational Participation: An Examination of Factors Affecting Union Membership Activity," Pacific Sociological Review, Spring, 1966.

Frederick A. Zeller and Eugene C. Hagburg, "Competition in the Railroad Industry: A Perspective on Mergers," Bulletin of Business Research, (The Ohio State University), June, 1966.

Leon Applebaum, "A Regional Analysis of Local Union Financial Structures," Labor Law Journal, June, 1966.

Eugene C. Hagburg, "The Relevance of Attitude Change and Stability to Union Organization," Labor Today, August, 1966.

Higdon C. Roberts, Jr., "Vocational and Technical Education in the U.S.S.R.: Some Problems in Transition," Bulletin of Business Research, (The Ohio State University), October, 1966.

Higdon C. Roberts, Jr., "How Good are Government Texts?", Ohio Schools, November, 1966.

Leon Applebaum, "Local Union Dues and Fee Structures," Monthly Labor Review, November, 1966.

Leon Applebaum, "The Future of Collective Bargaining: A Prospective," to be published in the Bulletin of Business Research, (The Ohio State University), December, 1966.

Eugene C. Hagburg, "Developing the Industrial Labor Force: A Process of Resocialization," accepted for publication in Personnel Administrator in 1967.

Harry R. Blaine and Kent P. Schwirian, "A Methodological Note on Questionnaire Return Bias in the Study of Blue Collar Workers," accepted for publication in Public Opinion Quarterly in 1967.

During 1965-1966, a major LERS research undertaking has been an evaluation survey concerning the Union Leadership Program. This project was designed to provide considerably more accurate information than has been available about the union members who participate in the ULP by answering questions pertaining to their personal characteristics and attitudes, how they found out about the ULP, what motives led them to attend, what reasons have caused them to continue in the program; or in the case of drop-outs, what factors led them to discontinue attendance, how registration fees are paid by unions and by individuals, how unions sending members to the program make their selections, the activities of participants in their unions and in community organizations, the types of employment of participants, the kinds and sizes of local unions represented, and a group of attitudinal questions concerning the subjects, instruction, books and materials, etc. used in the program.

The data for the survey has been collected by means of a fairly elaborate and comprehensive questionnaire which was completed by a total sample of 468 persons. Questionnaires were obtained from among those who were enrolled as first, second, or third year students in the program in 1965-1966; from among those who had completed the entire three year program; from among those who were enrolled in the program in 1964-1965 but who did not return in 1965-1966; and from among those who dropped out of the program during 1965-1966.

All of the data collection has been completed and the information has been coded and placed on IBM cards for utilization in the preparation of some reports and articles by LERS staff members during the coming months. It is also thought that it will be desirable to prepare a monograph-length study summarizing and analyzing the major findings of the survey in view of the relative dearth of such empirical studies regarding participation in labor education programs. When this study is completed, it is believed that it will provide more information about the participation in the Union Leadership Program than has ever been available concerning participants in any other labor education program in this country.

All of the LERS staff members have been involved cooperatively in this project to some degree, though a major part of the work in formulating and administering the questionnaire and in collecting, organizing and coding the data has been done under the supervision of Professor Harry R. Blaine.

Respectfully submitted to the members of the Labor Education and Research Service Advisory Committee -

A. J. Wann
Director

December 2, 1966

THE LABOR EDUCATION AND RESEARCH SERVICE
Staff Members

Leon Applebaum
Associate Professor;
Adjunct Associate Professor of Economics

Harry R. Blaine
Assistant Professor

Eugene C. Hagburg
Assistant Director

Higdon C. Roberts, Jr.
Program Coordinator

Richard P. Sears
Program Coordinator

A. J. Wann
Director and Professor;
Adjunct Professor of Economics

APPENDIX A

Principal Texts Used in Union Leadership Program
1965 - 1966

Economics:

Fundamentals of Economics, by Frederick A. Zeller, (The Ohio State Labor Education and Research Service, Columbus, 1964), 111 pages.

Political Science:

People, Politics and Government, by John T. Grupenhoff, (The Ohio State Labor Education and Research Service, Columbus, 1964), 153 pages.

Union Leadership:

The Practice of Local Union Leadership, by Robert W. Miller, Frederick A. Zeller, and Glenn W. Miller, (The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1965), 282 pages.

Labor History:

American Labor, by Henry Pelling, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960), 247 pages.

Labor Law:

A Guide to Labor Law, by Reginald Parker, (Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1961), 134 pages.

Complex Organizations:

Bureaucracy in Modern Society, by Peter M. Blau, (Random House, New York, 1956), 127 pages.

Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective, by Charles Wright, (Random House, New York, 1964), 124 pages.

Comparative Political and Economic Systems:

Political Patterns in Today's World, by D. W. Brogan and Douglas V. Verney, (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc, New York), 274 pages.

Sociology:

Sociology: An Introduction, by J. Roucek and R. Warren, (Littlefield, Adams & Company, New Jersey, 1965), 303 pages.

APPENDIX B

Field Instructors - Union Leadership Program - 1965-66

Name	Position	Institution
Abboushi, W.	Assistant Professor	University of Cincinnati
Arian, Alan	Assistant Professor	Western Reserve University
Baldwin, Matthew, Jr.	Teaching Assistant	Ohio State University
Batchelder, Alan	Associate Professor	Kenyon College
Belenker, Jerry	Regional Director	Ohio Civil Rights Commission
Brychta, Ivan	Instructor	Ohio State University
Chance, William	Staff	Ohio Legislative Serv. Comm.
Cohnstaedt, Martin	Associate Professor	Antioch College
Desmond, Marshall	Attorney	
Deutsch, Steven	Assistant Professor	Western Reserve University
Doerner, Sharron	Assistant Professor	University of Toledo
Donnelly, Larry	Assistant Professor	Xavier University
Freuh, Lloyd, II	Instructor	Wright State University
Gallon, Jack	Attorney	
Getz, Robert	Assistant Professor	Kent State University
Hayes, J. Kaney	Professor	Xavier University
Irons, Peter	Instructor	Antioch College
Jesse, Jim	Graduate Student	Ohio State University
Kettler, David	Associate Professor	Ohio State University
King, Phil	Staff	Wright State University
Koss, J. J.	Instructor	College of Wooster
Lively, Edwin	Assistant Professor	University of Akron
McKay, Raymond	Teaching Assistant	Ohio State University
McLuckie, Benjamin	Teaching Assistant	Ohio State University
Miller, Glenn W.	Professor	Ohio State University
Mitchell, Irving	Professor	Denison University
Nicholson, Edward, Jr.	Instructor	Ohio State University
Orbell, John	Assistant Professor	Ohio State University
Rampersaud, Isaac	Assistant Professor	Defiance College
Robbins, Ted	Instructor	Western Reserve University
Silver, Jacob	Teaching Assistant	Ohio State University
Slavin, Morris	Associate Professor	Youngstown University
Stewart, Phillip	Assistant Professor	Ohio State University
Treckel, Karl	Professor	Kent State University
White, Robert	Assistant Professor	University of Toledo

rights groups. . . . We need hard-headed businessmen to tell econ-

he added.

"We protest. And we believe all Americans should join us."

Labor Education - South

4-1-67

Painters Launch Series Of Training Seminars

Houston, Tex.—The first of a series of 13 regional seminars for business representatives and financial secretaries of locals of the Painters was held here by the international union for affiliates in Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana.

Purpose of the seminars, said Pres. S. Frank Raftery, is to give local union officials additional training and guidance in organizing, bargaining, and the duties of shop stewards and financial secretaries, and to develop local education programs.

The seminars constitute an extension of panels started last year. They have been broadened to include participation by educators, economists, and leaders of the community and other labor organizations as well as the international union's general officers and staff members.

Raftery was host at a dinner for seminar participants and guests at which he summarized the sessions.

Other participants from the union included Sec.-Treas O. T. Satre; Vice Pres. G. K. Fritz, Jr.; Research & Organization Dir. Robert C. Welch; Guy Leber, administrative assistant to the president; Zel E. Lipsen, legislative assistant; Sam K. Williams and John Lazzara, assistants to the secretary-treasurer; and Representatives M. L. Parter, Virgil A. Stokes, Harry Carroll, John W. Hayes and Richard Gibbons.

Guest panel members included Dir. Nicholas Kurko of AFL-CIO Region XVII, with headquarters in Fort Worth; AFL-CIO Assistant Education Dir. Stuart Brock; Education Dir. Harold Tate of the Texas AFL-CIO, and Prof. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas Economics Dept.

ABC Signs 1st Pact At Russell Stover

Kansas City, Mo. — American Bakery & Confectionery Workers' Local 218 won a first contract with the Russell Stover Candy Co. here for 450 workers—nine months and 32 bargaining sessions after the local was certified by the National Labor Relations Board. The pact includes a 12-cent wage increase, a wage reopener next year, seven paid holidays and other benefits.

Lab Ed - Univ.

LABOR EDUCATION NEWSLETTER

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA

James W. Robinson, Coordinator
Jerald F. Robinson, Specialist
Stephen L. Cook, Specialist
Edward S. Grigg, Specialist

Volume 4, Number 2 June, 1967

MARCH LETTER CARRIERS CONFERENCE

March 10-12 was a busy weekend on the Columbia campus as some 100 members of the Letters Carriers from throughout Missouri gathered for their 5th annual Training Conference. James C. Stocker, NALC Field Director, was again the chief instructor as in past years. Charles Jones (President, Missouri State Association, NALC) of Columbia began the program with greetings from the Association, and Dean John McGowan offered a welcome from the University. Principle speakers included Professors Walter Johnson (Economics), Russell Bauder (Economics) and Jerald Robinson (Economics/Labor Education), and Stephen Cook of the Labor Education Program staff. Other participants included Dan J. Gould and Gene Hacker (St. Louis NALC), Jim Williams (Kansas City NALC), and Edward Grigg (Labor Education). A highlight of the meeting was the panel discussion featuring Mr. Stocker and A. Jack Lewis of the Post Office Department, St. Louis Region.

NALC LOCAL UNION INSTITUTE

In an effort to increase the effectiveness of its station representatives (stewards), Branch 343, NALC, (St. Louis) sponsored a

Representatives of the NALC and Labor Program plan the conference

NALC members attending the conference at University of Missouri in March

Local Union Leadership Institute for 55 of them from the St. Louis area. The program consisted of presentations by Program staff members on *The Role of the Station Representative* and *The Grievance: Procedure and Techniques*. James C. Stocker, NALC Field Director, led discussion of the M-41 and M-39 handbooks and of the national and local agreements. The Institute attracted representatives from all St. Louis locals and will become an annual affair. Dan Gould is the president of Branch 343.

ST. JOSEPH SHORT-COURSE

The St. Joseph Federation of Labor in cooperation with the Buchanan County Extension Center sponsored a short-course on *Union Leadership: The Steward* during March and April. Although 35 participants were expected to attend, the class grew to some 60 union members who graduated. Mr. Warren Welsh, Federation President, was instrumental in making the course a success. Mr. Melvin McLean, Buchanan County Extension Center Director, plans to offer additional courses in the fall and spring semesters.

St. Joseph Course Participants

Mr. Welsh is third from right in front row; James Davis, Missouri State Labor Council Secretary-Treasurer, is second from right

Students at NALC Institute

in front of Branch building. James Stocker is second from right in the front row

ST. LOUIS STEEL COUNCIL COURSES

The St. Louis Steel Council [District 34] of the United Steelworkers Union of America AFL-CIO sponsored two short-courses on *Local Union Leadership Training* during February and March. Orville Pollard, District educational coordinator, brought together almost 100 Steelworkers from the St. Louis area for the 24 hours course. In addition to both Robinsons, Steve Cook and Ed Grigg, the instructors included Buddy Davis (USWA District 34 Legislative Director), Lloyd McBride (District 34 Director), and Ed Todd (St. Louis United Fund). The arbitration session was taught ably by Jerry Belenker of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights. A graduation dinner and awards ceremony held in April at the St. Louis Gateway Hotel was attended by certificate recipients and their wives or husbands. In his graduation address, Mr. McBride spoke of the need for increased education among local union leaders.

USWA NORTH ST. LOUIS COURSES

A 20 hours short-course on *Steward Training* was conducted for North St. Louis area locals also. The class was attended by 40 Steelworkers and was similar in content to that offered by the Steel Council and described above. Mr. Pollard and Leo Gatewood, District representative, were primarily responsible for organizing the courses. Recipients of certificates for this course attended the graduation dinner described above.

USWA HANNIBAL COURSE

Some 29 members of USWA locals 2638 and 6993 in Hannibal attended a short-course on *Union Leadership: The Steward*. The course was sponsored in cooperation with the Marion County Extension Center, and planning was accomplished by Mr. Gatewood and Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Chester Black, Center Director. Mr. McBride addressed a graduation dinner held at the Hannibal Trades and Labor Council headquarters.

STAFF ACTIVITIES The Robinsons and Steve Cook attended the annual meeting of the University Labor Education Association in Chicago, April 27-28. Jim Robinson, immediate past president of the ULEA, chaired the general business session at which a new constitution was approved. Jerry Robinson presented a paper on *Alternative Structures for Labor Education Programs* at one of the sessions.

Jim Robinson published an article in the *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business*, a review in *Labor History*, and will have an article in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of Industrial Relations*. Jerry Robinson will have reviews in forthcoming issues of the *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business* and the *Mississippi Valley Journal of Business and Economics*, and an article in a forthcoming issue of the *Business and Government Review*.

Steve Cook is a candidate for the Executive Board of Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers (Workers' Education Local). Each member of the staff prepared program publications described below.

RECOMMENDED READING Two new program publications in the *Labor Research Series* are now available free of charge. Jerald F. Robinson wrote *The Public Employee in the Political Arena* [No. 6], which presents a broad analysis of the potential of political activity of federal employees. Stephen L. Cook edited *New Horizons for Labor* [No. 5], the proceedings of a conference held on the Columbia campus in December.

Two excellent new publications are available from the labor center at the University of Hawaii. One concerns the preparation of local union histories and the other is a manual for union leadership training.

Copies of the 1966-67 *Annual Report* of the University of Missouri Labor Education Program are now available free of charge.

STAFF RESIGNATIONS The resignations of the staff members of the Labor Education Program were announced this month. Stephen L. Cook has resigned, effective July 1, as a Specialist in Labor Education to accept a position in the community action leadership program of the Institute for Labor Studies at West Virginia University. He will be responsible for programs with trade unions in the 11-state Appalachia area.

Jerald F. Robinson has resigned as a Specialist in Labor Education/Assistant Professor of Economics, effective July 1, to begin studies for the doctorate at the University of Illinois. This summer he will be assistant director of a program to develop training materials sponsored by the Communications Workers of America at the University of Wisconsin.

James W. Robinson has resigned as Coordinator of the Labor Education Program/Assistant Professor of Economics, effective August 5. He will assume a new position as Associate Professor of Economics at the University of South Carolina in September.

THE ROBINSONS TAKE LAST TRIP
preparing to leave on one of the University airplanes for a short-course in St. Joseph

STEPHEN L. COOK
assumes position in West Virginia

LOOKING BACK - Remember these highlights?

April 11, 1964

Staff for First On-Campus Program
NALC TRAINING CONFERENCE

Seated (l to r) Russell Bauder, William Dressman, Donald Fancher, Anthony Sinicropi; Standing (l to r) James Robinson, Charles Ross, Charles Jones, James Stocker

May 25, 1964
Staff for First Off-Campus Program
KANSAS CITY ECONOMIC ISSUES COURSE

Preparing to leave for final session of short-course sponsored by Kansas City (Mo.) Central Labor Council are (l to r) Professors John C. Murdock, Paul E. Junk, Jim Robinson, Virgil Norton, and John M. Kuhlman

May 16, 1964

First Program in Kansas City -
ILGWU REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE

Coordinator, Jim Robinson, awards a certificate to Lillian McKettrick of Local 274 and Neva Hughes of Local 461

March 20, 1965

First Program in St. Louis
GOVERNMENT AND LABOR CONFERENCE
(St. Louis Labor Council)

Staff (l to r): Jim Robinson (U.Mo), Charles Davis (U.Mo), C. F. Wilkins (USDL), John I. Rollings (Pres, Mo. State Labor Council), Oscar Ehrhardt (Secy-Tr, StL Labor Council), Louis Renschen (RCIA), George Taff (Mo. Div. Workmen's Comp), and William Gates (Dir, St. Louis Extension Center, U. Mo)

PHASE I ENDS It might be said that "Phase I" of the Labor Education Program has ended with the resignations of the staff. It began in 1963 when a Ford Foundation grant enabled the University to hire one man to establish a program. That first year was largely one of getting acquainted for the coordinator, Jim Robinson, and the labor movement. Some 197 persons participated in courses that year, taught by economics faculty mainly.

The need for additional staff became obvious when enrollment increased to 360 persons the following year, and Jerald Robinson was appointed to the staff in 1965. The scope and the size of the program expanded with this appointment, and the first applied or "tool" courses were offered. Stephen Cook was hired in 1966 as enrollment expanded to almost 1,000 persons. The subject matter shifted almost completely to applied courses, which were offered in every part of Missouri.

The staff tripled and course enrollments increased fourfold in four years. Subject matter and geographic regions reached increased proportionately. Such success indicates not the end of the program but rather the conclusion of its initial phase. Hopefully the University and the labor movement understand the promise and the possibilities of labor education on the basis of this phase.

Several lessons learned from this experience deserve mention. (1) *The advantages of beginning a program with a complete staff rather than only one man far outweigh the costs. The lag between promises and results can be narrowed.* Observation of other new programs (e.g., Massachusetts) confirm this notion. (2) *There must be a complete commitment to the program, and it must be allowed to expand limited only by the demand for courses. A small program that is insufficient is almost worse than none.* (3) *There must be meaningful and continuing involvement of the labor movement in every part of the program. The University cannot offer a "packaged" program to labor.* If these lessons of Phase I are understood and applied, then this phase represents merely a prelude to the next one in which Missouri will have the outstanding program it deserves.

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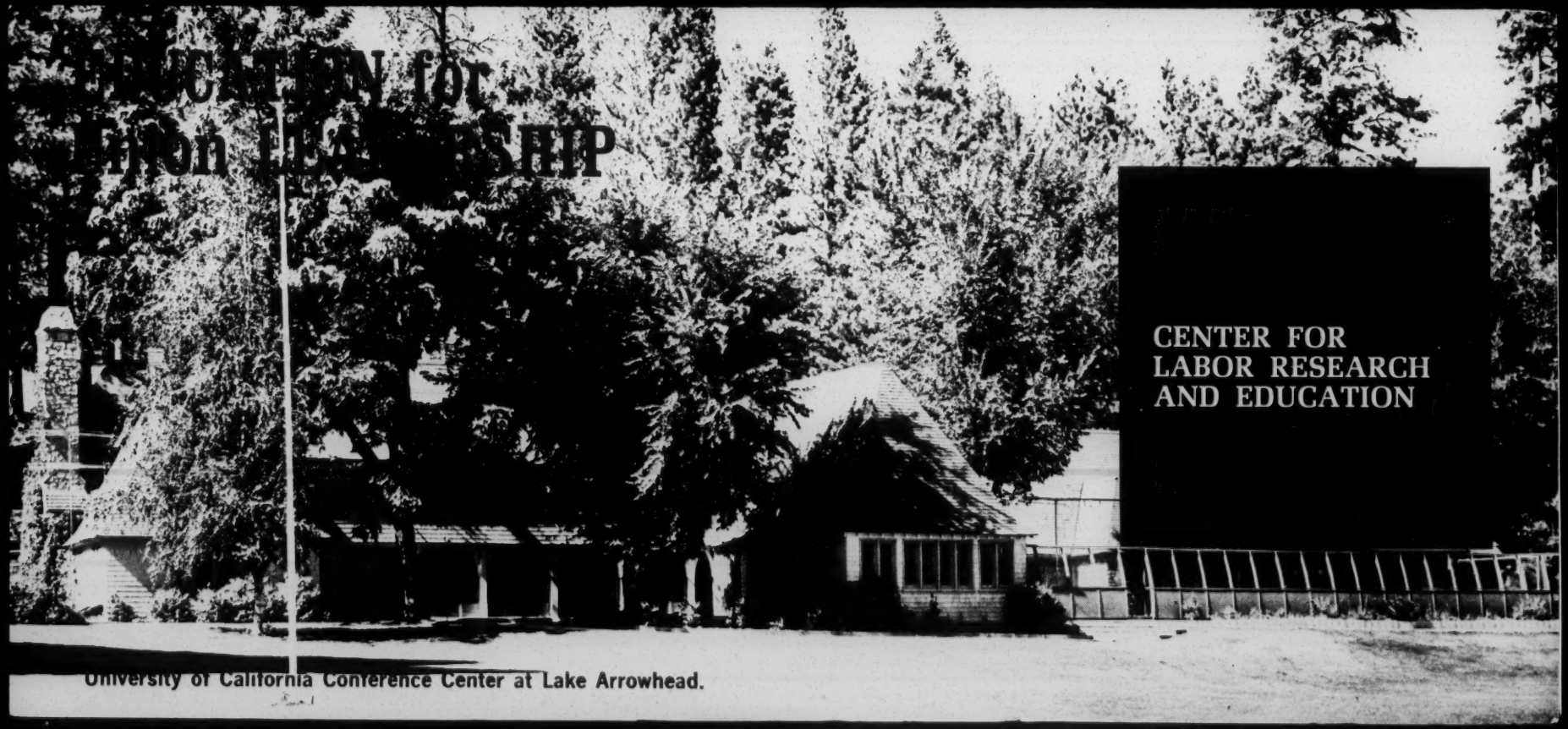

University of California Conference Center at Lake Arrowhead.

The University of Wisconsin — University Extension Division

THE SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Labor Education — Univ.

COMMENTS ON THE RESEARCH FUNCTION OF UNIVERSITY LABOR CENTERS*

by Don Vial, Chairman
Center for Labor Research and Education
Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California, Berkeley

The current resurgence of interest in university labor programs and services has stimulated considerable discussion on the form and substance of labor education. The discussion, however, appears to be shedding very little light on the research function of labor centers, or, for that matter, the relationship of research to the labor education services of universities. In fact, the prevailing university viewpoint seems to be that there is nothing wrong with present relationships -- a view with which I strongly disagree.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to explore the research activities which university labor centers might assume as they expand their services to the labor community. It indicates some areas where universities can make a major contribution toward bridging the gap between the highly academic research of faculty members and the adversary research of union staff officials. It contends that serious attention toward developing "applied" or "action research" to fill this gap will,

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at the same time, greatly improve the quality of labor education.

Since this paper is in effect a commentary, rather than a scholarly discourse on research, it is appropriate at the outset that some of my own predilections concerning the role of universities in the field of labor education and related research be clearly set forth.

1. My first bias is that university labor programs cannot be justified (as specialized adult education or community programs) unless they bear some direct relationship to the functioning of labor organizations as instruments for improving conditions of life and labor and achieving compatible reforms in our socio-economic institutions. To be sure, in the broader context of university life, no institution in our free society is beyond criticism or the advocacy of reform. As part of specialized units of universities, however, labor educators and researchers have a special responsibility: Their primary obligation is to help labor unions come to grips with the full range of complex issues and problems which beset working people in a modern industrial society. Reforms in labor's institutions and policies may be indicated, but such reforms and changes should come from within the movement, based on the kind of information and knowledge that may be generated through labor education and research programs.

2. Second, it follows from my first bias that I would place very low priority on the use of limited funds available to university labor centers to conduct adult education courses and programs which would normally be provided through other university adult offerings except that

they are offered to a "labor" clientele. For example, courses and programs in political science, economics, sociology, psychology, and the liberal arts generally have their place both in general adult education and specialized labor programs, but when offered in the latter context through the facilities of university labor centers they should be directly related to the practical problems, goals, and aspirations of organized workers. More importantly, the specific aim should be a high degree of "transfer value" from persons taking the courses to their unions at various levels of organization and operation. Working within the constraints of any institutional setting inevitably has many frustrations. The labor movement is no exception. These frustrations, however, provide no justification for using university-labor relationships as a springboard for purely adult education objectives without regard for labor's institutional considerations.

3. My third bias goes to what I believe to be the crux of the research issue, the relationship of research to the quality of university labor education programs. University labor education, as a specialized branch of adult education, has had its ups and downs not because of the occupational or formal educational status of its clientele, but because of problems encountered in identifying the needs of organized labor and working with its complex institutions. Most university labor educators would readily admit that the quality of labor education programs has suffered in the process. We have yet to learn the lesson taught by our great universities: Good teaching is clearly associated with solid research in areas related to its curriculum. In the field of labor

education, I believe the same relationship exists. I predict an uneven course for university labor education programs in the future unless greater attention is given to research into problems and issues as they manifest themselves to the labor movement. I should add, as I hope to illustrate later in this paper, that research has as much to gain from close association with labor education as labor education has to gain from greater intimacy with research.

Labor's Criticism and the Problem

Much of labor's criticism of university research has been directed at its usefulness (or non-usefulness) -- not its academic quality. This was certainly the case in the recent controversy at Berkeley which led to the formation of a Center for Labor Research and Education within the Institute of Industrial Relations as a special unit of the University to serve the labor community.

By academic standards, the Berkeley Institute has long been recognized as one of the most productive research organizations in the nation. The quality of its research is highly regarded among academicians. Yet, the research activities of the Institute were not spared when its labor education programs came under attack by the California labor movement. Union staff officials as well as officers who complained about the inadequacy of labor education services also sharply challenged the practical application of most of the Institute's research to the day-to-day issues and problems confronting labor. They argued strongly that much of the faculty's research was "self-serving,"

and had little relevancy for the "real world" of industrial relations. Whether justified or not, I suspect that this same attitude is shared at other universities across the county.

Perhaps the problem has its roots in the way many universities originally became involved in industrial relations research and labor education. As Lois Gray of the New York School of Industrial and Labor Relations points out in her recent article on "The American Way in Labor Education" (published in the February, 1966, issue of Industrial Relations):

> In the years immediately following the war, the inauguration of university-sponsored labor education programs assumed the proportions of a national movement. . .American universities, after many years of serving businessmen and farmers, had discovered labor, another major occupational grouping with specialized educational needs. In many parts of the country, support for labor education (through the state universities) came as an expression of public concern with the postwar wave of strikes and the growing political and economic power of labor unions. Often the doors were opened to labor by faculty members whose interest had been stimulated by service in connection with wartime labor boards.
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> In view of this background, it was not surprising that university offerings, to an even greater extent than internal union training, concentrated on the subject matter of industrial relations. Improved relationships between unions and management was the announced raison d'etre for many of these programs, and union services paralleled or were combined with education services to management.

The new university programs, she points out, started generally with courses in the "tool" subjects of industrial relations and then began to broaden their offerings as the functions of unions became more diversified and union leaders assumed a wider range of community roles. But what is important here from a research standpoint is that labor

education services have not been developed in close relationship to the research activities of these university industrial relations or labor-management units. Although there are doubtlessly many exceptions, most labor education programs have been conducted through extension-type arrangements utilizing specialized staffs, most frequently without tenure appointments to the university faculty. The research function, on the other hand, has been developed largely as the special province of faculty members who maintain only a casual identification with labor education programs, and whose primary interests are in publication for academic consumption by their colleagues and regular students. The relationship between university labor education services and research activities, therefore, has become fairly remote. More important, under these circumstances, the research needs of the labor movement tend to be subordinated to the research interests of academicians, and the end product, even when the needs and interests coincide, is usually too abstract to be of any real use to labor leaders.

To put it more bluntly, it is foolish to think that faculty members who have little or no involvement in labor education programs will undertake research that is very meaningful to labor leaders on the firing line. Such research is typically designed and executed in isolation of union leaders who may have a natural interest in the research project. Further, because publication is usually for professional consumption, seldom is any effort even made to relate the research to union leaders in meaningful terms. As a result, I dare say there are many recognized "labor experts"

on our campuses across the nation who have had virtually no impact on the labor movement, except perhaps through their arbitration activities. It might be pointed out also that this state of affairs has not helped to allay the fears and hostility of many labor leaders toward campus intellectuals.

Closing the Applied Research Gap

Though we could all name exceptions, few would argue with the general proposition that there exists today a wide gap between the highly academic research of faculty members and the "adversary" research conducted by union staff officials. It is this gap that must be closed if university labor education programs are to get the kind of research support they need to serve the labor community more effectively. Basically, I can visualize two directions in which university labor centers can move to correct the situation.

The first would move toward full integration of labor center programs into the life of the university. This would require the creation of several joint appointments to center staffs and university faculties, and teaching assignments involving both regular students and trade unionists through the labor education programs of the centers. Faculty research support under these circumstances could mean something entirely different from research support that is largely restricted to faculty members who have little or no real contact with labor education programs. Where joint appointments exist, research originating with faculty members is much more likely to be useful to union leaders and the labor community;

less likely to be designed and executed in an academic vacuum, and more likely to be helpful in the education programs of the centers.

Moreover, it should be recognized that regular students would also have much to gain from faculty members who teach in the programs of the labor centers. One of the problems frequently encountered in university labor education programs is that faculty members who teach labor courses to regular students are not competent to teach many of the "tool" courses in industrial relations offered to the labor community. To the extent that this is true, regular students are being shortchanged. The ideal arrangement would be to have instructors teaching regular students who are competent to teach in both programs. While some universities are moving in this direction, it is clearly not possible in others until it is recognized that the Ph.D. is not always the best and only measure of competency.

The second approach (the one we are pursuing at the Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education) builds strong research support into the labor education programs of the university. Where labor education staffs are without faculty standing, and the opportunities to draw on regular faculty for instructors are limited, there may be no effective alternative to this approach. At the same time, however, it is necessary to recognize that some far-reaching reforms may be necessary in university operating procedures -- reforms that may not yet be fully appreciated by some regular faculty members. Staff instructors and others used for instruction in labor education programs need ample compensated

time for research activities. Graduate research assistants should be assigned directly to the centers and made available to instructors in the same manner that graduate research assistants are assigned to regular faculty to help them in their academic research. Even more important, the centers should have the services of a full time research director -- a competent economist who has the interest and ability to apply abstract theory and knowledge to the kinds of "applied" or "action-oriented" research projects that are of vital interest to organized labor. The centers should also have the capacity where necessary to take on specialized research staff for specific action or applied research projects developed in cooperation with organized labor. Financing such research activities, of course, is always a problem, but widespread opportunities available through both government and private grants have greatly diminished the magnitude of the problem. In fact the availability of competent researchers is a more difficult and frequent problem than the availability of funds.

Beyond this, some difficult adjustments may be required for university personnel actually engaged in applied, action-oriented research projects developed to bridge the gap between academic research and labor's adversary research. The first adjustment concerns the matter of publication of research results. Realistically, there may be little or no academic status to be gained in applied or action research conducted under center auspices. Where publication may be appropriate, it would probably be through special center publications rather than regular

academic publications. On the other hand, the research may have no publication value at all, apart from mimeographed use of the research in teaching programs developed by the centers. Further, it is necessary to bury once and for all the notion sometimes held that all wisdom in the design of research projects lies within the university. The key to successful development of applied research lies in the joint planning and design of the projects with the aid and assistance of labor union staff researchers and union officials who may have invaluable practical experience in connection with the problem to be researched. This is not the same thing as presenting the design of a perconceived project to interested trade unionists for their comments. It means joint participation in determining and defining the questions to be researched. It means preconsultation of the scope of the project, and continuous consultation as the design work is in progress, including participation in necessary design revisions. Once the research is in progress, there should be constant communication on problems that may develop, and a checking out, for example, of preliminary findings that may not square with some of the practical experience of trade unionists. This is essential not only to develop confidence between researchers and the labor community, but also as a prerequisite to achieving the highest degree of quality in the research itself.

Consultation, however, does not and cannot mean any compromising of academic freedom or ultimate responsibility for the end product on the part of the researcher and the university labor center. Labor

leaders who are prone to expect research miracles virtually over night from labor union staff officials must understand that quality research takes time, that applied research is not the same as preparing adversary documents. Likewise, faculty members should recognize that in many ways applied research is also far more challenging than purely academic research.

Within the above framework, the Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education has been able to attempt some modest beginnings in applied research areas primarily because the Center has been fortunate enough to have the support of an Institute Director who fully appreciates the importance of research support to the success of the Center's labor programs. The balance of this paper outlines specific research activities that seem appropriate for university labor centers, drawing heavily on Berkeley's experience with the requests of labor union officials for applied, action-oriented research. The following categories, which are illustrative rather than exhaustive of research potential, are used: Research related to (1) the identification of educational needs and program development; (2) special industry problems which have policy implications for the union involved; (3) community problems affecting the broader community interest of labor; (4) the evaluation of fringe benefits won through collective bargaining; and (5) the utilization and implementation of functional grants at the community level.

Identification of Educational Needs and Program Development

Except for the so-called "tool" courses of industrial relations, labor leaders seeking educational assistance through universities are frequently unable to identify their educational needs. A typical conversation may start out like this:

> "What kind of an educational program can you give us? Our organization is running into some big problems. The membership is quick to tell us what they want, but they aren't very responsive to the needs of the union. Our officers can't seem to get through to them. They want more services from the union, but they don't want to pay for them through a dues increase. It can't all be their problem. There must be something wrong with the leadership we are giving them."

There are endless variations of this theme. Sometimes it's expressed by an individual, or it may represent the collective expressions of an education committee.

Of course, it is beyond the province of university labor educators to tell unions what they need, but it is the essence of their responsibility to help unions identify their needs. While research on identification of educational needs may be a bottomless pit, there are occasions when it can be helpful, as well as feasible, particularly when the common problems of several organizations can be combined into one project.

Thus, in the Survey of Union Member Attitudes in Alameda County, conducted at Berkeley in cooperation with the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, AFL-CIO, the request for the survey came from the affiliated unions of the council. Its primary purpose was educational in

character for program development. The survey findings and their implications were reviewed initially at a weekend educational conference with the sixteen unions included in the survey's sample. Next month three one-day sessions for all affiliated unions of the council will be conducted to discuss the survey in greater detail, and specifically to consider questions of education program development in the county based on results of the survey.

Technically, this experimental survey had its deficiencies, but it did pinpoint the nature of the communication problems many union leaders have with their membership. There is clear evidence stemming from interest in the survey that the problems of maintaining effective two-way communications with union members in a modern industrial context will be the subject matter of considerable labor education activity in Alameda County in the period ahead.

Actually, there are very few restrictions that need be imposed on university research that can be undertaken in cooperation with labor organizations where the primary purpose of the research is program development. It is a disturbing thought that the survey research facilities of many of our universities are being used extensively to help solve the problems of industry while very little use is being made of them to gain a better understanding of the problems confronting unions as a result of rapid changes taking place in the composition of the work force in our increasingly automated society. University labor centers could and should use these facilities to gain more information about the

attitudes of white collar workers, government and technical employees, and to explore problems of work and leisure, as these issues confront labor unions.

It has been pointed out on occasion that some unions are not too interested in obtaining this kind of information if it is to be published. Again, this need not be a barrier. It should be possible to conduct research for program development without making it public. However, if any part is made public, then all of it should be made available, as determined by the university in accordance with the controlling principles of academic freedom and maintenance of university responsibility for publication.

Research Concerning Industry Problems Affecting Unions

Specialized research concerning particular industry problems of unions offers almost unlimited possibilities for university labor centers. However, it should be borne in mind that interest in the results obtained from this kind of research may be limited to the groups concerned. Yet it is this kind of research that is most urgently needed to improve the quality of educational offerings for unions having jurisdictions in under-researched industries. The time consuming nature of the research requires that special attention be given to the design of projects so that the broades possible audience is reached within the union groups affected.

Consider, for example, the construction industry, which is in the

throes of a major technological revolution with profound implications for collective bargaining and unions having jurisdiction in this complex industry. Very little research focusing on labor problems has been undertaken in the industry primarily because of the lack of usable data, particularly productivity measurements, in the form required for economic analysis. Most of the industrial relations research of academicians, therefore, has been focused on the institutional characteristics of bargaining relationships with inadequate attention being given to the impact of economic and technological developments within the industry on bargaining positions of the parties. It is becoming abundantly clear to some of the construction unions that bargaining without documented evidence of what is going on in the industry is fraught with pitfalls. At the same time, the potential for using pension and health and welfare funds as a source of valuable economic data on the construction industry is being largely overlooked.

The Berkeley Center is working with the California State Council of Carpenters on the design of an applied research project of major proportions that would take a look at some of these problems. The project will study technological advancements in the industry with special attention to the impact of technology on the structure of the industry, production methods and the use of new materials, employment opportunities, the regularity of employment, the diffusion and dilution of skills, and the implications of these changes for job training programs, including apprenticeship. It is important to note that this project would not be

possible as a University undertaking without the wholehearted cooperation of the carpenters' union in California. This point cannot be stressed enough because intimate knowledge of the operation of the industry is vital to both the design and implementation of the project.

Already, the research that has gone into the design of the project has provided the Center with sufficient information to proceed with joint planning for a series of regional seminars in the state designed to reach carpenter leadership at the grass roots level of organization and to acquaint them with kinds of changes in their industry that are complicating bargaining relationships. It simply wouldn't be possible for the university to consider educational services of this nature without the accompanying research.

What is true of the construction industry is equally true in many other industries, such as the printing industry, where technology is forcing dramatic changes in the traditional patterns of bargaining relationships. If the Berkeley experience is any indicator of the demand for applied research projects of this nature, the universities are going to have their hands full trying to satisfy these legitimate requests of organized labor for research assistance. Further, if the labor centers do not undertake the responsibility to meet these needs, then there is little likelihood that they will be met through the channels that originate academic research by faculty members.

Research Related to the Broader Community Interests of Labor

From its established collective bargaining base, organized labor has been able to devote greater attention to broader community goals that transcend the narrower interests of individual organizations at the workshop level. Today, there are few areas of community life where state and local labor movements are not called upon to represent the interests and aspirations of working people in matters of health, education, and welfare, housing, recreation, industrial development, urban renewal and redevelopment, transportation and rapid transit, resources development and the like. These responsibilities, however, fall upon central labor bodies which are sadly understaffed and generally without personnel to provide the necessary background research related to the development of policy positions on community issues.

Over the years, university labor educators have been asked by labor with increasing frequency to conduct educational programs and conferences on these community issues, but today these requests are being augmented by pleas for greater assistance in providing research information on the issues. While it is impractical to expect university labor centers to do basic research in such diverse areas of labor interest, it is not unreasonable on the part of labor to expect some help in digesting pertinent research conducted by other university units and relating this research to labor through educational programs. For example, at Berkeley, extensive research has been conducted into metropolitan problems of the San Francisco Bay area by the University's Governmental Studies Institute

and other units in the planning and environmental design field. It would be entirely appropriate for the local labor movement to call upon the University's labor center to cull through this mass of research to identify the issues that are of basic interest to working people and particularly those that pose major policy questions for organized labor.

Unfortunately, it is too often the case that the labor movement is unable to express itself effectively on metropolitan issues. Central labor bodies are usually organized along county lines. In urban population centers where these county lines no longer have any meaning, the labor movement is finding itself without a vehicle for taking positions on regional problems of a metropolitan character. The real problem is that more and more urban problems are requiring metropolitan solutions.

Here again, the university labor centers are in a position to provide a vital research and educational service for the labor movement. For example, our central cities are experiencing a marked decline in job opportunities for blue collar workers at the same time that the proportion of unskilled persons of low income is increasing. The movement of industry within the metropolitan complex, therefore, is a matter of urgent concern to local labor movements. Research is needed to clearly identify the economic and noneconomic factors influencing the migration of industry and specifically to measure the impact of these movements on working people. These considerations are vital to organized labor not only because of their policy implications in regard to land use planning and

urban redevelopment, but also because it is necessary for county central labor bodies to know which problems are amenable to local action and which require the cooperation of various councils in search of metropolitan or regional solutions.

The Berkeley Labor Center has initiated such a study of central city employment problems in the San Francisco Bay area at the request of local central labor bodies. Thus far, the design work on the project has confirmed the difficulty of adapting economic theory to applied research in a manner that will shed some light on the policy considerations affecting job opportunities in a major metropolitan area.

Research Related to Evaluating Fringe Benefits

The whole area of negotiated fringe benefits presents major challenges for universities. Unions which have committed increasing amounts of the negotiated dollar to fringe benefits are generally eager for assistance in evaluating both the effectiveness of these programs and their impact on the membership. Although the data gathering governmental agencies are providing continuous, up-to-date and detailed information on trends in various fringe benefits, including cost data and information on the variety of approaches, this research neglects evaluation and analysis of integration problems affecting the operation of government social insurance, among other problems. To the extent that the vested interests of unions preclude self-evaluation, university labor centers should make themselves available to do the necessary job.

Of course, fringe benefits have always been of interest to faculty members engaged in industrial relations research, and some excellent work has been done in this field, but most of it still falls short of the kind of applied research that has meaning for policy makers at the collective bargaining table. Further, faculty members who maintain only casual relations with labor leaders have not been very successful in gaining access to the wealth of information buried in trust fund offices charged with the responsibility of administering fringe benefits. This information can be made available to university researchers, provided the study or evaluation is desired, and the unions have confidence in the university unit which is to conduct the research. Needless to say, university labor centers, by virtue of their day to day staff relations with union officials, are most likely to evoke this kind of confidence and response. The blunt truth is that union leaders are unlikely to fully extend themselves or open their information vaults to faculty researchers if they feel that the motivating interest of the faculty member is primarily in publication for academic consumption. If university labor centers are to be successful in this kind of research, they must convince labor of their service aspirations and avoid the pitfalls of personal publication for academic advancement.

The vitality of collective bargaining is being demonstrated almost daily with each new development in the field of fringe benefits. Instead of waiting on the accumulation of experience with a particular fringe benefit before requesting evaluation research assistance, union leaders

are becoming more and more interested in the idea of concurrent evaluation. An example that comes readily to mind concerns the Northern California teamsters and their interest in the concurrent evaluation of a new sabbatical leave program negotiated for cannery workers, not only to study the use of leisure time, but also to identify the interests of cannery workers on leave and to help develop community programs and outlets for their leisure time interests. University labor centers, again, should be available to provide this kind of research assistance to unions.

The passage of "Medicare" has rekindled labor interest in problems of cost and quality which have long plagued the trustees of negotiated health and welfare plans. Apart from problems of integrating negotiated plans with "Medicare," union leaders are acutely aware of the inflationary impact "Medicare" will have on health care generally and negotiated plans specifically unless effective steps are taken to achieve better organization of medical care services and to develop mechanisms for maintaining a more meaningful relationship between costs and the quality of medical care.

In California, this renewed interest in cost and quality problems gave rise a year ago to the formation of a statewide, California Council for Health Plan Alternatives, which lists among its Executive Board members labor leaders who share responsibilities for the operation of the major health and welfare trust funds in the state. The Council is organized on a permanent basis and is working to break down communication barriers between "islands" of negotiated health and welfare plans in order

to bring focus on cost and quality issues beyond the control of individual plans and strengthen labor's bargaining positions in relation to hospitals, the medical societies, and other providers of medical care. Extensive research is being planned, starting with an evaluation of the performance of negotiated plans over the years, and the Council has officially called for assistance from both the state and the University.

Here again is an example of union leaders coming to the university for help and offering to open up the records of their health and welfare funds to get the job done. The research itself could take many forms, including the following: A study to determine the pattern of utilization of medical care under various plans, the portion of the total family medical bill absorbed by the plans, and the amount paid out of pocket; a detailed audit of hospital claims and in-patient medical care on a case study basis to evaluate the cost, quality, and incidence of hospital care from the standpoint of developing criteria appropriate for establishing continuing review and monitoring programs for negotiated plans; and a similar audit of out-patient care on the basis of a case study sample drawn from the claims records of negotiated plans. While much of this might be beyond the capability of a labor center, a valuable coordinating function could be provided by involving other units of the university, such as the School of Public Health and the Medical Center, in various aspects of the overall evaluation project. The research, of course, offers immense opportunities for coordinated labor education programs.

Labor Research on the Implementation of Functional Grants

This area of research seems to be providing ever-increasing outlets for the talents of action-oriented labor educators and researchers. The passage of the federal Manpower Development and Training Act, the liberalized vocational education program, and the Economic Opportunity Act itself are the most obvious examples of functional grant-in-aid programs which require implementing action at the local level in subject areas closely related to the work of labor educators. Further, it is reasonable to expect functional grants to increase in the future as the government assumes greater responsibility for maintaining an expanding economy, overcoming structural barriers in labor markets, attacking poverty, and satisfying the pent-up public and social needs of the people. The policies and activities of the AFL-CIO which are pushing in this direction, are at the same time placing an ever-increasing burden on local labor movements to assume new responsibilities in connection with these complex community issues and programs. Again, with each new program, greater pressures are being thrust upon virtually non-existent local union staffs, and the frustrations of local union leaders are in turn being reflected in the requests for services from labor centers.

The university's role in developing conferences, seminars and courses geared to educating labor leaders regarding the operational intricacies of functional grant-in-aid and similar programs is obvious. But these educational activities can be sterile indeed if they are not combined with action-oriented, applied research projects conducted in

cooperation with organized labor to identify the alternative approaches labor might take to participate effectively in the implementation of community programs either as project sponsors or as catalysts for community action. Such university services might be descriptively called "pathfinder" services made available to labor organizations interested in relating to various community issues in a positive manner. Fortunately, many of the functional grant programs make provision for financing this type of activity through developmental and other action research grants. Most labor educators would agree that labor and the universities have barely begun to scratch the surface here.

University labor centers, in one way or another, have become involved in working with labor on the various aspects of the war on poverty and related labor market problems. Fred Schmidt, at the UCLA Center for Labor Research and Education, for example, has provided extensive "pathfinder" research services to labor groups in the Los Angeles area, particularly in regard to labor sponsorship of projects in Community Action Programs, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and on-the-job training under MDTA. His applied research activities in connection with the plight of farm workers is also well known.

The challenge also extends to many other federal aid programs pushed through Congress with the support of the labor movement, embracing such diverse subject areas as housing, mental health services, recreation, and many of the areas of community activity mentioned previously. I would conclude by making at least a few references to

research possibilities along these lines.

In housing, the AFL-CIO was one of the most active supporters of legislation to provide low-cost, direct loans for the construction of moderate-income, cooperative and non-profit housing (the so-called 221(d)(3) program, which authorizes labor sponsorship of such housing). The implementation of this program, of course, has importance not only in connection with the problem of bringing quality housing within the reach of more working people, but also in regard to community redevelopment planning, the provision of housing for working people displaced by redevelopment, and the elimination of labor mobility barriers associated with industrial migration within a metropolitan complex. Yet the 221(d)(3) program has a history of abuse and misapplication which has siphoned most of the potential benefits to working people into the pockets of promotional developers and professionals who work on their promotions. In cooperation with local labor groups interested in seeing the program put to more effective use, there is ample opportunity for designing research that would document the abuses and explore alternative uses of the program.

In the field of mental health, recent federal legislation and state subvention programs like those found in California are encouraging the development of community mental health programs with the focus on early treatment and intervention to reduce hospitalization and commitment to mental institutions. Unions concerned with providing comprehensive medical care are also indicating strong interest in closing the mental

health coverage gap found in most health and welfare plans and expanding the availability of mental health services to union members and their families. Organizations like the UAW and Local 770 of the retail clerks in Los Angeles have pioneered in this field. Most organizations, however, feel hampered by uncertainties as to the nature and extent of mental illness among union members, most of whom are blue collar workers, and by a lack of specific information concerning the type, scope and cost of services that will promote early identification of mental illness, overcome generally recognized resistance to care, and provide effective treatment. There is also a strong desire evident among union leaders to integrate negotiated coverage with community programs to avoid costly and unnecessary duplication of facilities and effort, while at the same time encouraging the development of services and treatment techniques geared to the particular problems of working people.

These are laudable objectives, and university labor centers can encourage experimentation in the development of mental health services for blue-collar workers. The UAW, in fact, as an organization already committed to provide coverage, is actively supporting such experimentation in order to provide some effective alternatives to conventional insurance arrangements in the purchase of mental health services for auto workers under their negotiated program. In Chicago, Roosevelt University has been instrumental in developing a demonstration project, with the support of a National Institute of Mental Health grant. The Eleanor Roosevelt Union Health-Guidance Center has been launched to experiment

with various ways of organizing and providing mental health services to blue collar workers in cooperation with four union-operated medical care clinics. In San Francisco, the Central Labor Council and the local Association for Mental Health have called upon the Berkeley Labor Center to help pull together a San Francisco mental health project along similar lines, but geared to the way medical care is practiced in San Francisco under prevailing negotiated health and welfare plans. For the past several months the Center has been working with a broadly representative community committee on the design of a project that would combine an appropriate variety of counseling, guidance and treatment services in an experimental, action-research setting with strong educational, research and training components integrated at every functional level of the project. The Center's responsibility extends to all research and developmental work through funding of the project, and ceases once the project director is selected and the project is launched.

Conclusion

Obviously, the research challenge confronting university labor centers is not one that involves any lack of opportunity for service to the labor community. The real challenge is to keep research activities in balance with labor education programs. The over extension of resources in either direction will in the long run adversely affect the quality of all Center programs.

This paper has stressed the importance of providing research support for educational programs, but it is equally important to bear in mind that research loses much of its meaning when it is taken out of an educational context. University labor centers are uniquely suited to provide a meaningful educational framework for applied research. Further, university personnel must carefully avoid any interference with the policy decisions for the labor movement, it is vital that the functional relationship between education and research be borne in mind at all times.

He is a "professor of human relations" in the business school, holds the Chair for Private Enterprise.

jb.

File with
Ga State —
Labor Ed.

Ga State Labs Ed.

Dr. Michael Mescon

Ga. State —

Economics (?)

Clifford says he hears he is a good guy

Scott Morgan IAM BA invited to speak to students — Mescon invited — has someone ~~once~~ once a month [Joe Taylor] came to Ga State at Mescon's invitation (as student)

SAME LETTER SENT TO: 9 (professors all)

W.
Russell Allen (Russ)
Labor & Ind. Rel. Center
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Mich.

Ronald Donovan (Ron)
Cornell

John J. (Jack) Flagler
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis

Miles E. Galvin
Univ. of Puerto Rich
Rio Piedras

Hyman E Kornbluh
Univ. Michigan
Ann Arbor

Frank McCallister
Roosevelt U.
Chicago

D. W. (Whitt) Murphy
Indiana U.
Bloomington

James W. (Jim) Robinson
U. Minnesota
Minneapolis

Anthony V. Sinicropi (Tony)
U. Iowa
Iowa City

Joseph S. Smolen (Joe)
U. Connecticut
Storrs

Norris L. Tibbetts, Jr.
U. Wisconsin
Madison

Walter (Wally) Uphoff
U. Colorado
Boulder

Don Vial
U. California
Berkeley

A. J. Wann
Ohio State U.
Columbus

Herbert A. Levine
Rutgers U.
New Brunswick

Are these people for mailing of Freedom Budget & copies of other material

MAR 08 1967

DUPL E.K.

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10/11

THE "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS

Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
Saturday, February 20, 1967

America is a country born in libertarianism. Its basic philosophical and constitutional documents guarantee and affirm democratic values. Yet so many millions of our people have been forced to spend their entire lives in the struggle to obtain social, political and economic justice. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution itself, the Bill of Rights, a whole series of Federal Statutes -- they articulate a course for the democratic conduct of our affairs, yet so many of us have been doomed to fight as though we are creating a democracy, instead of, in fact, inheriting a historic birthright.

Though this paradox touches in one way or another upon the lives of millions of Americans, black and white, it has been most dramatically evidenced in the lives of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other minority groups, and in the life of the American labor movement. Nobody knows so much about American freedom as Negroes who have never really had it, whose entire journey across the stage of American history has been a long, bitter, heartbreaking journey in search of an elusive birthright. And no other social movement in America has been forced to walk as doggedly as

the labor movement has, the bloody road to labor dignity and industrial democracy. Labor and minority groups have been where the real action is -- the bullets, the dogs, the lynch-ropes, the billy clubs, blood dripping down through the leaves of the trees, and blood running out of the open shop. This makes us brothers not only under the skin, but also brothers in blood, in sweat, and in tears, all shed in the service of making America safe for democracy. It is to the credit of the American labor movement, and a challenge to its treatment of the Negro in the future, that I cannot make that statement about any other institution in America.

When the racists, bigots, and monopolists were not shedding our blood, they were blocking our way with all kinds of stratagems. We have heard them all -- "Property Rights," "States Rights," "Right to Work." All of these slogans, as you will have noticed, and as you will still notice, have been uttered in ringing tones of idealism and individual freedom. But that is the special genius of those who would deny the right of others and hoard the fruits of democracy for themselves: They evade the problems and complex challenges of equal justice by reducing them to primitive oversimplifications that plead for nothing else but the perpetuation of their own special, exploitative interests.

The present battle being fought by some of the most powerful interests in this country to retain the so-called right-to-work laws falls squarely within the tradition of

these primitive self-serving strategies. This slogan -- Right to Work -- developed out of the license granted by Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act, is deceptive and insidious . On the face of it, what working man would not be interested in his inalienable right to work? It is only when we look more closely that we see it does not mean that at all.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker has the right to a job and to receive work at fair wages, reasonable hours, and under decent labor standards.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker has a right to secure employment with proper provisions for paid vacations and insurance safeguards against sickness and old age.

IT DOES NOT MEAN that every worker is protected against arbitrary discharge.

IT DOES NOT MEAN to strengthen the individual worker's bargaining position through a union of his choice.

What it means is the OPPOSITE of all these things. And what IT DOES MEAN is weakening the workers' bargaining power by keeping unions out of the factory or office.

IT DOES MEAN creating the open shop.

IT DOES MEAN destroying the institution of collective bargaining, and thus keeping Negroes and other minority members at the bottom of the economic ladder.

IT DOES MEAN wrecking the whole structure of labor union democracy and effective labor-management relations.

In short, "Right to Work" is the same as Open Shop and industrial Jim Crow, and no matter how you dress it up it is the same weapon that was used to kill trade union organization in the early part of the twentieth century, the same weapon used to deny minorities their economic rights.

Therefore, Right to Work -- as it becomes incumbent on Negroes and other minorities to see -- beyond being aimed at wrecking the traditional labor-management apparatus, constitutes just another instrument to perpetuate the informal system of racism in the United States. That being so, I am opposed to it as a Negro; I am opposed to it as someone who sees that from this point on the problems of minorities are intimately connected with the problems of the labor movement; I am opposed to it as someone who has spent the greater part of his life in the struggle for human rights; and I am opposed to it as an American who understands that the cause of equality for all of our people and justice for all of our people cannot triumph without a strong, unified effective movement of all the workers in our society regardless of color, race and creed.

But what, in more detail, is the nature of our case against Section 14(b)? I will bring at least five charges.

1. "Right to Work" laws are a violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

Anyone who examines the history and development of the

Constitution will find that federal jurisdiction over national labor-management relations is vested in the "commerce clause," which argues, in effect, for a uniform regulation of commerce. The Constitutional Convention of 1787 voted unanimously to delegate to the federal government the power to regulate commerce. This is further buttressed by the provision that federal law is supreme to state law in areas delegated to the federal government. As recently as 1935, the Congress in the Wagner Act preempted for the federal government jurisdiction over labor management relations for several years, during which the Supreme Court consistently ruled that States may exercise their traditional police powers to protect public safety and order, but may not adopt their own codes of labor relations, since this was the exclusive prerogative of the federal government. The doctrine is clear, and still stands as one of the chief arbiters in relations between the federal government and the States. Significantly, there is just one exception: the authority that Section 14(b) has given the States since 1947 to exercise jurisdiction in matters affecting the local union security. There could be no more flagrant breach of one of the hallowed traditions of the Constitution, and Negroes and other ethnic minorities who have suffered most from the frustration of American constitutional guarantees cannot be happy over yet another blow to their aspirations for social and economic liberation.

President Truman, as many of us recall, had no interest

in being an accomplice to this disastrous precedent. He attempted to veto the Taft Hartley Bill, sending it back to Congress with these words:

> "The bill is contrary to the national policy of economic freedom...would limit the freedom of employers and labor organizations to agree on methods of developing responsibility on the part of unions by establishing union security..."

But, as so often happens, Congress saw the issue differently. And so it overrode Truman's veto and destroyed the integrity of labor's hard-won bargaining strength.

2. "Right to Work" laws are undemocratic.

In the 1930's, slowly groping its way out of a disastrous Depression, the country made a momentous democratic political decision: We decided that henceforth free collective bargaining was to be the policy of the nation. We opted to apply democratic principles to the regulation of industrial life, and in doing so, we were also opting for "exclusive jurisdiction" in labor matters. The union that won a free and fair election among the workers in a plant was to be empowered by law to represent all the workers of that plant. The union was to become the exclusive bargaining agent that could exclude or ignore no one. This became the pattern of labor-management relationships, and it helped open the economic doors to hundreds of thousands of Negroes and other minorities. But comes 1947,and with it Section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act. And what does it do? It refuses to

acknowledge the binding nature of the majority decision of a union membership, guarantees the right of non-union membership among workers in a plant, imposes the will of a minority of members upon the majority, and thus destroys the collective bargaining arrangement, and sets back the progress of Negroes and other minorities. But the implication of this so-called right to work law goes beyond the destruction of nationwide trade union democracy; in effect it has also given certain States a minority veto over the federal government, for it permits individual States to walk out on the national labor policy. This is a most unwise and undemocratic turn of events, with grave dangers for the enforcement of federal civil rights legislation. What would we do if individual States were permitted to disaffiliate with our national food and drugs standards? What would happen if in the United States, after every election, all the losers stopped paying taxes because they didn't like the government that was elected? What do we do when Alabama opts out of Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act? The result, needless to say, would be utter chaos and a destruction of our democracy.

3. "Right to Work" laws exploit and perpetuate American poverty.

And who, may I ask, are more concerned about poverty in the United States than Negroes and other ethnic minorities?

As we have seen, most of the States that have retained these laws are the poor, segregationist, reactionary States with weak labor movements and disenfranchised Negroes, and who use the laws as an inducement to those industries with low capital and low labor incentives. In other words, they attract the kind of companies that can make money off a large, defenseless pool of unskilled labor and that can profit from the perpetuation of this backwardness. It is no accident that among these States we find Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and Florida.

Let's look at the situation in these States:

• The percentage of families living in poverty in right-to-work States is much higher than in the other States.

• None of the right-to-work States matches the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour.

• In most of these States right-to-work laws make it literally impossible for Negroes to join unions.

• Negroes are barred from enjoying an expanded minimum wage in these States.

• Eleven of the States have no minimum wage standard at all.

• Only three of them have equal pay for women.

• Only one of these States has fair employment laws.

By contrast, it is significant that none of these prob-

lems exist in States with democratically organized union structures. Twenty-three of the States without "Right to Work" laws do have enforceable minimum wage laws. Fourteen of them cover men as well as women. Twenty-one provide at least $1.00 an hour minimum wage. And twelve of them equal or exceed the federal minimum wage of $1.40 an hour. And in all of them Negroes are organized in the union shop structure.

So, as the evidence shows, contrary to guaranteeing the right to work, what these laws do is to guarantee the right to work long hours; the right to bar Negroes; the right to underpay women who do equal work with men; the right to pay substandard wages; the right to pay substandard enemployment and compensation benefits; and the right to destroy organized unionism.

4. "Right to Work" laws are anti'Negro and anti-Civil Rights.

It does not require an extraordinary amount of wisdom to see that behind the insistence of certain States to maintain "Right to Work" laws is a desire to preserve their right to discriminate. In the same way that many of them have run out on the national labor policy, they want to make it easy for Mississippi and Alabama, say, to contract out of the national Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. Therefore, it is not an accident that we find the plight of Negroes worst in States that have "Right to Work" laws. In a study conducted by Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, of Negro employment and income between

1950 and 1960, the author found that in only one of the Southern "Right to Work" States "have the earnings of the Negro male workeres gained in relation to those of white male workers. In each of the other ten States, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from 6% in Virginia to 25% in Arkansas for all male workers." In short, between 1950 and 1960, everyone in these Southern States was doing better, while Negroes were falling farther and farther behind.

Therefore A. Philip Randolph is right when he says that right-to-work supporters are pushing these laws "in the hope of driving a wedge between Negroes and the labor movement." And Martin Luther King is right when he charges that the "Right to Work" laws are laws to "rob us of our civil rights and job rights." And Roy Wilkins, Clarence Mitchell, and James Farmer were absolutely right in their testimony before the Special House Subcommittee in support of the repeal of Section 14(b). As they went on to point out, it is significant that these efforts to deny our civil rights and job rights are being pushed by some of the country's staunchest segregationists.

5. "Right to Work" laws are "Rightist" and racist.

Who are some of the leading figures behind the drive to retain "Right to Work" laws? You will find their names on every right-wing letterhead across the nation, all of which organizations, let us not forget, are anti-Negro, anti-Mexican American, and anti-Puerto Rican, and anti-

civil rights. In Kansas, Leonard Banowetz, Chairman of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce Labor Relations Committee, is leading supporter of the open shop and also a field coordinator of the John Birch Society. One of the chief organizers of the National Right to Work Committee, E.S. Dillard of North Carolina, is an endorser of the John Birch Society, one of the most racist organizations in America. William Tyler Harrison, a 1960 incorporator of the Committee, is also President of the Council for Individual Freedom, an Indiana extremist organization. The Rev. Howard E. Mather, an executive Committeeman, is director of the Christian Freedom Foundation. These men and organizations who are representatives on the Right to Work Committee are well-known right-wingers.

What could it be that has suddenly united racists, rightists and segregationists behind the right to work? I wonder why it is that these laws were being passed in Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas during the late forties and early fifties, precisely the times when Negroes were effectively denied the right to vote? Isn't it rather cheerful and hopeful for the future of our democracy that members of the John Birch Society have suddenly developed a tender love and sympathy for the common man? If questions like these bring sneers instead of smiles to our faces, then we know we cannot

take them seriously, that we are in fact being had.

In raising these questions and in relating them to the political interests and tastes of rightists and segregationists, I am not supporting the notion of guilt by association. I am against lists that would bar a man from a job on the grounds of assumptions about past membership in an organization rather than on the facts of his present competence. But in politics, it is necessary to test a man's word by what he does. And the advocates of the "Right to Work" laws have, by and large, been opposed to every social and economic reform that would benefit Negroes and workers, the very groups they sometimes profess so much concern about. It is also necessary, in politics, to judge movements by the major trends within them, And I am suspicious of any campaign in behalf of the right to work which claims to be for Negro rights, but is in fact supported by practically every racist in the country; which says it is in favor of workers' rights, yet only succeeds in States where workers are a small minority.

Though all the foregoing do not exhaust the possible objections to "Right to Work" laws, or the reason why 14(b) ought to be repealed, they represent the fundamental grounds of protest on which the labor and Negro movement stand united.

Having said all this, let me make it clear that I remain in favor of our working out a genuine right to work

situation. But it is impossible to come to what such a situation would be without stating that a genuine right to work will not be achieved until the Negro and the trade union movement succeeed in eliminating some of the urgent problems that remain between them. I mean by this that we all have to recognize that there is still discrimination in a minority segment of the American labor movement. This is a scandal, however, that is being vigorously fought by every unionist, black or white, who is worthy of the name. I myself am, in my own capacity, committed to end the vestiges of discrimination in the trade union movement, but I absolutely refuse to conduct the battle along lines that will ultimately injure the labor movement. I could not do this and still remain convinced that Negroes have a need and a responsibility to make that movement stronger and more effective.

After all, we must recognize that a great measure of the Negroes' economic progress is the result of their membership in the labor movement. We all know of the post World War I emigration of Southern Negroes to Northern industrial centers in search of jobs and dignity. We all know what they discovered when they came; that the economy was systematically arranged to keep them more unemployed, more menially employed, less paid, most slowly hired, and most quickly fired. We all know how that terrible disillusionment found expression in the back-to-Africa movement led by Marcus Garvey., in much

the same way that their contemporary despair is finding outlet in the cries for Black Power. And we all know how the Depression that brought down millions of white Americans in poverty ironically raised the economic standards of the majority of poor Negroes who found that their relief payments added up to more than they were able to earn as workers. It was in this period -- the great Depression -- that Negroes in large numbers really became involved in the labor movement. The CIO organized the mass production industries and every worker in them. This was followed by other AFL and CIO unions who organized Negroes in many other industrial areas, making the labor movement one of the most integrated institutions of our society. There are many problems that remain to be solved between labor and Negro; however, we are pressing a vigorous attack upon these problems. I myself am engaged in an effort to get Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters admitted to the building trades. And we have succeeded in placing 250 youngsters in those trades in the New York area. When I urge an alliance between the labor movement and other minority groups, I am not encouraging complacency nor losing sight of the unfinished business. I simply want to place the relation of the black worker to the white worker in proper perspective. More than that, it is to help us to confront together a new injus-

tice: What are the millions of impoverished Negroes and the millions of impoverished whites going to do in an age of automation? How can we, in the new developing circumstances, guarantee full employment, and therefore guarantee a genuine right to work? They only way to guarantee this kind of right to work is for Negroes and the unions to work together. We cannot do it by ourselves, and the economy cannot do it without us. We both have got to weld a great coalition to solve the problems of jobs, education, housing, We have got to make our movement come to represent the majority will of the American society and help it move on to massive and planned social investments to end slums, inferior schools, and depression rates of employment.

It is only when we have achieved all this that we will have achieved the genuine right to work. In closing, then, I am in favor of the right to work in the sense that Franklin Roosevelt was: namely, that this society should guarantee every worker a job at decent wages with security and dignity; and if the private sector does not fulfill this task, then it must be the automatic, legal obligation of the public sector to do so.

Press Associates, Inc. (PAI) -- 2/20/67

D.C. APPRENTICESHIP CENTER GETS MEN AND JOBS TOGETHER

By Ruth Stack

WASHINGTON, (PAI) -- With youth employment at its highest level, you wouldn't expect openings in the apprenticeship programs of some of the highest-paid building trades unions to go begging.

But that was often the case until the Apprenticeship Information Center began to bring youths and jobs together in the District of Columbia.

Working with the District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council, which includes all the Building Trades Unions, the Apprenticeship Information Center has, since its opening in 1963, placed 798 youths in accredited apprenticeship programs. Some 469 of these, more than 58 percent, were from minority groups.

This record makes the D.C. Center one of the most successful of the 22 Centers established under the United States Employment Service and located in major cities around the nation.

Headed by Ed LaCovey, who himself graduated from the Steamfitters Joint Apprenticeship training course and has worked extensively with youth and community organizations, the Center's accent is clearly on the needs of the applicant.

It offers every reasonable aid to the youths being placed in the apprenticeship programs and does not pretend the way is easy or that the program is open to everyone.

There are minimum requirements, depending on the specific trade. A youth who does not meet the requirements is not turned away with a smile or a story that there "are no openings at this time."

He's advised of his deficiencies, offered some assistance in bringing his skills up to par and referred to other sections of USES for job counseling or to MDTA programs.

Although the District or USES has no intensive tutoring program for applicants whose schooling is deficient, members of the staff have themselves tutored on their own time and have developed information sheets to help the youths study at home.

Through the D.C. Apprenticeship Counsel, which is under the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and directed in D.C. by Ed Thomas, programs are often held to advise school counselors of the opportunities open in apprenticeship.

At one recent conference, a representative of the Plumbers told the counselors that the union didn't care what a boy looked like as long as he qualified. The tests, he told the counselors, were administered objectively by the USES and that at present, there were Negro youths at all levels of his union's apprenticeship training program.

(continued)

(D.C. Apprenticeship Center Gets Men and Jobs Together, cont'd.)

A representative of the Carpenters Union, at the same meeting, said his union was proud that it did not require a high school diploma and that youngsters with a ninth grade education are turned into successful journeymen and high wage earners.

The Apprenticeship Information Center has placed youths with serious jail records, drug addicts and alcoholics in the programs. The attitude of the unions has been: "Give the man a chance. It's up to him to succeed or fail."

A look at the statistics of the program show the woeful inadequacies of the educational system. Between June, 1963 and December, 1966, there were 6,643 applicants, of which only 2,229 were found qualified; 1,462 of these were of minority groups. Another 1,809 were finally referred to a program; 1,242 of these from minority groups and 798 accepted, 469 of these from minority groups.

The gap between the number of applicants and the number qualified is the most shocking to the director of the Center.

"These youths are being let down," said Ed LaCovey, "not by the unions in the District which have opened the door to them. But by the failure of the school system to prepare them for the job market. Most of them cannot even read well enough to pass the tests."

The Center does its major recruiting through schools, the USES Youth Office, directed by Robert Borden, Neighborhood Development Centers, under the Office of Economic Opportunity and local churches.

#

TWUA URGES GENERAL WAGE BOOST IN SOUTHERN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

NEW YORK, (PAI) -- The recent boost in the federal minimum wage to $1.40 an hour for lowest-paid employees, ought to be reflected all along the line by a general wage increase in the Southern textile industry in the view of the Textile Workers Union of America.

The union's executive council has called on employers, particularly those who are non-union and have made by provision for 1967 wage boosts, to take such action. The council noted that textile profits reached a high total of $1.343 billion in 1966 representing an increase of 13 percent over 1965. Cash dividends went up 17 percent to $218,000,000.

TWUA President William Pollock said that there was no question about the industry's ability to grant a general wage increase and added:

"Unless the industry grants an across-the-board wage increase the differentials between the lowest-paid workers and the rest of the textile workers will be narrowed or eliminated. The wage structure will be compressed and there will be little incentive for workers to upgrade their skills."

#

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Civil Rights

February 26, 1967
Bal Harbour, Florida

Sweeping changes have taken place on the American scene in the area of civil rights over the past few years but the forward momentum has clearly slowed.

Congress enacted civil rights laws in 1964 and 1965. In 1966, after a substantial House majority had passed a bill which extended civil rights coverage in several needed areas, the Senate was blocked from voting by a filibuster planned and executed by a coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans. This same coalition led by Senator Dirksen earlier defeated an attempt to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act by the same tactics.

Moreover, a significant number of people dismayed and confused by riots and cries of "Black Power" have temporarily abandoned their demands for further progress.

Yet the problems of civil rights remain and continue to affect basic components of our social fabric -- schools, jobs, housing and other urban problems.

In his special message on civil rights to the Congress, President Johnson has gone to the heart of the matter. He has proposed sound, sensible and achievable measures, and we trust the Congress will swiftly adopt the President's legislative package. We in the AFL-CIO will do everything in our power to help translate these proposals into law.

The AFL-CIO remains firmly committed to the achievement of full equality in all fields -- education, employment, public accommodations, housing and justice -- and therefore, endorses the President's call for action in the 90th Congress to complete the unfinished work of the last session.

Among the pressing problems that remain are: the establishment of equality and justice for each citizen in our courts of law, greater protection by local authorities for those seeking to exercise their civil rights, and a solution to our housing problems that will enable every American regardless of color to have a decent home of his choice.

However, the effective implementation of existing civil rights and related legislation need not wait on new congressional action.

-more-

We shall watch carefully that existing laws be enforced with both determination and intelligence and that adequate funds and competent staff be made available to those government agencies entrusted with carrying out the objectives of the law.

Furthermore, we of the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions have committed ourselves to our own campaign against discrimination. Before the law became effective, we stepped up our campaign to eliminate discrimination in unions, in employment and in the community. Our state federations and central bodies have been directed to work with other organizations to obtain compliance in the communities where their members live. The AFL-CIO shall continue to work for these objectives until discrimination is only an ugly footnote in history.

But this is only part of the job. It has become increasingly clear that for the achievement of equal opportunity under the law the establishment and enforcement of rights is not enough. Social and economic conditions which foster the fulfillment of these rights are a prime necessity.

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the achievement of these social and economic conditions.

Equal opportunity in employment requires full employment and the education and training needed for higher skilled and better-paid jobs, in addition to the elimination of discrimination.

Equality of opportunity in education requires that enough funds are provided to raise the quality of our schools North and South to meet present-day needs as well as that these schools be integrated.

Equality of opportunity in housing requires that we eliminate slums and build the homes that are needed for all of America's population, in addition to eliminating discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

Indeed we must make our cities a healthy and decent place to live and repledge ourselves to the elimination of poverty in America.

The challenges before us are great. No one can honestly pretend that the road to the fulfillment of civil rights and equality of opportunity is an easy one, but it is a road that America must follow to the end. It is the road that the AFL-CIO intends to follow to the end.

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Dupl

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Hold for: Miriam Wassermann

February 28, 1967

Dear Friend:

The AFL-CIO Executive Council, at its recent meeting in Bal Harbour, Florida, resolved to "do everything in our power" to help enact President Johnson's civil rights proposals to Congress. It further outlined the kind of program needed to make equal opportunity a reality for all. That resolution is enclosed.

Also enclosed is Negro civil rights leader Bayard Rustin's speech on right-to-work laws delivered before a meeting of the California Negro leadership last week in San Francisco. Mr. Rustin debated Reed Larson, Executive Vice President of the National Right to Work Committee.

Finally, enclosed is a news release from Press Associates, Incorporated, which tells a success story about the D.C. Apprenticeship Information Center.

Your comments are welcomed.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Don Slaiman

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DG:ppo
opeiu #2 afl-cio
Enclosures

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Civil Rights

February 26, 1967
Bal Harbour, Florida

Sweeping changes have taken place on the American scene in the area of civil rights over the past few years but the forward momentum has clearly slowed.

Congress enacted civil rights laws in 1964 and 1965. In 1966, after a substantial House majority had passed a bill which extended civil rights coverage in several needed areas, the Senate was blocked from voting by a filibuster planned and executed by a coalition of southern Democrats and conservative Republicans. This same coalition led by Senator Dirksen earlier defeated an attempt to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act by the same tactics.

Moreover, a significant number of people dismayed and confused by riots and cries of "Black Power" have temporarily abandoned their demands for further progress.

Yet the problems of civil rights remain and continue to affect basic components of our social fabric -- schools, jobs, housing and other urban problems.

In his special message on civil rights to the Congress, President Johnson has gone to the heart of the matter. He has proposed sound, sensible and achievable measures, and we trust the Congress will swiftly adopt the President's legislative package. We in the AFL-CIO will do everything in our power to help translate these proposals into law.

The AFL-CIO remains firmly committed to the achievement of full equality in all fields -- education, employment, public accommodations, housing and justice -- and therefore, endorses the President's call for action in the 90th Congress to complete the unfinished work of the last session.

Among the pressing problems that remain are: the establishment of equality and justice for each citizen in our courts of law, greater protection by local authorities for those seeking to exercise their civil rights, and a solution to our housing problems that will enable every American regardless of color to have a decent home of his choice.

However, the effective implementation of existing civil rights and related legislation need not wait on new congressional action.

-more-

We shall watch carefully that existing laws be enforced with both determination and intelligence and that adequate funds and competent staff be made available to those government agencies entrusted with carrying out the objectives of the law.

Furthermore, we of the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions have committed ourselves to our own campaign against discrimination. Before the law became effective, we stepped up our campaign to eliminate discrimination in unions, in employment and in the community. Our state federations and central bodies have been directed to work with other organizations to obtain compliance in the communities where their members live. The AFL-CIO shall continue to work for these objectives until discrimination is only an ugly footnote in history.

But this is only part of the job. It has become increasingly clear that for the achievement of equal opportunity under the law the establishment and enforcement of rights is not enough. Social and economic conditions which foster the fulfillment of these rights are a prime necessity.

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the achievement of these social and economic conditions.

Equal opportunity in employment requires full employment and the education and training needed for higher skilled and better-paid jobs, in addition to the elimination of discrimination.

Equality of opportunity in education requires that enough funds are provided to raise the quality of our schools North and South to meet present-day needs as well as that these schools be integrated.

Equality of opportunity in housing requires that we eliminate slums and build the homes that are needed for all of America's population, in addition to eliminating discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

Indeed we must make our cities a healthy and decent place to live and repledge ourselves to the elimination of poverty in America.

The challenges before us are great. No one can honestly pretend that the road to the fulfillment of civil rights and equality of opportunity is an easy one, but it is a road that America must follow to the end. It is the road that the AFL-CIO intends to follow to the end.

Press Associates, Inc. (PAI) -- 2/20/67

D.C. APPRENTICESHIP CENTER GETS MEN AND JOBS TOGETHER

By Ruth Stack

WASHINGTON, (PAI) -- With youth employment at its highest level, you wouldn't expect openings in the apprenticeship programs of some of the highest-paid building trades unions to go begging.

But that was often the case until the Apprenticeship Information Center began to bring youths and jobs together in the District of Columbia.

Working with the District of Columbia Apprenticeship Council, which includes all the Building Trades Unions, the Apprenticeship Information Center has, since its opening in 1963, placed 798 youths in accredited apprenticeship programs. Some 469 of these, more than 58 percent, were from minority groups.

This record makes the D.C. Center one of the most successful of the 22 Centers established under the United States Employment Service and located in major cities around the nation.

Headed by Ed LaCovey, who himself graduated from the Steamfitters Joint Apprenticeship training course and has worked extensively with youth and community organizations, the Center's accent is clearly on the needs of the applicant.

It offers every reasonable aid to the youths being placed in the apprenticeship programs and does not pretend the way is easy or that the program is open to everyone.

There are minimum requirements, depending on the specific trade. A youth who does not meet the requirements is not turned away with a smile or a story that there "are no openings at this time."

He's advised of his deficiencies, offered some assistance in bringing his skills up to par and referred to other sections of USES for job counseling or to MDTA programs.

Although the District or USES has no intensive tutoring program for applicants whose schooling is deficient, members of the staff have themselves tutored on their own time and have developed information sheets to help the youths study at home.

Through the D.C. Apprenticeship Counsel, which is under the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and directed in D.C. by Ed Thomas, programs are often held to advise school counselors of the opportunities open in apprenticeship.

At one recent conference, a representative of the Plumbers told the counselors that the union didn't care what a boy looked like as long as he qualified. The tests, he told the counselors, were administered objectively by the USES and that at present, there were Negro youths at all levels of his union's apprenticeship training program.

(continued)

(D.C. Apprenticeship Center Gets Men and Jobs Together, cont'd.)

A representative of the Carpenters Union, at the same meeting, said his union was proud that it did not require a high school diploma and that youngsters with a ninth grade education are turned into successful journeymen and high wage earners.

The Apprenticeship Information Center has placed youths with serious jail records, drug addicts and alcoholics in the programs. The attitude of the unions has been: "Give the man a chance. It's up to him to succeed or fail."

A look at the statistics of the program show the woeful inadequacies of the educational system. Between June, 1963 and December, 1966, there were 6,643 applicants, of which only 2,229 were found qualified; 1,462 of these were of minority groups. Another 1,809 were finally referred to a program; 1,242 of these from minority groups and 798 accepted, 469 of these from minority groups.

The gap between the number of applicants and the number qualified is the most shocking to the director of the Center.

"These youths are being let down," said Ed LaCovey, "not by the unions in the District which have opened the door to them. But by the failure of the school system to prepare them for the job market. Most of them cannot even read well enough to pass the tests."

The Center does its major recruiting through schools, the USES Youth Office, directed by Robert Borden, Neighborhood Development Centers, under the Office of Economic Opportunity and local churches.

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TWUA URGES GENERAL WAGE BOOST IN SOUTHERN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

NEW YORK, (PAI) -- The recent boost in the federal minimum wage to $1.40 an hour for lowest-paid employees, ought to be reflected all along the line by a general wage increase in the Southern textile industry in the view of the Textile Workers Union of America.

The union's executive council has called on employers, particularly those who are non-union and have made by provision for 1967 wage boosts, to take such action. The council noted that textile profits reached a high total of $1.343 billion in 1966 representing an increase of 13 percent over 1965. Cash dividends went up 17 percent to $218,000,000.

TWUA President William Pollock said that there was no question about the industry's ability to grant a general wage increase and added:

"Unless the industry grants an across-the-board wage increase the differentials between the lowest-paid workers and the rest of the textile workers will be narrowed or eliminated. The wage structure will be compressed and there will be little incentive for workers to upgrade their skills."

#

SOUTHWORTH CO. USA
25% COTTON FIBER

March 6, 1967

Mr. Norman Hill
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hill,

I am helping Mr. Emory Via of this organization prepare a pamphlet on civil rights which is to be directed at Southern white union members who may be open to persuasion on this topic.

We want to look at anything any other organizations have published along these lines and also to know what ideas individuals may have about the best approach to take. Do you know of any especially good materials designed to persuade, educate, enlighten the ordinary not-excessively-prejudiced guy? Do you want to pass on any thoughts you may have about how best to slant such a pamphlet?

Thank you very much for any ideas or materials you can offer. Would you be good enough to address your reply to me c/o Mr. Emory Via at SRC.

Jac sends his best regards.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

FOUR STAR
ONION SKIN
SOUTHWORTH CO. USA

March 6, 1967

Education Department
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
815 Mount Vernon Place N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am helping Mr. Emory Via of this organization prepare a pamphlet on civil rights which is to be directed at Southern white union members who may be open to persuasion in this area.

We want to look at anything any other organizations have published along these lines to help us in our thinking. Is there any material that you have put out designed to persuade, educate, or enlighten union members about civil rights and race relations? Do you know of any especially good material published by other organizations?

Thank you very much for any material or suggestions you can offer. Would you be good enough to direct your reply to me c/o Emory Via at SRC.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

March 6, 1967

Mr. Donald Slaiman
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Slaiman,

I am helping Mr. Emory Via of this organization prepare a pamphlet on race relations and civil rights which is to be directed at Southern white union members who may be open to persuasion in this area.

We want to look at anything any other organizations have produced along these lines to help us in our thinking. Is there any material that your department has published designed to persuade, or educate, or enoighten rank-and-file union members about race relations and civil rights? Do you know of any especially good things other organizations have published? Do you know whether any unions either in the South or in other parts of the country have put on systematic or occasional educational campaigns in regard to civil rights?

In addition to any suggestions about material that youmay have, we'd also like to receive any ideas you might want to offer about how best to slant such a pamphlet.

Would you be good enough to address your reply to me c/o Emory Via at SRC. Thank you very much for any help you can offer.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

March 6, 1967

Mr. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hill,

I am helping Mr. Emory Via of this organization prepare a pamphlet on race relations and civil rights which is to be directed at Southern white union members who are open to persuasion in this area.

We want to look at anything any other organizations have published along these lines to help us in our thinking. Do you know of any especially good material designed to persuade, or educate, or enlighten rank-and-file union members about civil rights? Do you know whether any unions either in the South or in other parts of the country have put on systematic or occasional educational campaigns in regard to civil rights? Do you have any pet ideas about the best way to slant such a pamphlet?

We'd be very happy to have any ideas, materials, suggestions you have to offer. Would you be good enough to direct your reply to me c/o Emory Via at SRC.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

SOUTHWORTH CO U.S.A.
25% COTTON FIBER

March 6, 1967

Mr. Jim Pierce
Box 12245
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jim,

I'm helping Emory Via prepare a pamphlet on civil rights and race relations for rank-and-file white union members who may be open to persuasion on this topic.

We think it would be useful to know all about what any other organizations may have done or be doing along these lines--if anything. Do you know of any good pamphlets or leaflets designed to persuade, educate, enlighten white workers about civil rights? Do you have any suggestions about the line of reasoning or thinking that you think would be most effective?

We'd be very glad to hear any ideas you have that you think might help us.

Please address you resply to me c/o Emory Via at SRC.

I was happy to meet you two weeks ago and look forward with moderately high hopes to the continuation of that venture.

Cordially,

Miriam Wasserman

FOUR STAR
ONION SKIN

For E.V.

237-
1968

March 6, 1967

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Fleischman,

I am helping Mr. Emory Via of this organization prepare a pamphlet on race relations which is to be direct at Southern white union members who are open to persuasion in this area.

We want to look at anything any other organizations have produced along these lines to help us in our thinking. Has your office published any material designed to persuade, or educate, or enlighten rank-and-file union members--or other adults whose interests and responses would be at about the same level as union members'-- about civil rights and race relations? Do you know of any especially good things other organizations have published?

In addition to any suggestions about material that you may have, we'd also be glad to receive any special ideas you might have to offer about how best to slant such a pamphlet.

Would you be good enough to address your reply to me c/o Emory Via at SRC.

Thank you very much for any help you can offer.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

P.S. I've been enjoying reading your Norman Thomas biography.

March 11, 1967

COPE
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Gentlemen:

In connection with a civil rights pamphlet for union members on which I am working I want to analyze the voting records of Southern Congressmen and Senators on civil rights issues and labor issues. Do you have published material that would provide such an analysis?

Would you be good enough to address your reply to me c/o Mr. Emory Via at the above organization. Thank you for your kindness.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

March 11, 1967

Mr. Henry Jenkins
Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union
1712 Seventh Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jenkins,

In connection with a civil rights pamphlet for union members on which I am working I should like to have some information about the background and consequences of the organization of the Coca Cola Bottling Company in Selma. I am particularly interested in: the racial composition of the work force there; previous unsuccessful attempt to organize the company; relations between whites and Negroes in the company before and since your getting a contract there; gains, if any, made for the workers by the contract you got. Do you have any union material that would have some of this information in it? Do you know of any articles that have been published that tell the story?

The pamphlet I am working on will give the argument for equal employment and civil rights from the organized worker's point of view. I want to include in it interesting and relevant practical examples, and I believe that the experiences in Selma may be very useful.

Please address your response to me c/o Mr. Emory Via at the above organization. Thank you for any help you can give me.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

March 11, 1967

Education Department
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and
Pipe Fitting Industry
United Association Building
901 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Gentlemen:

I am working on a pamphlet on civil rights and race relations for Southern union members and I came upon a report to your members by your president, Peter T. Schoemann, entitled "How About It?" delivered in April 1965. I should like to have a reprint of this report if one is available.

I should like to ask you if you have any other material that might be useful in preparing this pamphlet. That would include: articles, addresses, or programs having to do with unionism and civil rights; examples of successful union integration; examples of company use of racism to weaken a union or defeat a strike.

Would you be good enough to address your reply to me c/o Emory Via at the Southern Regional Council above.

Thank you very much for any material you can send or suggest.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) MiriamWasserman

March 11, 1967

Mr. Donald Slaiman
Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Slaiman,

In searching for material to be used for the pamphlet I wrote to you about on March 6, I came upon a mimeographed booklet put out by your department I believe in 1965 entitled "AFL-CIO Manual on Civil Rights." It contains quizzes about civil rights andlots of quotations. I think I should find it very useful and should like to have a copy to work with if you have any left.

Thank you for your kindness.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

March 11, 1967

Education Department
NAACP
20 West 40 Street
New York, N.Y. 10018

Gentlemen:

I should like to have a copy of your rerpint of the New Politics article by Herbert Hill, "The Racial Practices of Organized Labor," published, I believe in 1965.

Please address your reponse to me c/o Emory Via at the above organization. Thank you for your kindness.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Miriam Wasserman

Ret to EU

MAR 16 1967

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 667-1780 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No. 5-67
March 14, 1967

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

HELP ORGANIZE CIVIL RIGHTS VISITS THIS EASTER

From March 23 to April 3, Congress will observe its annual Easter recess. Most members will return to their states and districts. It is a good time to see them and talk with them about the Civil Rights Act of 1967.

We are writing to you now to ask you to urge your local chapters to begin organizing Easter delegations. The NAACP has already announced plans to visit members in various parts of the country. We suggest that your local groups get in touch with NAACP chapters first and help plan joint delegations.

Be Broadly Representative

Wherever possible delegations should try to represent as broad a cross-section of Leadership Conference groups as possible. In most communities labor, civil rights, religious and civic groups are already in touch with each other. There can be no better way to observe Easter than to visit members on behalf of civil rights.

What To Say

1. In all visits to members of Congress delegations should attempt to obtain commitments to the Civil Rights Act of 1967 and pledges to work for its passage.

2. Wherever possible, try to publicize the visits. Following visits with members, the delegations should issue statements to press, TV and radio, reporting on the outcome of the interviews.

Senate Sponsors Needed

It is still possible for Senators to add their names to the Senate Civil Rights bill (S.1026). Senator Gaylord Nelson (D.,Wisc.) just recently became the 28th sponsor of the bill. The others are:

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
A. M. E. ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LABOR ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
MEDICAL COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWMAN STUDENT FEDERATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH — DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED CHURCH WOMEN
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD & ALLIED WORKERS
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
UNITED TRANSPORT SERVICE EMPLOYEES OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant

Daniel B. Brewster (D., Md.), Edward Brooke (R., Mass.), Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.), Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.), Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), Hiram L. Fong (R., Hawaii), Ernest Gruening (D., Alaska), Vance Hartke (D., Ind.), Daniel K. Inouye (D., Hawaii), Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.), Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.), Robert F. Kennedy (D., N.Y.), Edward V. Long (D., Mo.), Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.), Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Wayne Morse (D., Ore.), Edmund S. Muskie (D., Maine), John O. Pastore (D., R.I.), Claiborne Pell (D., R.I.), William Proxmire (D., Wisc.), Jennings Randolph (D., W.Va.), Abraham A. Ribicoff (D., Conn.), Hugh Scott (R., Penna.), Joseph D. Tydings (D., Md.), Harrison A. Williams, Jr. (D., N.J.), Stephen M. Young (D., O.).

Please let your members know who the sponsors are. If their Senators' names are missing they should urge them to join the bipartisan group already backing the bill. A Senator can ask unanimous consent to add his name to the bill and should have no difficulty in getting it.

Mail Still Needed

Besides asking them to make personal visits, please ask your members to write. Letters to Senators who are not yet sponsors of the Civil Rights bill should express disappointment that they have not backed the bill. Senators whose names are on S.1026 should be congratulated.

Letters to House members should point out how urgently needed the new bill is. We enclose with this MEMO an analysis of the bill by J. Francis Pohlhaus, Special Consultant to the Leadership Conference. If you need extra copies please let us know.

We are always glad to get reports on what delegations learn in their encounters with members of Congress. Please pass along to us any information you obtain.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION FUND REQUEST NEEDS BACKING

The Office of Education has asked the House Appropriations Congress for a substantial increase in funds for Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This is the section that enables the Office, wherever local communities ask for help, to make grants that permit school districts to set up institutes and training programs aimed at solving problems they encounter in desegregating their schools.

These programs have grown in size until now the Office has a backlog of applications for funds totaling $48 million. Last year the Office received $8 million for Title IV. This year it is asking $30 for fiscal 1968, the year starting July 1.

The request is presently before a House Appropriations Subcommittee headed by Rep. John Rooney (D., N.Y.). This is another instance of a badly needed civil rights program that has been starved for lack of money. Please urge your members to write members of the

subcommittee (or see them when they are home for Easter) and urge them to grant the full $30 million.

The other Democratic members of the subcommittee, besides Mr. Rooney are:

Robert L.F. Sikes (Fla.), John Slack (W.Va.), Neal Smith (Iowa), John Flynt (Georgia), Charles Joelson (N.J.).

The Republicans are:

Frank T. Bow (Ohio), Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.), Elford Cederberg (Mich.), and Mark Andrews (N.Dak.)

* * * * * * *

WE ALWAYS WELCOME "SUBSCRIBERS"

Many readers have responded to our plea for help in meeting our increased mailing costs by taking out "subscriptions" to the MEMO. It costs us about $5 a year in postage to send you the MEMO and enclosures. Send us stamps or cash to help us send these bulletins on to you.

Name _____ Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS
2027 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

March 1, 1967

ANALYSIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967 (Senate No. S.1026)

The Administration's 1967 civil rights bill (S.1026) covers the same general areas of concern as that of 1966 (H.R.14765) with the exception of Title III. In last year's bill that title would have granted to the Attorney General the right to institute suits to desegregate public schools and public facilities. Title III of this year's bill is an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It would give to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the federal courts. This year's bill has an additional title - VI - to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

There are a few significant changes from the 1966 bill in Title IV, the housing title, and Title V, protection for civil rights. The differences in the jury titles, I and II, appear to be technical and less than major.

Reference in this memorandum to H.R.14765 will be to the bill that passed the House and was filibustered in the Senate in 1966.

TITLE I - FEDERAL JURY REFORM

The first title regulates the selection of federal juries. It prohibits discrimination in selection on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status. It establishes a method of selecting juries on a random, representative basis. The basic source of jury lists will be voting lists, except that where such lists are not representative, the judicial council of the circuit can require the use of additional sources. Parties to a suit may require the production of evidence by the jury commissioner to determine whether the provisions of this title are being complied with. The only disqualifying factors for jury selection would be failure to meet citizenship, age or residence requirements, illiteracy, incapacitating mental or physical infirmity or conviction of a crime punishable by more than one year's imprisonment.

TITLE II - STATE JURY REFORM

Title II prohibits any distinction because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of state juries. The prohibition could be enforced through civil action brought by the Attorney General, a private person suffering discrimination, or by a litigant in a criminal or civil case. In any such case, the title provides discovery procedures under which it would be determined how juries are selected. If the court finds probable cause to believe that discrimination occurred and that the records are insufficient to permit a determination, the burden is shifted to the state to show non-discrimination. Relevant jury records must be kept for a specified time, and

would be subject to production and inspection. When a court finds discrimination, it is authorized to fashion appropriate relief, including: suspension or prohibition of discriminatory qualifications, or ones that are so subjective as to permit abuse; requiring use of objective criteria; and appointment of a master to perform the duties of the jury commissioner.

TITLE III - EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

Title III would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to strengthen the authority of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Under this title the Commission would have subpoena power to assist in its investigation of charges of discrimination. It could conduct hearings on such charges. Upon a finding of discrimination, it could issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the federal courts. Such orders could include a requirement of affirmative action, including an award of back pay. Before conducting a hearing, the Commission would be required to attempt to affect a settlement by conciliation.

The title would continue in effect the requirement that cases must be referred for a limited time to state and local governments having enforceable FEP laws. The Commission would be authorized, but not required, to surrender complete jurisdiction in employment cases to such governments.

Individuals who do not receive satisfaction from the Commission would be authorized to file civil suits for redress, and the authority of the Attorney General to file suits against patterns or practices of discrimination would not be affected.

Persons aggrieved and "other persons" may intervene in a hearing at the discretion of the Commission, and "any interested person" may intervene in the enforcement proceedings in the discretion of the court. Aggrieved persons may obtain review of any final order of the Commission.

TITLE IV - HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

This title would prohibit discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, financing or occupancy of any housing (with the single exception of housing sponsored by religious organizations for their members).

This total coverage would be reached in stages. Immediately on passage of the bill, all housing now covered by the existing executive order would be affected. In 1968 all housing not owner-occupied and all housing of five or more units would be added; this would add many apartments and all new housing. Beginning with 1969 coverage would include the total housing market.

The chief means of enforcement would be by administrative action conducted by the Department of HUD. The Secretary would be authorized to receive and investigate complaints, to conduct hearings and to issue court-enforceable cease and desist orders, including orders for $50 a day penalties for failure to obey initial orders. He would have subpoena power to support investigations and hearings. Before issuing a complaint, he would be required to try to affect a settlement by conciliation.

Aggrieved persons who do not obtain satisfaction through the administrative procedure may file civil action to enforce rights protected by this title. The Attorney General could file suits against patterns and practices of discrimination.

The Secretary may cooperate with, and delegate duities to, state housing agencies, including the full enforcement of provisions of this title.

The title includes an "anti-block busting" provision, and one that would prevent real estate organizations from discriminating in admission practices.

To assist him in enforcement of the title, the bill provides for an additional assistant secretary for the Department of HUD.

TITLE V - INTERFERENCE WITH CIVIL RIGHTS

Title V would make it a federal criminal offense to interfere with specified civil rights because of the victim's race, color, religion or national origin. The rights so protected are voting, running for public office, serving as a poll watcher, enrolling in or attending a public school or college, participating in or enjoying any federal or state benefit or program, seeking or engaging in employment, engaging in housing activities, serving as a juror, using any common carrier, enjoying any benefit assisted by federal funds and using any place of public accommodation.

Also prohibited is interference with anyone to discourage a person from enjoying such rights or for having assisted another to do so.

Penalties could be up to life imprisonment, where death occurs. Existing civil rights laws are amended to provide similar penalties.

Persons aggrieved would also be given the right to sue for preventive relief or for damages.

The "anti-riot" provision adopted in the House last year is not included.

TITLE VI - CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Under this title the life of the Civil Rights Commission would be extended for five additional years beyond its present termination date--January 31, 1968.

* * * * * *

PREPARED BY J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, SPECIAL CONSULTANT TO
THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Eng 7 Vis

Wisconsin Pamphlets

THE PEOPLES OF WISCONSIN

SCRIPTS OF THE ETHNIC HISTORY RADIO SERIES

"SOUNDS OF HERITAGE"

BY

WILLIAM J. SCHERECK

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

JULY, 1956

E. U.

Report No. L-8
August 10, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE

"The great, besetting problem of the New South," Harry Ashmore of the Arkansas Gazette once wrote, "is not in fact the accommodation of the rising aspirations of its dwindling Negro population, but the South's inability to reduce the issue to rational terms." For the help they give in substituting reason for myth, the authoritative statements given below are reproduced. They deal with the comparative intelligence of white and colored peoples.

The first and longest statement was prepared by 18 of the country's leading psychologists and anthropologists, and first released in 1956. The names of the signers are at the close of the statement.

> "In connection with the process of school desegregation and the difficulties with which it has been accompanied in certain areas, the question has again arisen as to the existence of innate differences in intelligence between Negroes and whites. The present statement is directed to that question. Those who have signed it are not on this occasion taking sides with regard to the problem of desegregation as a whole, nor with the manner or the rapidity with which it should be accomplished. They are for the moment concerned only with the facts and conclusions accepted by scientiests with regard to racial comparisons in inborn intellectual capacity.
>
> "A number of years ago, at a time when Nazi race theories were receiving much publicity, several scientific organizations placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics; their position was that no such relationship had ever been scientifically demonstrated. These organizations included, among others, the American Anthropological Association (in 1939) and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association (in 1938). More recently (in 1950) a group of distinguished social scientists meeting in Unesco House in Paris issued a Statement on Race which reads in part as follows:

> Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. It is now generally recognized that intelligence tests do not in themselves enable us to differentiate safely between what is due to innate capacity and what is the result of environmental influences, training and education. Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities, the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups. In short, given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same.

"Two years later an equally distinguished assembly of geneticists and physical anthropologists, also meeting in Paris, pointed out that:

> The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups. It does indicate, on the contrary, that a major factor in explaining such differences is the cultural experience which each group has undergone.

"In 1953, a Statement submitted to the United States Supreme Court by more than thirty American social scientists, included the following:

> The available scientific evidence indicates that much, perhaps all, of the observable differences among various racial and national groups may be adequately explained in terms of environmental differences...It seems clear, therefore, that fears based on the assumption of innate racial differences in intelligence are not well founded.

"These statements still stand, and in our judgment represent the consensus among experts who have studied this question as objectively and as scientifically as is at present possible. We know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions.

"Those few specialists who take a different position usually do so on two major grounds. The first is that Negro-white differences in intelligence test scores persist even when the two groups are 'equated' for social and educational opportunities. To this we would point out that such 'equation' is exceedingly difficult to achieve, since the opportunities related to test performance are by no means easy to assess in quantitative terms. We do know that the intelligence quotients of Southern Negro children improve markedly after a period of years in the schools available to them in New York or Philadelphia.

"In the second place, it has been argued that the differences in I. Q. persist even when 'noncultural questions' are used. We would deny the possibility of devising a 'noncultural' test in the light of our present understanding of the problem.

"In the early days of testing, many psychologists believed that the elimination of the handicap due to language was equivalent to eliminating the influence of culture in general. One psychologist, for example, Professor Florence L. Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, devised a performance test consisting in 'Drawing a Man.' She regarded this test as 'culture-free.' Many investigators have made use of this test, and they have been able to demonstrate that, contrary to the earlier view, the results are indeed affected by many aspects of previous experience. Professor Goodenough herself has now recognized this fact, and very honestly and courageously points out her former error. Writing with Dale B. Harris on 'Studies in the psychology of children's drawings' in the Psychological Bulletin for September, 1950, she expresses the opinion that: 'the search for a culture-free test, whether of intelligence, artistic ability, personal-social characteristics, or any other measurable trait is illusory.' She goes on to state that her own earlier study 'is certainly no exception to the rule' and adds, 'The writer hereby apologizes for it.'

"No one can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of American Negro children, particularly those who come from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children, nor that a reasonable amount of time must elapse before the gap can be closed. We would interpret the

difference in terms of the whole pattern of education opportunities associated with the social environment, and which may affect both the physical and mental development of the child. Even those few scholars, however, who prefer an explanation in terms of race indicate that there is overlapping between the two racial groups. Overlapping is usually defined technically as the percentage in one group which is superior in test scores to the median or average score obtained by the other. In every comparison with which we are familiar in this field there is some degree of overlapping. This means that some Negro children do better than some white children. It means that some Negro children do better than the average white child, in spite of all the handicaps to which the former have in the past been subjected.

"The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

(Signed by:

Otto Klineberg, Columbia University
Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan
Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation
Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College
Robin Williams, Jr., Cornell University
David Krech, University of California
Jerome Bruner, Harvard University
Allison Davis, University of Chicago
Daniel Katz, University of Michigan
Anne Anastasi, Fordham University
Stuart Cook, New York University
Marie Jahoda, New York University
Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York
Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine
Irving Lorge, Teachers' College, Columbia Univ.
Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College
David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation)

Other authoritative social scientists are in almost unanimous agreement:

Miller, Kent S., "Psychological Characteristics of the Negro," in The Negro in American Society. Tallahassee: The Florida State University Press, 1958. pp. 22-23.

"...it is important to keep in clear focus the fact that groups of Negroes consistently make lower average test scores than do groups of whites. The major point is that the lowered scores do not reflect racial differences, but are related to forces [e.g., housing, schooling] more subject to change...

"...it is important that we keep in mind the fact that approximately 25 per cent of the Negroes tested make scores which are higher than those of the average white person tested, and many make very high scores. Much talent among this group is currently being wasted or lost because of social and economic restrictions."

Simpson, George E., and Yinger, J. Milton, Racial and Cultural Minorities. p. 228.

"...differences in group averages become progressively smaller as life conditions (income, residence, education, occupation, etc.) become more nearly similar, and... it seems correct at the present time to hold that native intellectual capacity is substantially equal among human groups. Thus, although members of some minority groups do exhibit lower average scores in the abilities that intelligence tests measure, these must be looked upon as personality consequences of their status and not biological causes of an inferior status."

Giles, H. Harry, The Integrated Classroom. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959. p. 138.

"So far as the results now available can show, the range of intelligence among American Negroes is about the same as among American whites. The academic proficiency of American Negroes seems to vary in accordance with opportunity and psychological factors having to do with motivation. (Northern Negroes score higher than Southern Negroes as a whole, and Northern whites and Negroes score higher than Southern whites.)"

HUD Agenda
VOL. 1 NO. 8
SEPTEMBER 1965

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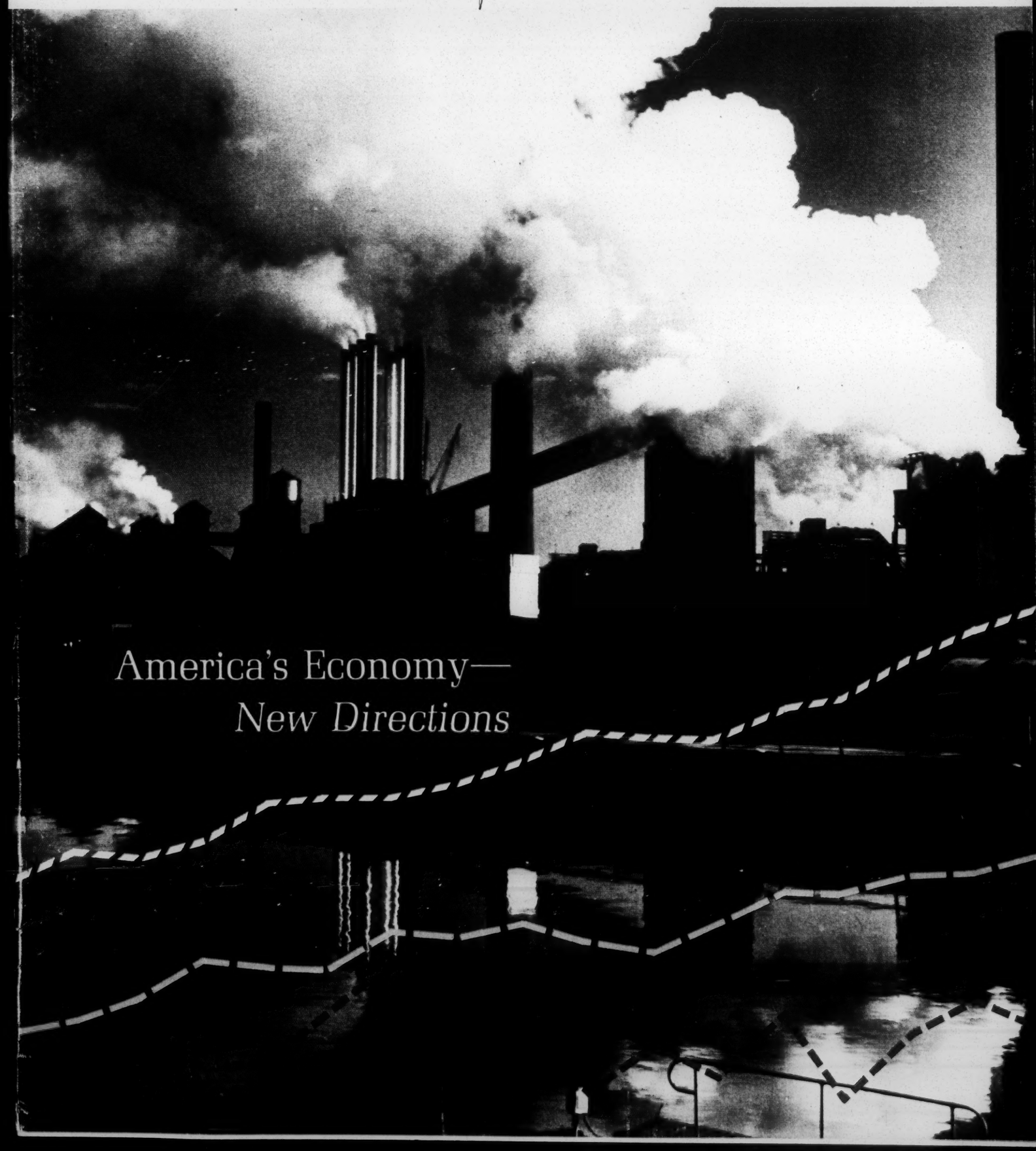


America's Economy— *New Directions*

CIVIL

RIGHTS

Statement adopted by
AFL-CIO Executive Council
Chicago, Aug. 4, 1964

Negro-Labor Coalition { V

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

MEMO: No.82
Feb.21, 1966

For Immediate Action

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

NEEDED: A MAXIMUM EFFORT FOR MINIMUM WAGE

A flood of mail in support of increasing and extending the federal minimum wage is what is most badly needed at this moment. There's little time in which to act. Our last MEMO (No.81) noted that the House planned to take up the minimum wage bill on February 28. Now it looks as if action will be put off until early in March. However, the House Education and Labor Committee is meeting on the bill this week and whatever its members decide, may influence the increase and the extension of coverage in ways that will be difficult to change.

Last session the House Committee approved a minimum wage bill (H.R.10518) that would have raised the minimum to $1.75 an hour by 1968 and extended coverage to 7.9 million new workers. There are powerful pressures on the committee to cut back these levels. Strong expressions from groups within the Leadership Congerence in support of the provisions in H.R.10518 can help restrain these cutbacks.

"Only Half the Picture"

To help your organization mobilize support for an adequate minimum wage bill, we have prepared the enclosed pamphlet, "Only Half the Picture." We can supply your orders of it for $10 a hundred copies, $90 a thousand. We hope it will provide the information and stimulus your members need to make them reach for their pens and typewriters and write their Congressmen.

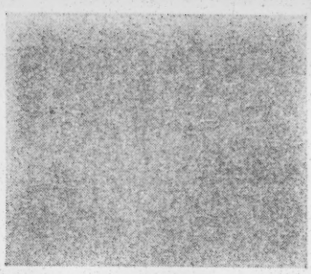
Groups within the Leadership Conference are already engaged in campaigns supporting minimum wage. The National Council of Catholic Women urged its members to visit Congressmen during the Lincoln Day recess. The National Council of Puerto Rican Volunteers has been making approaches to New York City Congressmen. Groups within the Protestant denomination are at work in districts where there is little labor-civil rights strength.

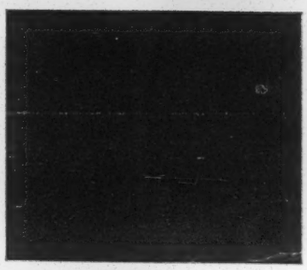
If your organization has a campaign going in behalf of minimum wage, please let us know. If not, we urge you to call upon your members now to write or wire their Congressmen and ask them to back the highest possible increase in the minimum wage and the broadest possible coverage.

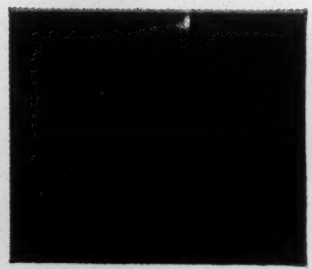
Vol. 9
No. 5
May, 1966
Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C.

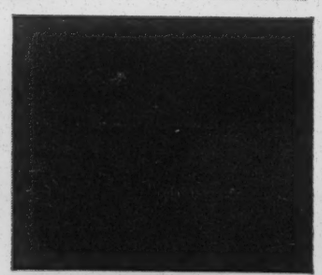
UAW SOLIDARITY

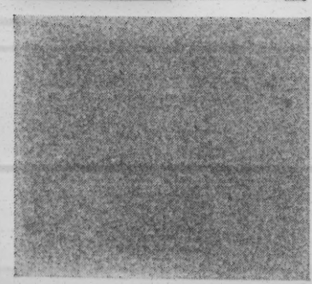
UAW — INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

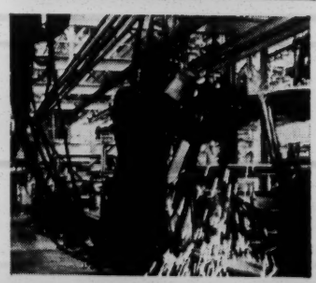








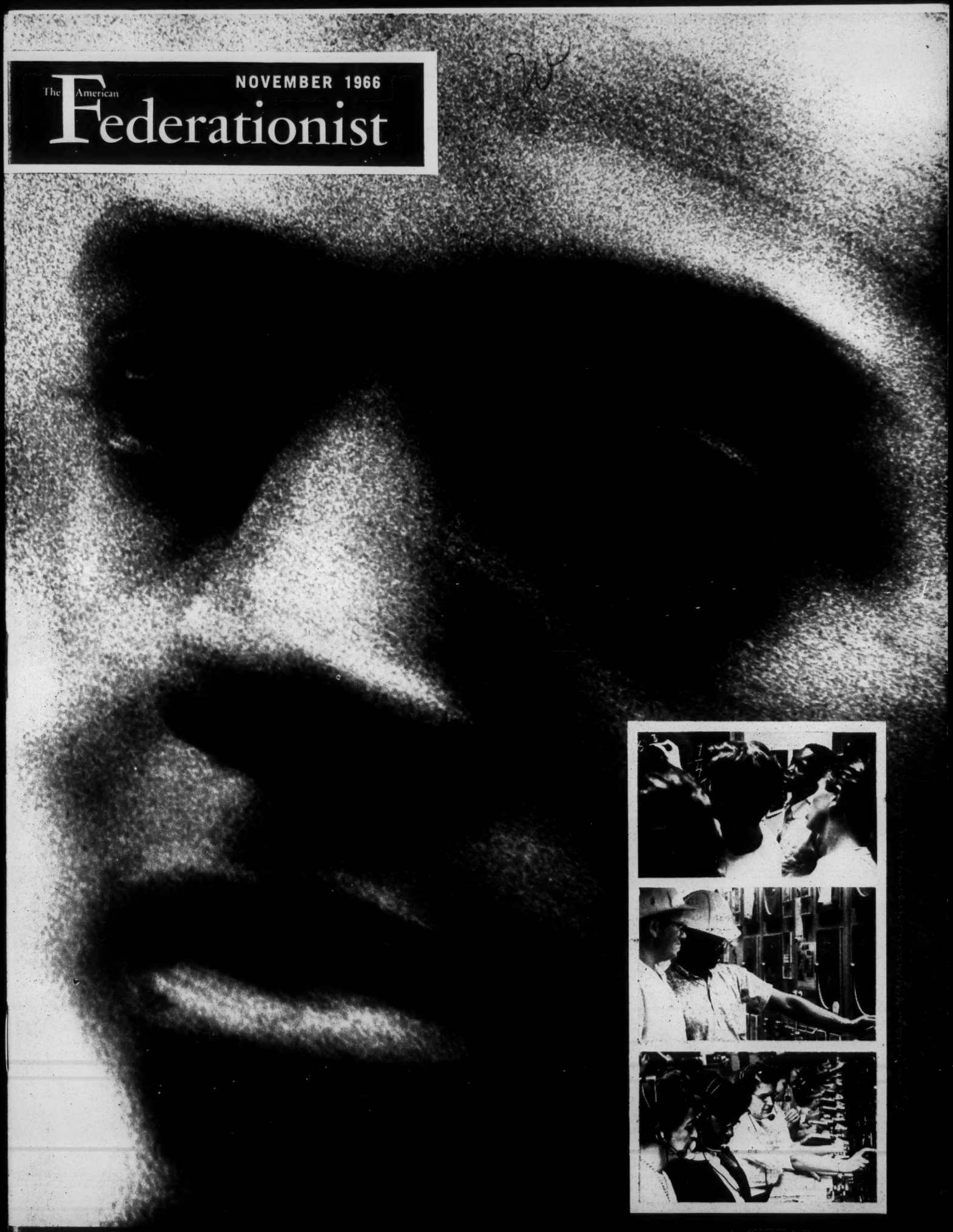




'Thirty years of progress for people . . .'

A REPORT
To the Men and Women of UAW by
WALTER P. REUTHER
President, International Union, UAW

The American Federationist
NOVEMBER 1966



Equal Rights: To Realize the Promise

SIAC – Min. Wage –

The Law – in General
New Coverage

Purpose of the Campaign Kit

Pub – Pvt. Collaboration on Enforcement

Relate Unions, Human Relations Councils & Civ Rts groups, tangibly, to problems of low paid workers

1) Assist Workers
2) To Expand outreach of organization

To Encourage Collaborative efforts
e.g. Local Human Relations Councils and Local AFL-CIO Central Body or Local Union and Civ Rts. org.

A Look at the Kit
General
Pamphlet

[Distribute What's in this Kit & Pamphlet]

WHAT IS IN THIS KIT

1. A MINIMUM WAGE CAMPAIGN FOR LOCAL GROUPS
   Yellow leaflet telling how your group can help enforce the law--hints on how to proceed, suggestions of things to do.

2. SOME SIMPLE FACTS ABOUT THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
   Pink leaflet explaining the new Wage and Hour Act--regulations, coverage, enforcement procedures.

3. MORE MONEY FOR YOU? YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW
   Illustrated pamphlet explaining minimum wage regulations in simple terms--for distribution to employees and others--it should be imprinted with name and address of your group and the closest office of the U. S. Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division.

4. LIST OF FIELD OFFICES OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION
   White mimeographed sheets complete with addresses and phone numbers.

5. SAMPLE FORM OF INFORMATION USEFUL IN DEVELOPING A COMPLAINT
   White mimeographed sheet to serve as a guide in getting information.

6. THE EXTENT OF WAGE-HOUR VIOLATIONS
   A green sheet, reprinted from the American Federationist--demonstrates the importance of minimum wage enforcement.

(over)

Minimum Wage Campaign Kit, Labor Program, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303. February, 1967.

THE FOLLOWING ARE PUBLICATIONS OF THE WAGE AND HOUR DIVISION OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

(Look in the left hand pocket)

7. NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES

Brown and white official U.S. Department of Labor printed poster listing new minimum wage regulations--for posting in enterprises, offices, public buildings, churches, clubrooms.

8. LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Printed leaflet listing free publications from the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor.

9. HANDY REFERENCE GUIDE TO THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The Wage and Hour Division's own useful guide to the law's provisions.

10. FIVE LEAFLETS ON THE APPLICATION OF THE LAW TO SPECIFIC GROUPS

There is a separate Wage and Hour Division leaflet for each of the following: Construction Industry, Hired Farm Workers, Schools, Laundries and Dry Cleaning Establishments, and Hospitals and Nursing Homes.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

A. Complete "Minimum Wage Campaign Kit," $1.00 per kit.

B. Extra copies of pamphlet "More Money for You?" for distribution--Single copies, 15¢, 10-50 copies, 10¢ each, over 50 copies, 8¢ each.

C. "New 1966 Minimum Wage Law, With Explanation," prepared by the Commerce Clearing House, Inc. (64 pp., retails for $1.50) available from the Southern Regional Council for 55¢.

FOR THE ABOVE MATERIALS (A,B,C,) ORDER FROM

Labor Program, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Copies of the Wage and Hour Division's publications, other information, and forms can be had from the nearest office (see the list) of the Division. A post card is included for your convenience.

INTRODUCTION. The "Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966," which amend the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), became effective February 1, 1967. The new law brings under coverage 8.1 million additional workers, many of whom fall within AFSCME's jurisdiction. Among those newly covered are 1.5 million hospital, school and related institution employees, as well as 685,000 blue collar Federal employees (including citizen and non-citizen Federal workers in the Canal Zone). 264.01

For the first time, employers in these establishments must pay at least a minimum wage to all their employees, and compensate them at time and one-half for overtime work. It does not matter whether those covered under the Act are union or non-union, under a merit system or not, or whether the employer receives or does not receive financial assistance from the Federal Government.

Thus, some public employees are now treated in the same manner as private employees. AFSCME was instrumental in getting coverage for school, hospital, and Canal Zone employees written into the bill, and, through an unyielding lobbying effort, effectively countered the formidable attacks waged by those opposing coverage for these employees.

Questions may arise concerning the implementation of the new amendments and the Act in general. The Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor issues interpretations and guidelines to be used in the implementation of the Act. Interpretations important to AFSCME membership will be incorporated into this section of the Education and Research Guide at 264.40 to 264.80.

The Act does not preclude overtime and wage practices existing under collective bargaining agreements provided they do not circumvent the requirements of the law.

The following sections point out those portions of the law which are of great important to AFSCME. Cited at the end of each of the sections is the section number of the Act or Interpretative Bulletin reference, whichever applies.

It should be emphasized that no other state, county or municipal government workers are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act for either the minimum wage or overtime except those public employees employed in the kinds of institutions listed below.

Newly Covered Employees. Newly covered employees include those persons, except executive, administrative, and professional personnel (see 264.56 - 264.59 for definition of these positions), engaged in activities performed in connection with the following enterprises: 264.10

A. A hospital. (Except a Federal Hospital.)

B. An institution primarily engaged in the care of sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective, if those being cared for reside on the premises of the institution.

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264.10 cont'd.

C. A school for mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children.

D. An elementary or secondary school (elementary and secondary schools mean day or residential schools which provide education as determined under state law). (This section does not apply to teaching or administrative personnel.)

E. An institution of higher education (universities and colleges).

The bill is applicable whether such hospital, institution or school is public, private, profit or non-profit. (Section 3 (r), FLSA.)

Also included under new coverage are citizen and non-citizen employees of the Federal Government in the Canal Zone. (Section 18 (b), FLSA.)

264.11 Minimum Wage for Newly Covered Employees Described Above. Newly covered employees are to be paid the following:

A. Not less than $1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967.

B. Not less than $1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968.

C. Not less than $1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969.

D. Not less than $1.45 an hour beginning February 1, 1970.

E. Not less than $1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1971 and continuing thereafter.

(Section 6 (b), FLSA.)

264.12 General Overtime Provision for Newly Covered Employees. With the exception of those employees mentioned in 264.13 - 264.16, no employer may employ a person newly covered under the 1966 amendments for a workweek longer than specified below unless such employee receives compensation for work in excess of these hours at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed. (Overtime is normally compensated by cash payments. See 264.52 for "time-off" plan.)

A. Forty-four hour workweek beginning February 1, 1967.

B. Forty-two hour workweek beginning February 1, 1968.

C. Forty hour workweek beginning February 1, 1969 and thereafter

(Section 7 (a), FLSA.)

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(The FLSA does not require premium pay for Saturday, Sunday, or holiday work as such, or vacation or severance pay, or discharge notice; nor does it set any limit on the number of hours of work for females or persons 16 years of age and over. These are matters determined through bargaining agreements, personnel rules, state and local laws and other such arrangements.) 264.12 cont'd.

Exceptions to the General Overtime Provision. Exceptions to the general overtime provision are applicable to some newly covered employees. They are as follows: 264.13

Overtime Provision for Hospital Employees. This provision, which became effective February 1, 1967, is applicable to hospitals only: no violation will have taken place if an agreement between the employer and employee is reached, before performance of work, that a work period of 14 consecutive days is accepted instead of the workweek of seven consecutive days for purposes of computing overtime. For employment in excess of eight hours in any workday, and in excess of 80 hours in such 14 day period, the employee will receive compensation at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed. (Section 7 (j), FLSA.) 264.14

For hospital employees (with the exception of those not covered by overtime provisions in the law) who do not make an agreement to be covered by this provision, the general overtime provision at 264.12 will be applicable, unless a better overtime arrangement exists under a collective bargaining agreement.

Food Service Personnel. Hospital and related institution (see 264.16) food personnel, although covered for the minimum wage, are exempt from the overtime provisions of the Act. (Food personnel in schools are covered under both the minimum wage and general overtime provisions.) That is, no matter how many hours these employees may work, the employer is never required to pay time and one-half. This, however would not overrule a collective bargaining agreement which provides for overtime. (Section 13 (b) (18), FLSA.) 264.15

Institutions (other than hospitals) Primarily Engaged in the Care of the Sick, the Aged, or the Mentally Ill or Defective Who Reside on the Premises. Employees in these institutions (according to the law) need not be paid time and one-half until after the completion of 48 hours in a week. The exemption relating to Food Service personnel stated above also applies to Food Service employees in these institutions. (Section 13 (b) (8), FLSA.) 264.16

Where there is difficulty in determining when one of these institutions is in fact a hospital, the general rule is that it is a hospital if it is accredited as a hospital by a state or a reputable association such as the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals. When more specific guidelines are established, they will be printed in this section of the Education and Research Guide.

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264.20 Students and Handicapped Workers. The Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent the curtailment of employment opportunities, shall by regulations or order issue special certificates allowing the employment of full-time students, learners, apprentices, the aged and physically or mentally handicapped at less than minimum rates. For students the rate cannot be less than 85 percent of the minimum wage. For the aged and physically or mentally handicapped the rate is not less than 50 percent of the minimum wage. For others, the rates would be established by the Secretary. Before the Secretary can issue a certificate, he must find that such employment will not create a substantial probability of reducing the full-time employment opportunities of others. (Section 14 (a) (b) (c) (d), FLSA.)

264.30 Canal Zone Study. In the Miscellaneous Amendments to the law is a provision requiring the Secretary of Labor, in cooperation with the Secretaries of State and Defense, to undertake a study with respect to wage rates payable to Federal employees in the Canal Zone under the amendments to the FLSA and their relation to the effective and economical operation of the Panama Canal. The results of the study and any recommendations are to be reported to the Congress not later than July 1, 1968. (Miscellaneous Amendments, Section 604.)

264.40 Interpretations of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Interpretations of the Fair Labor Standards Act are issued by the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor as guidelines and procedures to be followed in the legal implementation of the many provisions of the Act. Included in the following sections are some of the interpretations which are of immediate importance to newly covered AFSCME members. Many problems not covered by these interpretations will undoubtedly arise. As new situations are given attention further interpretations will be added to this section.

(When problems come up dealing with the implementation of the Act, the Education and Research Department will do all it can to get the correct solution. However, in many instances when an immediate answer is needed, it may be feasible to go directly to one of the Wage and Hour Division regional or field offices. See 264.80.

264.41 Workweek. The Act takes a single workweek as its standard and does not permit averaging of hours over two or more weeks. (The exception is the hospital provision at 264.14.)

An employee's workweek is a fixed and regularly recurring period of 168 hours -- seven consecutive 24 hour periods. It need not coincide with the calendar week, but may begin on any day and at any hour of the day. A single workweek may be established for an institution as a whole, or different workweeks may be established for different employees or groups of employees. Once the beginning of the workweek is established, it remains fixed, regardless of the schedule of hours worked. The beginning of the workweek may be changed provided the change is intended to be permanent and is not designed to evade the overtime requirements of the Act. (Section 778.105, Code of Regulations.)

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Overtime Pay Requirements. Section 7 (a) of the Act prescribes the maximum weekly hours of work permitted for the employment of previously and newly covered employees in any workweek without extra compensation for overtime (see 264.14 for exception to workweek requirement). The general overtime rate of pay must be not less than one and one-half times the employee's regular rate. The employer is prohibited from employing the employee in excess of the prescribed maximum hours in a workweek without paying him the required extra compensation. The following interpretations are pertinent to implementing the overtime provisions of the law. 264.42

Time of Payment. Although the Act does not say that overtime compensation must be paid weekly, the general rule is that overtime earned in a particular week must be paid on the regular pay day for the period in which such workweek ends. If overtime payment cannot be determined until sometime after the regular pay period, the requirements of the Act will be satisfied if payments are made as soon after this period as practicable. In no event may payment be delayed beyond the next pay day after such computation can be made. (Section 778.106, Code of Regulations.) 264.43

The Regular Rate. The "regular rate" under the Act is an hourly rate. This, however, does not preclude the payment of earnings on a salary or other basis. It means that when computing the rate on which overtime is determined, the earnings, other than hourly earnings, must be reduced to an hourly rate, i.e., a "regular rate." The following show the methods for determining the regular rate in particular circumstances. (Section 778.109, Code of Regulations.) 264.44

Hourly Rate Employee. If an employee is employed solely on an hourly rate, this rate is his regular rate. For overtime work he must be paid in addition to his straight-time hourly earnings, a sum determined by multiplying one-half the hourly rate by the number of hours worked in excess of the established hours in the workweek. For instance, an employee whose standard workweek is 44 hours at $1.40 per hour works 46 hours. His total weekly wage is $65.80 (46 hours at $1.40 plus two hours at $.70). In other words he is receiving $1.40 per hour for 44 hours and $2.10 per hour for two hours, for a total of $65.80 for the week. (Section 778.110, Code of Regulations.) 264.45

Weekly Salary. If the employee is employed solely on a weekly salary basis, his regular hourly rate of pay, on which time and one-half must be paid, is computed by dividing the salary by the number of hours of the week which the salary is intended to compensate. For instance, an employee's salary is $66.00 per week for a 44-hour week. To get the regular rate on which overtime is computed divided $66.00 by 44. The regular rate is $1.50 per hour. The overtime rate is one and one-half this amount. (Section 778.113, Code of Regulations.) 264.46

Biweekly Salary. If an employee is on a biweekly salary, that is, he is paid on the basis of work performed in a two-week period, the regular hourly rate, on which overtime must be paid, is computed by dividing the two-week salary by two and dividing this by the number of hours in the normal week. The overtime rate is one and one-half times this amount. 264.47

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264.48 Semimonthly Salary. A semimonthly salary is one paid for half a month's work. To get the regular rate on which overtime must be paid, an equivalent weekly wage is determined by multiplying by 24, which gives an annual wage, and dividing this by 52 which gives the weekly wage. The hourly rate is the weekly wage divided by the number of hours in the regular workweek. The overtime rate is one and one-half times this amount. (Section 778.113, Code of Regulations.)

264.49 Monthly Salary. To determine the hourly rate on a monthly salary, the monthly salary is multiplied by 12 and the resultant amount divided by 52 to get the weekly equivalent. This amount is then divided by the number of hours in the regular week giving the hourly rate. The overtime rate is one and one-half this hourly rate.

There is also an alternative for figuring the regular or hourly rate on a monthly salary. Provided the employer and employee have agreed prior to the performance of work, the regular rate may be determined by dividing the monthly salary by the number of working days in the month and dividing this by the number of hours in the normal workday. There is a factor to be considered when establishing this method. There can be from 20 to 23 workdays in a month, so the regular rate will vary from month to month. On months with 20 or 21 workdays the regular rate will be more than if computed by the above method, while on months with 22 or 23 workdays it will be less. In considering this method employees should give some thought to when during the year the peak overtime periods fall and determine from this which method will give them the most overtime pay. If overtime is evenly spread over a year either method would probably be acceptable as the amounts paid for overtime would balance out about the same over the year. (Section 778.113, Code of Regulations.)

264.50 Employees Working at Two or More Rates. When an employee in a single workweek works at two or more different types of work for which two different non-overtime rates of pay have been established, there are two methods for determining the overtime rate. First, the regular rate may be the weighted average of such rates. That is, the total earnings are computed to include the compensation during the workweek from all such rates, and are then divided by the total number of hours worked at all such jobs to get the rate on which overtime must be paid. For instance, an employee whose standard workweek is 44 hours works 46 hours. In this week he did one type of work at the rate of $1.50 per hour for 36 hours and another type of work at the rate of $1.60 per hour for 10 hours. To get the regular rate, add $54.00 (36 X $1.50) and $16.00 (10 X $1.60) which gives a total of $70.00 and divide this by 46 ($70.00 ÷ 46) which is $1.52, the regular rate. The overtime rate is one and one-half times this amount (1½ X $1.50), $2.28. The worker's pay for the week is $66.88 (44 X $1.52) plus overtime pay of $4.56 (2 X $2.28) for a total of $71.44. (Section 778.115, Code of Regulations.)

The second alternative allows the employer and employee to agree before the performance of the work that he shall be paid for overtime work at a rate not less than one and one-half times the hourly non-overtime rate established for the type of work

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performed during such overtime hours. For instance, using the same situation as above, the employee works 46 hours, the first 36 hours at $1.50 per hour and the last 10 hours at $1.60 per hour. The first 36 hours he earns $54.00 (36 X $1.50). The next 8 hours he earns $12.80 (8 X $1.60) and for the last 2 hours, which are overtime, he earns $4.80 (2 X 1½ X $1.60 or 2 X $2.40) for a total of $71.60 ($54.00 + $12.80 + $4.80 = $71.60). (Section 778.419, Code of Regulations.) 264.50 cont'd.

Before deciding which method to accept, it would be wise for an employee to whom these methods apply to figure out, based on an estimated amount of overtime which will be worked and the rates for the jobs, which of the methods would benefit him more.

Payments Other Than Cash. Where payments are made to employees in the form of goods or facilities which are regarded as part of wages, the reasonable cost to the employer or the fair value of such goods or of furnishing such facilities must be included in the regular rate. This could include such things as meals and lodging. For instance, if a newly covered employee receives 90 cents per hour for 44 hours (the general workweek standard for newly covered workers) for a total of $39.60 and in addition receives meals during the workweek that cost the employer $4.40, the employee under the law is earning $44.00 per week or a regular rate of $1.00 per hour. The $1.00, besides being the regular rate in this example, also satisfies the minimum wage requirement for newly covered workers in 1967. 264.51

Time Off in Lieu of Cash Payment. In some institutions whose employees are newly covered, the past practices have allowed a liberal application of compensatory time-off in place of cash payments for overtime worked. Under the Act this practice is curtailed. For employees covered for overtime under the Act the rule on compensatory time off is as follows: 264.52

The time off plan must be designed to maintain a constant wage over a two-week pay period by means of permitting an employee who has worked overtime in one of two weeks to take sufficient time off in the second week to balance the overtime due. The time off must be taken in the same two-week period and the time off must be 50 percent greater than the number of overtime hours worked. This would prohibit the banking of compensatory time to be used later as has been practiced some places. The Wage and Hour Division advises an employer who wishes to implement a time off plan to submit the plan for review to insure that it meets the legal requirements.

Record Keeping. Under the Act, employers are required. to keep certain records for a period of time to prove, if investigated, that they have lived up to the requirements of the law. However, there may be instances where the employer either through resistance to the Act or ignorance fails to keep sufficient records. If an employee feels that this may be the case where he is employed, the employee should keep an individual record of all the hours he works and compare this with his paycheck to see that he is receiving all he is due. If he finds the employer not paying him all he is entitled to, it should be brought to the attention of the employer. If the employer does 264.53

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264.53 cont'd. not correct the situation the employee should report the violation to the Wage and Hour Division Administrator. The following sections list the required employer records and the acceptable employee records which may be used in evidence against an employer who violates the Act.

264.54 Employer Records. The Act requires that employers record certain information. Among other things he must record the name and address of the employee, his birth date if under 19, sex, the hours worked, time of day and day of week the employee's workweek begins, rate of pay and earnings. These records must be preserved for three years and may be inspected by any authorized representative of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the United States Department of Labor.

264.55 Employee Records. Under the Act, employees are not required to keep any records. However, for the employee's own protection, if he feels the employer may be violating the Act, it is advisable to keep some record of time worked. If it should become necessary for the employee to present a complaint in order to recover back pay, any form of daily diary or log showing hours worked along with a witness or witnesses who have knowledge that the hours were worked is sufficient evidence. In regard to this type of action, it is a violation of the law for the employer to discharge an employee for filing a complaint or participating in a proceeding under the law.

264.56 Executive, Administrative and Professional Personnel. Bona fide executive, administrative and professional personnel are exempt from the provisions of the Act. To insure that some employees are not improperly classified as executive, administrative or professional personnel, the following sections provide the requirements that must be met to qualify for these positions.

264.57 Executive. The term "executive" means any employee: whose primary duty consists of management functions, who directs the work of two or more other employees, who hires or fires employees, who exercises discretionary powers, who does not devote more than 20 percent (40 percent in a retail or service establishment) of his hours of work in the workweek to activities which are not directly or closely related to the work just described, and who is compensated on a salary basis at not less than $100 per week ($75 per week in Puerto Rico) not including board, lodging or other facilities. (Section 541.1, Code of Regulations.)

264.58 Administrative. A person employed in an administrative capacity means any employee: whose primary duty consists of either the performance of work directly related to management and business operations, or the performance of functions in the administration of a school system or education establishment, in work directly related to academic instruction or training and who customarily exercises discretion and independent judgment; and who assists an employee employed in a bona fide executive or administrative capacity, or who performs under only general supervision work along specialized or technical lines, or who executes under only general supervision special assignments and tasks; and who does not devote more than 20 percent (40 percent in a retail or service establishment) of his hours of work in the workweek to activities which

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are not directly or closely related to the work just described; and who is compensated on a salary basis at not less than $100 per week ($75 per week in Puerto Rico) not including board, lodging or other facilities, or who, in the case of academic administrative personnel, is compensated on a salary basis which is at least equal to the entrance salary for teachers in the particular institution where employed. (Section 541.2, Code of Regulations.) 264.58 cont'd.

Professional. A person employed in a professional capacity means any employee: whose primary duty consists of the performance of work requiring knowledge of an advanced type in a field of science or learning customarily acquired by a prolonged course of specialized intellectual instruction and study, or work that is original and creative in character, or as a certified or recognized teacher by the employing educational institution and whose work requires the consistent exercise of discretion and judgment in its performance, and whose work is predominantly intellectual and varied in character; and who does not devote more than 20 percent of his hours of work in the workweek to activities not an essential part of the work just described, who is compensated on a salary or fee basis at not less than $115 per week ($95 in Puerto Rico) not including board, lodging or other facilities. This paragraph does not apply to teachers. (Section 541.3, Code of Regulations.) 264.59

Where Information Can Be Obtained. As stated earlier, the Education and Research Department can answer questions about the Fair Labor Standards Act. However, when an answer is needed on short notice, it may be faster to go directly to one of the regional or field offices of the Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions of the Department of Labor. These offices are staffed by experts who will answer by mail, telephone or personal interview any questions you may have about the Act. These offices also supply publications free of charge. Consult your local telephone directory; if you cannot locate the office, communicate with the Department of Education and Research. 264.80

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March 20, 1967

Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send me one copy of "Only Half The Picture"?

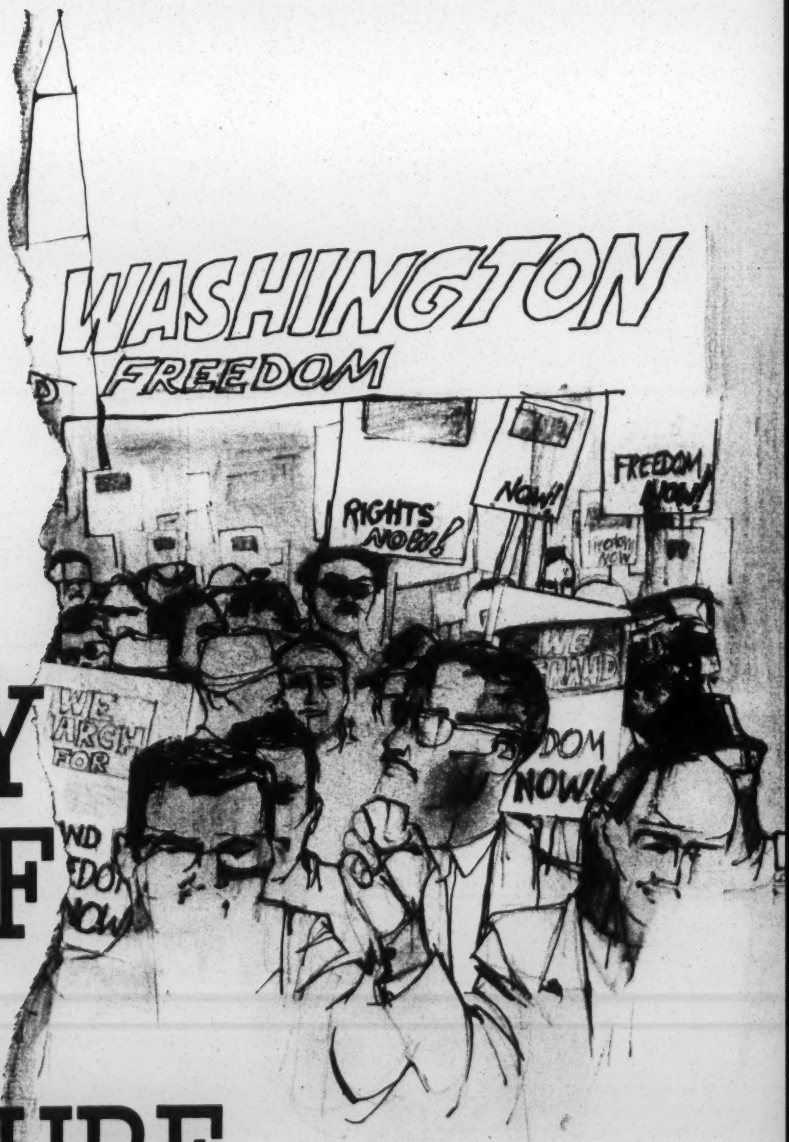
If there is any charge, please bill me.

Sincerely,

Jane S. DeLung
Administrative Assistant
Labor Program

Labor-Negro Coalition

See last 2 pp. for cooperating groups



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Labor Standards Council, Inc.
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Wassmer Pamphlet

Why Can't They Be Like Us?

Facts and Fallacies About Ethnic Differences And Group Conflicts in America

By ANDREW M. GREELEY
Program Director
National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

Foreword by ROBERT C. WOOD
Director, Joint Center for Urban Studies
of MIT and Harvard University

ITUTE OF HUMAN
PAMPHL
No.

Close-Up

E.J.

The South's Quarter Century

Those who cry about interference by the federal government should examine what has happened to the American South as a result of federal programs. Beginning in 1933 the region has made phenomenal strides in all segments of its economy, mostly traceable to these self-help programs which have tended to free its economy from a straitjacket only part of our own making. Not the least of these, of course, was the adjustment of freight rates. Inequities which existed tended to preserve the South's semi-colonial status.

A little over a quarter century ago, the South was every bit an underdeveloped country inside the United States. A report by the National Emergency Council to President Roosevelt described the situation:

Potentialities of the region had been neglected. Housing, education and health facilities were grossly inadequate. Absentee ownership, single crop farming, the tenant system, underemployment and per capita incomes of under $200 a year made it a poverty stricken area.

The South had 28 per cent of the nation's citizens but less than 11 per cent of its bank deposits and less than 6 per cent of savings deposits. Money was scarce and therefore interest rates were high—farmers paid as much as 20 per cent. Financing had to be found from the North. The high tariffs and unfair transportation rates crippled Southern sales of raw materials and manufactured goods.

The South had a third of the nation's children but only one-sixth of its school revenues. There were virtually no research facilities to lead to development of industries. The average income of working people was 50 per cent of the nation's average. In 1929 the per capita gross farm income in the region was $186. Cotton tenant farmers averaged $83 per person per year and sharecroppers only $38. Soil was depleted with erosion and neglect ruining the landscape.

The federal government stepped in. The Tennessee Valley Authority helped rebuild the land, control floods, improve transportation and reforest the hillsides. Federal aid in farming methods — teaching of contour plowing, water control, fertilization, easier credit and many other techniques were carried to the grass roots. Diversified agriculture literally changed the landscape as new cash crops replaced the reliance on one crop, cotton.

Natural resources were discovered and their development began with vast new markets at home and throughout the nation. Federal welfare programs helped to alleviate poverty. Educational programs assisted the basic resource, our citizens. Rising incomes made it possible, too, to improve public education. Income growth in the South between 1940 and 1960 was 375 per cent, while in the nation as a whole it was only 290 per cent.

The per capita income has lessened dramatically until today the South's average is at least two-thirds of that of the nation and the differential is being narrowed each year.

The South, despite its remarkable progress, still lags in many ways behind some other sections of the nation. But no other area has progressed so fast in such a short period of time and with intense federal help.—GEORGE BOSWELL.

IS ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE SUPERIOR TO NATURAL INTELLIGENCE? -- Sermon by Ted F. Silvey, AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau, Washington, D. C., at Unitarian Church of Arlington, Virginia. ... Sunday, July 12, 1964.

Wasserman Pamphlet.

READINGS

Progress in knowledge has a directly spiritual significance when it is moulded by thought. ... By our ever-widening knowledge, we are roused to ever greater astonishment at the mystery of life which surrounds us on every hand. From naive simplicity we arrive at a more profound simplicity. From our knowledge comes also power over the forces of nature. Our powers of movement and of action are increased in an extraordinary way. There comes about a far-reaching change in the circumstances of our life. The progress which accompanies it, however, is not to the same extent an advantage for the development of man. By the power we obtain over the forces of nature we do indeed free ourselves from nature, and make her serviceable to us, but at the same time we thereby also cut ourselves loose from her, and slip into conditions of life whose unnatural character brings with it manifold dangers. We press the forces of nature into our service by means of machines. There is a story in the writings of Chwang-tse of how a pupil of Confucius saw a gardener who, to get water for his flower-beds, repeatedly went down to the spring with his bucket. So he asked him whether he would not like to lessen his labour. "How can I?" replied the other. "You take a long piece of wood for a lever," said Confucius' pupil, "weighted behind, but light in front; with this you dip for the water and it comes up without the least trouble. They call this device a draw-well." But the gardener, who was something of a philosopher, answered: "I have heard my teacher say: 'If a man uses machines, he carries on all the affairs of life like a machine; whoever carries on his affairs like a machine gets a machine-like heart; and when anyone has a machine-like heart in his breast, he loses true simplicity.'"

-- Pages 332-333 from The Philosophy of Civilization, by Albert Schweitzer, Macmillan, New York:1949.

The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a nation. For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century, we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people. The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization. Your imagination, your initiative and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the

opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning. The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods. But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor. ... Aristotle said, "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life."

-- Excerpt from address to graduating class by President Lyndon B. Johnson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 22, 1964.

SERMON

During a decade in which every citizen is becoming accustomed to "out of this world" phenomena of orbiting astronauts and moonshots, a sophisticated group will certainly not bat an eye about a discussion of artificial intelligence. All the things used a quarter of a century ago as exemplification of the impossible are now met easily with an inquiring "Show Me" mental stance.

The answer I give to the question this sermon propounds is a definite No! -- artificial intelligence is not superior to natural intelligence. The answer really is obvious since natural intelligence, which is the operation of man's intellect through the active functioning of his brain, is necessary for an artificial intelligence even to exist.

The possibility of an artificial intelligence comes out of that development

of automation which is the electronic computer, an inanimate apparatus which this year has a 20th birthday as an existing object. It is still in its early teens with respect to its general utilization in science, commerce and government, but it has been a fast-growing offspring of industrial technology and mathematics. Even so, its rapid development has been slow compared to the Jack's Beanstalk growth that will take place in the next two decades.

American Anti-Intellectualism

A bit more than a year ago Columbia University Professor Richard Hofstadter published his penetrating critique: Anti-Intellectualism in American Life. Professor Hofstadter makes a distinction between intellect and intelligence. He defines intelligence as an accumulation of knowledge. He calls it "an excellence of mind that is employed within a fairly narrow, immediate and predictable range; it is a manipulative, adjustive, unfailingly practical quality. Intelligence works within the framework of limited but clearly stated goals, and may be quick to shear away questions of thought that do not seem to help in reaching them."

The anti-intellectualism traditionally held by the power structure of the American society, which has filtered downward to a great many ordinary people, is not opposed to intelligence and its utilization, since it is a useful tool in the process of seeking private profit and material gain. To be intelligent therefore is to share one of the accepted symbols of American success.

However, when individuals cross over to the use of intellect, trouble is liable to set in. Professor Hofstadter defines intellect as "... the critical, creative, and contemplative side of mind. Whereas intelligence seeks to grasp, manipulate, re-order, adjust ... intellect examines, ponders, wonders, theorizes, criticizes, imagines. Intelligence will seize the immediate meaning in a

situation and evaluate it. Intellect evaluates evaluations, and looks for the meaning of situations as a whole."

Praised And Assailed

"Intelligence", the author continues, "can be praised as a quality in animals; intellect, being an unique manifestation of human dignity, is both praised and assailed as a quality in men."

Intellectualism and those persons who use their mind in a way that entitles them to be called intellectuals are more often assailed than praised, because they have the troublesome habit of asking Why? -- a question too often considered to be heretical in every organization and in relation to every institution -- especially with respect to religion.

Those of us who are Unitarian-Universalists allow our egotism to be expressed and exposed with a certain satisfaction when we ask Why? about theological dogma. We find in the U-U environment a toleration both of the question and as large a variety of answers and opinions as people may bring to it. Outside of this church, we are not always allowed to extend such questioning into other sections in the American society -- such as economics and politics.

However, we pride ourselves in continuing to try to carry the meaningful question into all the affairs of life, searching and seeking in the sectarian world in a manner that causes one who is a Unitarian often to quiz another questioning person privately if they may be one of OUR "In-Group". These ferments of inquiry about established institutions and practices exist in a number of places in our society but usually at this point in time in a minority relationship.

Sociologists divide people with respect to their attitudes between those persons who are innovators and those who are routineers. The names are self-defining. When our country was new the power group consisted of innovators.

more ...

Only the Tories of Colonial and revolutionary time were routineers, seeking to hold the order established by the British Royal Governors and the King's armed men.

Status Quo Ante

One of the unlucky experiences we currently are suffering with our contemporary Tories is their unwillingness merely to be content with the status quo; they seek a status quo ante -- preferring a time before the opening of the 20th Century.

There should be some sympathy due the ultra-ultra of the right, who above all else fear intellectualism. In their mental state, there may be no status quo to adhere to -- in the presence of the rapidly burgeoning technology. Unwilling to go forward, such a person attempts to go backward, being without an understanding that provides any firmness of footing in the rapidly changing contemporary urban life.

But now I must get back to artificial intelligence. The electronic computer is the apparatus which enables artificial intelligence to be an accepted concept and a working tool in today's technology. The electronic computer has two capabilities which imitate and extend the same powers of the human brain. They are memory and decision-making.

Memory is the newsreel of life. From birth until death the human being stores bits of data on his brain's individual neurons. These bits of data or information are inputs to human consciousness through the five perceptive senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting and feeling.

The miracle of memory is not primarily that the bits of data or units of information are impregnated as protein spots on individual neurons; rather the marvel is that every neuron impregnated with a bit of information is connected with other similarly impregnated neurons. This is accomplished through

nerve circuitry; the synapses operate from the axon of one neuron to the dendrite of another. The interflow of information apparently is accomplished through a bathing of the whole circuitry in a mass of glia cells.

Thousands of Millions

The brain carries some 12 to 13 thousand million neurons, each one of which is capable of carrying a bit of information. The glia cells are some 10 times as many. The neurologists are not yet sure how many connections are made from each neuron but they run to very large numbers. The inter-relationship of the impregnated neurons through this circuitry probably is what allows us to experience imagination and thinking, to fulfill the functions of what we call the mind. The mind is not a substance, as is the approximately three pounds of pinkish-gray matter encased in the bone box on top of our necks.

Memory can be deliberately called into action by a person, consciously calling up previously stored bits of information. One may, in addition to calling for data, order it in a directed system of message-sending through the circuitry. But there is also in the human brain a random, wool-gathering, "letting the mind wander" -- a sort of consciously undirected flow back and forth over the circuitry, between and among the impregnated neurons.

Let me just interpolate that there is no danger we will exhaust memory by running out of storage space in the brain. Man cannot live long enough or acquire enough information to exhaust his mental storage capacity. I am not sure whether capacity decreases with non-use or increases with use of the brain, but we can be sure that the brain is an instrument which in use is the opposite of other edged tools. The brain becomes sharper with use and duller with non-use, the very opposite of a knife or scissors.

more ...

Two Decision Systems

The second function of the brain of which I speak is decision-making, which in the human being is twofold. One is the autonomic system, controling, through a process called homeostasis, all those functions of the body essential to our remaining alive and viable. This is accomplished by that portion of the brain called the cerebellum.

The other human decision-making is the method we call judgment. We "make up our minds" by studying, getting advice and counsel, weighing and considering evidence to reach a conclusion for belief or action. This is carried on by the cerebral area of the brain.

Homeostasis is the system by which the body regulates itself to keep the human being in a secure state of equilibrium in relation to the many situations in the environment -- changes of temperature, changes that come from shock, changes of the water and salt content of the blood, changes in the amount of oxygen in the air and a great number of other situations.

The electronic computer as an apparatus also has memory and decision-making capabilities. I use these words with a certain engineering license. ... As the memory of man consists of protein spots on the neurons, the memory of a computer consists of magnetic spots on stainless steel drums or discs, on metal-faced plastic tape, on tiny doughnut-shaped beads called cores, or on thin film.

Decision-making in the electronic computer is accomplished by a two-state, on-off system of switches, by which electricity goes through or does not go through to provide Yes! or No! answers to single, discreet choices in a long sequence of questions relative to a problem.

Human Instructions

Both the memory of a computer and its decision-making capability depend

completely on human instructions. Intelligent human beings, using information gathered into orderly systems, put facts and information into storage by mathematical arrangement of bits (binary digits).

After the memory is thus supplied with relevant material, a human being writes a program which is a complex, infinitely detailed set of instructions to tell the computer how electricity shall flow through the computer circuitry so as to first, select indicated bits of data from the memory and second, process these bits of data by arithmetic and logic to get answers to one question after another until the full answer sought is ready to print out for a human being to read and to use for the problem at hand.

The computer's memory is severely limited, in contrast with human memory. It is possible, however, to do with information in the memory of a computer what cannot be done with information in the memory of a person. Data or information about any particular problem can be put into the computer's memory, used, then taken out and stored on a shelf, while other information can be put in for use on another and different problem. Man holds information in his memory until death, although human memory fades and loses sharpness by forgetting.

However, with respect to the second capability of the computer we are discussing, man is limited and the computer excels. Decision-making in the human brain is quite rapid but the computer surpasses the brain's speed by operating at the speed of light, and sustains its decision-making at such speed without fatigue, once a program properly has been written by a human being and given to the computer.

Lightning Speed Yes!, No!

The computer makes individual decisions in time units of thousands of a second, millionths of a second, and -- in some of the more advanced machines -- at a speed of thousandth of a millionth of a second. With such lightning speed,

one can understand that when relevant data is stored in memory and the circuitry is put to work through the writing of a proper program, decisions can be made one after another through the branching or switching gates of the circuitry to allow hundreds of thousands of Yes! or No! answers in a very short time.

Because of this great speed a computer can do work in a matter of minutes that would take a human being many years or even a lifetime to accomplish. This is true, of course, only after the relevant facts are gathered into a system and a proper program is written. The computer is able to continue its work tirelessly over long periods of time, which a human brain is unable to do.

Those few people in the world who have great skill in playing the game of chess are individuals who can sequentially determine moves of the opposing player or players, and hold the whole pattern of the sequence of moves explicitly in memory until the game results in victory or checkmate.

Most of us are not able to hold several hundred sequential future moves about chess or any other problem firmly and securely in memory. The computer easily can do so; in fact, it can hold hundreds of thousands of "moves" in respect to the situation which it is programmed to handle, and do so without loss or fatigue.

Now, Artificial Intelligence

None of the foregoing description of the use of the electronic computer covers the idea of artificial intelligence. Now we need again to look at the human brain with its adaptive or self-organizing ability. When a person is thinking about a problem there comes at certain points in the handling of the relevant information a realization that something is wrong. He raises questions about the information and the procedure for handling it and decides to change the action.

I recall from one of my early work experiences in Ohio a situation

which illustrates this point in reverse. ... A young woman typist was employed part-time from a business school by a newspaper publishing company to type envelopes from a provided list of names and addresses, in order to mail a circulation promotion letter. The list included householders in several dozen villages and small towns in the county as well as in the county seat city. A considerable number of the villages, including the one the name of which first appeared on the list, had only a dozen or so names. The larger towns had scores of names and the county seat city had them in the hundreds.

The young lady, without experience in handling lists, and not being given proper supervision, got the name of the first village on the list firmly fixed in her mind and continued typing the envelopes, going through more than 25 inhabited places, but using on every envelope the name of the first village, even after she had long since exhausted the few names on the list in that place. By the time someone looked at her work, she had more than a thousand envelopes typed -- all to the same little village.

Algorithmic, Heuristic

This is the kind of behavior a computer ordinarily would perform; the computer is an idiot without perceptive sense, without the self-organizing capacity that a human being has. This one-after-one-after-one sequence of performance is an algorithmic method of following one thing right after another, even in a blind manner no longer useful or meaningful.

A few years ago there began to be developed a computer called the Perceptron, with the capacity to handle a program which permits it to take cognizance of an irrational situation, re-examine its procedures and find another method of proceeding, doing this as many times as is necessary to find the quickest, most fruitful path of fulfilling work. This way of programming a computer is known by the term heuristic method; the original Greek word means

"to discover".

A human being may function heuristically by the wool-gathering, day-dreaming system. A delayed brain action may culminate a desired result at an unexpected time. A brilliant scientist of the Bell Laboratories worked for months on a problem. He unexpectedly experienced a breakthrough in his consciousness as he boarded a Hudson River ferry boat one morning, while in commuter travel from Manhattan to his office in suburban New Jersey. He quickly wrote down the mathematical equation on a white space of an advertisement in the New York Times he was carrying; subsequent testing at his office revealed he had the truth he had so diligently been seeking.

If a computer operates with a non-heuristic program, it may perform useless, repetitive arithmetic many minutes or hours, getting no useful results from its work. A computer thus programmed is like the young lady blindly addressing envelopes. But when the Perceptron type of computer is programmed to perform cognitively it is able to function with the capacity of a human being who can consider and appraise whether the method being pursued is likely to be fruitful, or whether a change of method and a new direction is needed.

Cognitive Perceptron

Cognition of course is the mental operation by which a human being is aware of objects of thought or perception. Cognition is the capacity for knowledge. The Perceptron computer, as its name implies, can be programmed to perceive and to act constructively on what it perceives. This self-organizing capacity in a computer is imitative of the capacity of the human brain to be adaptive. This is artificial intelligence.

Admittedly, the present state of artificial intelligence is quite low and undeveloped. Much of the work that has been done is trivial and not useful, except for research and developmental purposes. The great speed of the computer,

however, offers enormous hope for greatly improved performance in the future. Some specialists talk about devising better computers or writing better programs for existing computers so that they can actually out-perform man in most forms of mental activity. We are told by the specialists that the present "limitations" are not in the machine, but in man.

One can feel quite secure in asserting that machines will never be smarter than man because man must be of a higher order of intelligence properly to instruct a machine in the art of being intelligent. One advanced computer authority describes a possible situation of piling man on machine on man on machine on man to an ever higher accomplishment as a "no end to this process", but with "man as the originator always on top".

Prescription, Execution

The clincher idea seems to be "the machine's intelligence is prescribed by man, and a higher intelligence is demanded for the prescription than for the execution". The citation here is from one of the prophets of computer scripture, Dr. Arthur L. Samuel of the IBM Corporation.

So we determine that artificial intelligence always is inferior to human intelligence and that in addition man has a further intellectual capacity -- as cited earlier from Professor Hofstadter.

Even with what seems to be a vast amount of knowledge now possessed by mankind, there is an enormously larger amount still to be acquired. There are so many more educated brains in so many more places in the world, constantly seeking more knowledge, and there is so much improved communication in today's world so that each man's seeking fertilizes every other man's seeking, it is possible that there may yet be found an artificial intellectualism.

With all this continual searching, it is possible that man may a) discover

things he doesn't know the meaning of; and, b) by serendipity to discover that for which he is not looking. Since new knowledge is potentially useful in relationship to all existing knowledge in an ascending scale, the tremendous combinations that are possible in the future may yet produce things which even now seem impossible. The number of curtains of ignorance that yet have to be broken through certainly are more in number than those that have been pierced. We will just have to wait for time and history to develop whether man's intellect has absolute limits.

Changing Work Pattern

Man cannot refuse to follow new patterns of thought and behavior which the computer and artificial intelligence has set in motion. The lesson for us is to develop a great improvement in human thought processes which man is being forced to make because of the electronic computer he has built and can program.

A revolution that has been forced by automation in all of its aspects is the rapidly changing work pattern of the American people -- or the people of any country which has an advanced technology, necessarily including computers. During the last half dozen years, the United States has changed from being a nation of people, the majority of whom were workers with materials, into a nation of people, the majority of whom are workers with information. Most people now are "knowledge workers".

Our society is one in which knowledge and information rather than man's muscular energy and manual skill is his primary or central resource. The handling of knowledge requires mental effort. In most times and situations, man has not only tolerated but encouraged thought processes which are incomplete and muddy.

Sharp, Precise Thought

The computer requires sharp and precise human thought. The very process

of examining and analyzing a problem, a situation, work to be done, or any challenge to human judgment, is a process that must make whatever the situation is clear enough for a computer to handle. It turns out that this human effort to make the computer understand makes it easier for human beings to understand -- including those things which some human beings don't want to understand.

The electronic computer at work lacks the human qualities of emotion and prejudice. Perhaps it would not be true to say that the computer is "all reason"; one might say that the computer more nearly can imitate human logic and reason, but that it is unable to imitate human emotion and human prejudice. This point is most significant.

Emotion, Prejudice

When a human being is faced with the need to make a decision about any matter, a fascinating capacity of the human brain permits the screening of facts and opinions bearing on the decision through the sieves of emotion and prejudice. Here then is a new force on man both personal and in his institutional and organizational functions. The computer is inanimate; that is, as a psychologist would say, it is without motivation. A human being is animate and has a conflicting and baffling network of motivations.

The computer handles information in enormous amounts at fantastic speeds. The majority of man's new work under automation will be the handling of information. If knowledge is the principal ingredient of civilization, the rapid availability and use of knowledge is the very essence of civilization. Yet man has always been afraid of information, again bringing to mind Professor Hofstadter's wise and perceptive book about anti-intellectualism in the American society.

Limited information for an immediate, definite purpose is acceptable.

more ...

Wasserman

NEW DIMENSIONS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 opens up the way for new progress in the drive for human freedom, human dignity and equal opportunity. The IAM is fully committed to this drive to translate guarantee of civil rights into a living reality in every phase of American life.

We have seen the successful desegregation of public accommodations and public facilities in some sections of this country; the passage of the epochal Civil Rights Act: an increased consciousness and a justified impatience among Negro and liberal segment of our population.

The drive that developed in the early 1940's and rose in intensity and breadth in the 50's and 60's has produced some positive results.

BUT STILL NOT ENOUGH!

The labor movement must continue to move toward a greater concern with the fundamental political, social and economic problems that still confront the Negro: jobs, housing, schools, voting.

To focus on these areas of civil rights is to renew the struggle to gain for everyone full employment, decent housing, adequate income, quality integrated education, and equal voting rights.

With the shift of emphasis on the part of civil rights organizations has come increased emphasis on political action. Full employment, decent housing and quality integrated education are social goals affecting all the country's underprivileged, from black to white. Their achievement is dependent upon equal voting rights, and changes in our economic and social institutions. These changes result when organized citizens make demands for adequate government investment in programs to meet the needs of the people.

As a numerical and racial minority, Negroes cannot hope to exercise effective political power by themselves. They can only do so as part of a coalition of progressive forces which have common interests -- such as the labor movement, churches and liberal organizations. These forces in alliance produced the most comprehensive civil rights bill in history, helped elect President Johnson, increased the liberal-labor vote in Congress and reversed the long conservative trend in many state legislatures.

Neither of the above forces could have made these gains without the support of other segments of the populations.

As labor cannot organize without support of the community, neither can the civil rights movement gain momentum without the assistance of other groups who have the same general objectives.

The success of the next stage of the civil rights revolution will have a direct effect on the speed and substance of the response offered by the 89th Congress to the big economic and social questions that await action. Jobs, housing, education, voting -- are problems of immediate concern to the Negro community and to labor.

That is why it is so important that we achieve success on the twin jobs of creating an atmosphere of local compliance with the provisions of the Civil Rights Act, and of organizing the Negro community in their own democratic organizations, politically oriented and firmly allied with labor and liberal forces.

Negro

Wasserman Pamphlet

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

Works Progress Administration of Illinois, Adult Education Program
District #3, Chicago, Illinois.
Workers Education Division

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Members of the Workers Education Teaching Staff, Chicago, 1936

Merlyn S. Pitzele, Editor
George McGray
Isadore Bernick

Elberta Richards, Typist

Part 1 - HOW WHITE WORKERS LOSE THEIR FALSE IDEAS ABOUT NEGROES

Twenty years before, the Krupas had bought themselves a six room house. Oh, that was a day in their lives, when Joe told Mary that he had saved enough to make the first payment on a home of their own. They had spent weeks in looking for the house. Joe said it must be near the mill so he could walk to work, and he looked carefully at all the roofs to be sure they wouldn't leak. Mary wanted it to have a little yard for raising a few greens in summer, and the floors must be of good wood so that they would shine clean with scrubbing.

That was twenty years ago, and they had found their house. But much had happened to the house and to the Krupas in those twenty years. Three children had come, all girls with golden hair like Mary's. The house had gotten a little shabby looking in spite of Joe's painting, and sawing and hammering at it on summer evenings. And the street itself had changed; it had filled up until it was a solid line of houses, pushed together side by side, and often in these last years the smoke filled sky kept the street in shadow for days. The smoke came from the great tall chimineys which grew from the four new mills which had been built since the war.

Part 1 - (continued)

And the people who lived in the neighborhood had changed. It used to be that Mary Krupa, when her housework was done, could walk down the street and find other women to talk with in the old language which she knew so well. But now all the families who could talk with Mary Krupa in the old language had moved away. The houses were either empty, or in them lived Negroes.

At first, when the Negroes had come, Mary had enjoyed them. She remembered how, when in the old country, a black man had come to their town, all the people had dropped their work to look at him. Each family had invited him for a meal, and when he had come to Mary's home he had entertained them with stories of his travels. So when the Negroes had come to live along the street, Mary had welcomed them with pleasure, and had enjoyed their happy singing and their friendly ways.

But Joe had hated them from the very first. "They come to to take our jobs," he told Mary, and all the bitterness of a man who knew that the only way to eat regularly was to work hard, went into his words. "They'll work for nothing," he said. And everytime he saw Mary smile at one of the dark children, or when she had something to say about their new neighbors, he would snarl at her.

Mary was getting the poison from all sides. From the women of her own group, and from the storekeeper who refused to give credit to the Negroes and saw their business going to the chain store.

And when, after weeks of Joe's patient explaining, she understood what a strike meant, and when the strike came, and Joe went out, and she saw the Negroes going to work and hundreds of new Negroes coming in to take the strikers' jobs, she began to see why Joe hated the Negroes.

She only asked one question: "Why do they go to work?" and when Joe answered, "They are no good, they are glad to work for nothing. We would not take them into our union," she seemed satisfied. And from that time on, her hate was greater than Joe's.

That was almost ten years ago, but Mary had not changed. And when the strike was broken and Joe went back to work, he went back with violence in his heart against the black men with whom he had to work.

But ten years is a long time. And a worker like Joe can learn many things in ten years, especially when the things to be learned are right in front of his eyes. And there were things to see, oh yes, many lessons for Joe to see.

He saw the big crane drop a chain one day, and a Negro hooker stretched out between the billets with a bloody, broken skull. "You men gotta be more careful," the foreman said.

He saw the wage cuts come, and then the layoffs. Black and white together getting pink slips. Workers were only a number to the front office, and a pink slip meant the same to everybody.

He heard the growls and saw the looks on the faces of the Negro workers. He had to change his mind. "They don't like to work for nothing, either," he told Mary.

"They're no good," answered Mary, who remembered well the lessons that he taught her.

But Joe was not so certain anymore. On the night turn, working by the bad lights, you could not always be sure whether the man in overalls a few steps off was black or white. All you could be sure of was that he was a fellow worker and just as tired as you were and praying just as hard for the long drag to be over.

"Sure," he would say to Mary while they had to live on three days work a week, "they have the same troubles. They have to eat too. And when we only get three days a week,

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

Part 1 - (continued)

they don't eat much."

Mary sniffed. Her mind was still set, and she tried hard not to remember how much she had enjoyed watching the black man, who had come to visit at her house when she was a girl, take pleasure in the food her mother had set before him.

Things were getting bad for the Krupas, and Joe would sit with his pipe in the evenings thinking about the union. "Maybe I'll write a letter, to Pittsburgh," Joe would often say, as if thinking out loud. "Maybe I'll go down to the saloon and talk to the boys about a union."

"Union means strike," Mary would answer. "Strike is no good with black men working." She would use almost the same words that Joe had used ten years ago.

But as the months were on, and Joe went back to the full week and the checks did not get much larger, he was more likely to argue with Mary. "Union does not mean strike if all men come into the union. No fight, no trouble, every man carries union card."

"But union will not take in black men," Mary would remind him. And to that he had no answer.

Part 1 - (continued)

But one day he found the answer. It happened this way. Late one afternoon in the mill he had stooped down to lift a steel bar out of the way of the electric truck that carried small scrap from the yard to the furnace. He was tugging at the bar, when all at once a terrible pain shot through his back. The last he remembered was sinking to the ground, blinded by the pain. When he woke up he was in his own bed at home, and a fearful Mary was standing over him. "What happened?" he asked.

"Men who brought you home said you hurt your back," Mary answered between sobs.

"I guess I'm getting old," said Joe as he moved his neck a little to feel again the awful pain. And then after a moment of silence, "Who brought me home.?"

"Three big black men. One went for the doctor."

"Where are they?" asked Joe.

"I told them to go away."

"Mary," said Joe, after almost a minute, "I have always been a good man to you. But if I ever hear again that you have sent an honest working man, black or white, out of my house, I will beat you until you cannot stand up. Now go

Part 1 - (continued)

out and find those men and bring them in here."

And when Mary, by patiently asking from house to house had found the three men who had carried Joe home, they came and stood by Joe's bed. After the doctor had come and gone, Mary made a pitcher of lemonade and they sat and smoked and talked.

It wasn't very long before Joe was off on the union. He told the men how much the mill needed a union and what it would do for the workers.

"Sure," said one of the Negro workers, "a union is a fine thing, but it doesn't do us any good. The union does not help us. It will not take us in, even though we need the union."

"And the union needs you," said Joe softly. And after they had gone he went on talking to Mary about the union.

"Too bad the union will not take black men," said Mary, they are nice fellows."

But now Joe knew the answer. "Who says the union will not take in black men?" he demanded to know. "Old unions are broken. They never helped us any because they did not

take in all workers. But the new union will take in everybody, black and white. It will be a union for all workers."

And Mary was made happy by the vision. "Ah," she said, "that will be a fine and strong union."

THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

Part 2 2 These are the Things We Should Remember About the Negroes as Workers:

1. The Negroes were never given the same chance as whites to find opportunity in America.
2. Only the employers profit when white workers refust to take Negroes into their unions.
3. Unions and workers' organizations will be much stronger when they include all workers, black and white.
4. Negroes should make good union members if they are treated the same as white workers.
5. There are no grounds for white workers to believe that they are better than negro workers, because if they do, they are hurting their own chances for improving their wages and working conditions.

Part 3. - WHAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKERS ARE, AND HOW ALL OF US WILL BE BETTER OFF WHEN THEY ARE SOLVED.

We know that people from all over the world have come to make their homes in America. We also know that if they had not come, America would still be a wilderness. That it would be a wild land without its great cities and fine farms, its smooth roads, factories, hospitals, and schools of which we are now so proud.

These people from all over the world, and their children, who have come to live and work in America, came for many different reasons. Some came because they thought they would find riches in the new land. Others came because it was impossible for them to live happily in their home countries. Still others came to America, not because they wanted to come, but because they were brought here by force. The largest part of this last group were Negroes.

If the Negro had known about America, and if he were free to find in this country the same opportunities that other people found, he might have come of his own free will. But when the Negro came to America, he came as a slave.

Now slavery, one man being owned by another man, has long ago disappeared. But the right to freedom, equality of opportunity, and happiness, which America should provide, is

still a problem for the Negro. And there is nothing in the laws of our land that keeps the Negro from getting his share of these things. In fact our laws say that everyone has the same rights no matter what his church, his political belief, or his color. No, it is not the written laws which work against Negroes. It is something in people's minds.

Before we try to see what it is in people's minds that prevents Negroes from enjoying the same rights as other workers, let us find out just how, and in what ways, the Negro is less free, and has less opportunity than his fellow workers who are white.

We all know how, in some sections of the country, the Negro, even though he is a citizen, is not allowed to vote. We know that many, many negroes have been killed because they were accused of crimes which they never were allowed to deny in court. We know that in many towns and cities Negroes must live in only certain places, and may not send their children to a school with whites. All these things we know, and many more, about how the Negro's life is hard. But do we know how the Negro as a worker is treated?

For example, some of the trade unions, which are organ-

ized by workers to better their conditions, refuse to admit Negroes into membership. A trade union can work best when it speaks for most of the workers in a shop or in an industry. And often when it denies Negroes the rights of membership it keeps itself from being effective. This has been the experience of many unions and here are some examples of it:

Around 1900 a screwman was a skilled longshoreman who fastened cotton cargoes in the holds of ocean going ships. These screwmen received very high wages for this skilled work and had never admitted Negroes to their union, but they often employed Negroes calling them "helpers." These Negro helpers sometimes did the complete job of loading the cargo. When the screwman, who were all white, went out on strike, the shipping companies employed Negro screwmen to break the strike.

In the same way, the refusal on the part of white longshoremen to take Negroes into their union, made it possible for employers to use Negro labor to break strikes among longshoremen in New York in 1855, Buffalo in 1863 and several other strikes in such ports as Savannah, Ga., Norfolk, Va., and Baltimore, Maryland.

In March, 1880, a committee representing an organization of miners in the fields of Ohio and Pennsylvania presented de-

mands to coal mine operators for an eight hour day, for wage payment every two weeks instead of monthly, for abolition of the company store where workers were forced to trade and for other things which would have greatly improved working conditions. When their demands were refused, the miners went out on strike for nine months. Negroes with whom they had refused to work before were brought in to break their strike.

For a great many years very large numbers of the steel workers in the South have been Negroes. In 1918, 70 out of every 100 ore miners in Alabama were Negroes, while in the steel plants 45 out of every 100 workers were Negroes. However, all the metal trades workers were white. Many of the skilled crafts flatly refused to admit Negroes to membership and some of them, like the machinists, had statements in the laws of their unions that Negroes were never to be admitted into the unions. Because of this the Negro workers felt hurt and believed the white workers were very unfriendly toward them. When the metal trades unions called a strike, the Negro workers did not support it and it failed.

Even back in 1875 a group of Negro puddlers, who were skilled workers and whom the union had refused to organize, was sent into Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to break a strike of

union puddlers. Several happenings like this caused labor leaders to try to work out a method which would make it possible for all workers regardless of color to work together for the benefit of all concerned. Some unions have since opened their doors to all workers in the industry.

Now at the time these white union leaders were beginning to realize the need of cooperation between all workers, Negro workers were becoming more afraid that white workers would not treat them fairly in unions. In one instance where white and Negro labor were bargaining with the employer for the common good, the employer, knowing how white workers in that particular plant felt toward Negroes, offered as an inducement to have a strike called off, to put all the 'niggers' on one side of the shop and all of the white workers on the other. The white workers in this case would have called off the strike if the employer had agreed to discharge all Negro help.

In the great steel strike of 1919, which failed, the majority of Negro workers did not support the strike because they felt they could not trust their fellow white workers.

Thus the benefits which trade unions could often bring to workers were denied to Negroes.

Part 3 - (continued)

But it is easy to see that it was not the Negro alone who lost by the unions' refusal to accept him. White workers lost much because they denied themselves the strength which Negro workers would have brought them. And by their refusal to accept Negroes as union brothers they turned him into a weapon which could be used against themselves.

How does it happen that the Negro is treated so badly by his fellow white workers who have much to gain by dealing fairly with him? It is because of this thing in people's minds which we mentioned before. Many people think that a Negro is not as good as a white man. But they have no reason for thinking so, because it is not true. Let us see how they got this false idea.

White workers have not always been afraid of Negro workers. There was a time when they worked happily together. When the first cargo of Negro slaves was brought to America, before even the Pilgrims had landed at Plymouth, they were treated just as servants from England were treated. The servants could gain their independence, and the slaves could gain their freedom after seven or ten years of working for whoever paid the cost of their passage to America.

There was little or no hard feeling between the Negroes

and the white workers in the early days of our history. And men who owned slaves were not unwilling to free them after they had served the time necessary to pay their passage. You see, under the old conditions slavery was not as profitable a system as the system of free labor.

But all this was suddenly changed when the cotton gin was invented. The cotton gin is a machine which removes the seeds from cotton. This has to be done before the cotton can be milled. With the use of the cotton gin, one man can do in one day as much as he did in fifty days before by hand. Cotton became king. The cotton planters demanded more land to grow cotton on, and soon the cotton fields were spread from the Atlantic ocean to the Mississippi river. And many thousand of more slaves were used to pick the cotton.

As the cotton fields spread, free white workers discovered that they could not live in the South if they had to compete with slave labor. They could not work in the fields and expect to make a decent living, because the practice of using slave labor that did not receive any pay forced their own wages down.

Then slave owners found it profitable to train some of Negro slaves as mechanics, carpenters, and in other skills.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

Part 3 - (continued)

These skilled Negro slaves were then rented out to contractors or sold at a high price. Soon skilled white workers found it impossible to find decent jobs in the South, because they could not work for as little as the slave received. And then white workers came to hate Negro labor, just as some workers today hate the machine for they see in it something which is taking their jobs away and with which they cannot hope to compete.

In many states laws were passed forbidding slaves from doing skilled work in the cities, so that skilled white workers would not find themselves unemployed. This is how the practice grew of saving certain better, more profitable jobs for white men. Through this practice, but without reason for it, some whites came to feel that they were better than Negroes.

There are other reasons why this feeling against Negroes, which is called race prejudice, exists. But there is no more sense in any of them than there is in thinking that, because the Negro slaves were prevented by law from doing certain types of work, they did not have the ability to do it. However, there is one other reason which we should mention, because many people's ideas about Negroes today are due to it.

While Negroes were held in slavery, their owners refused to admit that they would keep human beings enslaved for profit.

No, indeed, that would be too much to admit. So they tried to find less selfish reasons with which to hide their real interest in slavery which was profit. They tried to find an excuse for keeping human beings in slavery by talking about the Negro not being as good as the white man. The writers, politicians, and ministers in the South tried to use the Bible and the sciences to show that the Negro was a lower type of human being and was made to be owned by better, wiser men. They meant, of course, by better, wiser men - themselves.

But these men of the South had been very successful in spreading these lies about the Negroes. Long after slavery disappeared the old slave ideas remained in peoples' minds. And today, it is sometimes to the interests of employers to use these same lies for making profits. They use the color of the Negroe's skin as an excuse for paying him less for the same work than they would a white man. They use the feelings of the white workers against Negro workers to keep all workers from joining hands and improving their wages and working conditions. We gave one example of this before.

But more and more, workers are coming to understand that the old lies about Negroes are nothing more than lies.

Part 3 - (continued)

They see that their fellow worker is their brother in the struggle to improve their lives. He is their brother - no matter what his church may be or what the color of his skin. Without him, they, as well as he, are weak. With him, they are together strong.

Part 4 - Things We Should Think About

1. A certain battery manufacturing company located near Lake Calumet has a large force of Negro workers operating its shop. The company admitted these Negro employees was just as good as white workers, but stated: "Negroes are working for us now, but if we must deal with organized labor, we will deal with white organized labor."

A. How could a union prevent this kind of discrimination against Negro workers?

B. Do you think white workers would go out on strike to force employers to hire Negro workers?

C. If you were a Negro worker in this shop, how would you feel toward unions?

2. Some people believe that the purpose of trade unions is to control all workers who could work on a certain job. In order to do this, unions often limit the number of young workers who are allowed to learn the particular trade, and they also refuse to take many skilled workers who apply for membership. Sometimes unions simply refuse to take in Mexicans, Italians and Negroes.

A. What do you think of these ways of keeping down the number of workers for certain jobs?

B. Do such things as these hurt the labor movement as a whole?

THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WORKERS

Part 4 - (continued)

3. At present strong efforts are being made to organize the Negro and white workers in the steel industry in Gary, Indiana as well as in other places. A few years ago white workers permitted their children to be led by the Klu Klux Klan in a parade to put Negro children aside in separate schools.

A. How do you think Negro workers will feel when labor leaders tell them that white workers are ready to be fair?

4. A great many people say workers should not fight or object to machines, but to the way machines are used.

A. Do you think the Southern worker should have fought against the Negro worker or against the slave conditions under which Negroes lived and worked?

5. Some unions, such as the machinists, electricians, plumbers, conductors, and switchmen do not let Negro workers become members. On the other hand, many other unions like the garment workers,' coal miners', longshoremen ,' and teamsters' do admit Negroes.

A. What do you think can be done to get all unions to give Negro workers a fair chance to earn a living?

6. Free workers, white and black, should be the last to carry on ideas and habits handed down from the days of slavery. Before 1865 in order to keep the slaves obedient

Part 4 - (continued)

and afraid to do anything about the system which held them in bondage, they were always made to feel themselves beneath other men, and they were required to show this feeling by tipping their hats and "mistering" every white person no matter how young.

Also there were certain so-called 'nigger' jobs which no self-respecting white man would work at, and also there were certain 'white-men's' jobs which Negroes dare not do.

Today modern machinery, hard times, and general unemployment have just about destroyed all efforts to give certain jobs to certain groups. There are no more so-called 'nigger' jobs left for white workers take everything they can get to do, but they still say there are certain jobs which Negroes should not have. For instance:

(1) Many of the unions in the highly skilled trades will not admit Negroes.

(2) Negroes are usually given the hardest, dirtiest, and most work in the shops where both races are employed.

(3) Negroes must not be given supervisory or boss positions over whites.

A. What can you do as an individual worker to stop this unfair treatment of Negroes?

Part 5 - Self-Test for WorkersStudents

Self-Test A

These questions will show us what we ourselves think of the Negro problem. Write "YES" after each statement that you believe is right, and write "NO" after each one that you think is wrong. Put a question mark (?) after each one that cannot be answered either "Yes" or "No." On the lines provided after each question tell why you marked it the way you did.

1. The Negroes should have their own unions, separate from white unions. ( )_____

_____

_____.

2. If the grandfathers of white workers had been slaves there would be no difference between whites and Negroes today. ( )_____

_____

_____.

3. A trade union should allow Negroes to become members but should not allow them to hold office in the union.( )

_____

_____

_____

4. The United Mine Workers of America, the largest of the American trade unions, has a hundred thousand Negro members

Part 5 - (continued)

who make good trade unionists because the Negroes who work in the mines are different than other Negro workers. ( )

_____

_____

_____

5. All the Negroes should be sent back to Africa. ( )

_____

_____

_____

6. Negroes are hurt just as much by low wages as other workers are.. ( ) _____

_____

_____

7. All ideas that Negroes are not as good as white men are false. ( ) _____

_____

_____

8. White workers must either learn to take Negroes into their unions and treat them as equals, or give up the hope of trying to build big strong unions. ( ) _____

_____

_____

Part 5 - (continued)

Self-Test B

Place a plus sign (+) before each answer that is right a minus sign (--) before each answer that is wrong, and a question mark (?) before each answer that you think is neither all right nor all wrong.

There are many Negro workers who do not belong to unions because

(9) _____They are afraid of being fired.

(10)_____They do not want higher wages.

(11)_____White workers won't take them in.

(12)_____They are afraid to trust white workers.

(13)_____They don't believe in trade unionism.

Some white workers do not think Negroes are as good as they are because,

(14)_____Their skin is of a different color.

(15)_____They have heard and believe many lies about Negroes.

(16)_____Negroes make less money.

(17)_____There are not as many Negro as white politicians.

(18)_____The Negroes grandparents have been slaves.

Negroes want to join trade unions because,

(19)_____They want to belong to the same organizations as the whites.

Part 5 - (continued)

(20)_____They know that unions will help to raise their wages.

(21)_____They would be proud to carry a union card.

(22)_____They do not want to be considered less good than whites.

(23)_____They need unions for the same reasons as white workers.

Part 6 - Some of the Books Which Will Help You to Better Understqnd the Relations Between White and Negro Workers

The Negro Wage Earner, by Lorenzo Greene and Carter G. Woodson; (Chicago Public Library).

This book, published in 1930, presents a oomplete picture of the occupational history of Negro workers from 1790 to 1930.

The Black Worker, by Abram L. Harris and Sterling D. Spero; (Chicago Public Library).

This is one of the best studies of the difficulties between white and Negro workers published to date. It is, an interpretation of the white workers' attitude toward the Negro worker and an explanation of the Negro workers' reaction to these attitudes.

The Negro In American Civilization, by Charles S. Johnson and others (Chicago Public Library)

This is a full description of the ways in which race prejudice, discrimination etc. affect every important phase of Negro life, education, labor, justice in the courts, health, recreation, crime, civil rights etc.

Rope and Faggot, by Walter White;(Chicago Public Library).

Lynching and mob rule are interpreted as methods employed since 1867 to intimidate and exploit Negro labor. The contention that Negroes are lynched as a punishment for sex crimes is argued as being false.

Negro Americans, What Now?, James Weldon Johnson; (Chicago Public Library)

In extremely clear language the author tells what should be the goals and methods of Negro workers in their effort to win full citizenship rights and equal economic opportunity.

Part 6 - (continued)

The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward, by Louise V. Kennedy; (Chicago Public Library)

This book describes what has happened to the hundreds of thousands of Negro people who have migrated to the cities in Northern states.

Up From Slavery, by Booker T. Washington; at the Chicago Public Library. Doubleday, Page & Co., N. Y.

This is the true story of the life of a Negro, who, though born a slave, became one of the most distinguished men in America. Much of the history of the Negro people in America, is the story of this man's life.

Brown America, by Edwin R. Embree; at the Chicago Public Library. The Viking Press, N. Y.

Here is a close, friendly and sympathetic, but factual study of Negro life - - what the Negro people are up against in America and what they are doing in order to gain fairer consideration for themselves,

The Auto-biography Of An Ex-Colored Man, by James Weldon Johnson, at the Chicago Public Library, Garden City Publishing Co., N. Y.

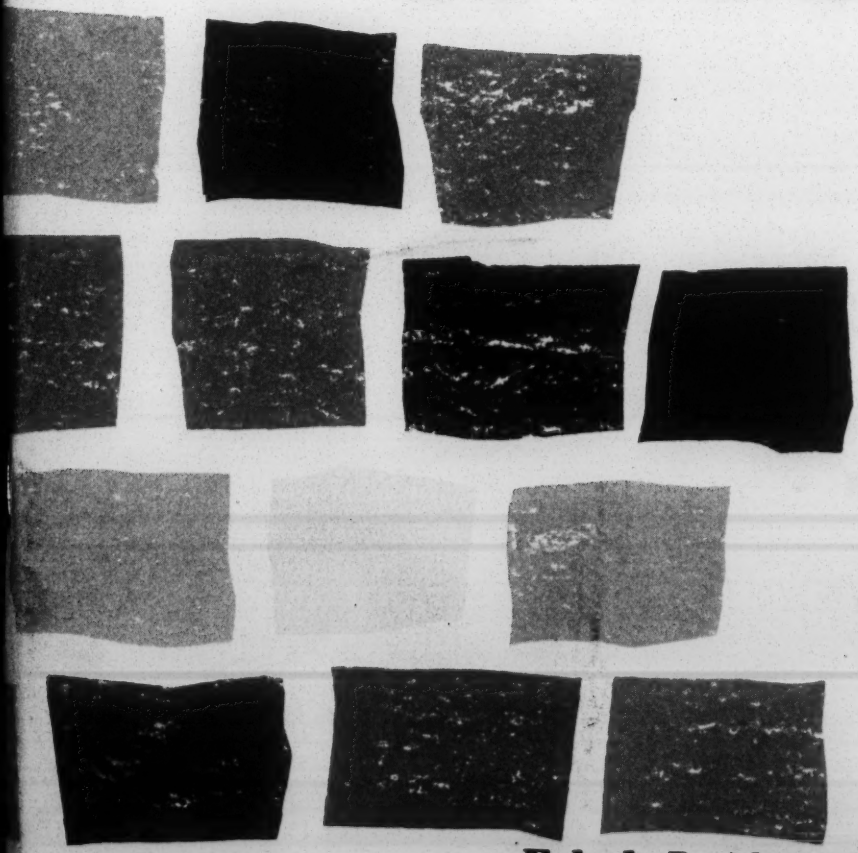
From the eyes of a ficticious character who, though colored, often passed for white, we see a very personal picture of the race problem, especially what white and Negro individuals think of it.

Negro Labor In The United States, by Charles Wesley, at the Chicago Public Library, Vanguard Press, N. Y.

In great detail, this book describes the part Negro labor played in the development of American industry and the relations between white and Negro labor between 1850 and 1925.

The following blank pages are provided for any notes we may want to make and to furnish any more space we may need for answering the self-tests.

SENSE and NONSENSE about RACE



Ethel J. Alpenfels

Wasserman Pamphlet

THE STEREOTYPE: HARD CORE OF RACISM

LOUIS LUSKY

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OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1966

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5 Forsyth,
Room 201

THE PATHOLOGY OF RACISM

By REV. PHILIP BERRIGAN, S.S.J.

One day recently, in one of the larger cities of the South, a bulky Negro got on a city bus and quietly took a seat in front. Integration of public facilities in this city was only a remote reality, so the driver, noticing the dark presence in front, shouted over his shoulder, "Boy, you cain't sit up cheer, get ohn back!" The Negro said nothing and remained where he was. At this, the driver got angry and shouted again, "Boy, ah said get ohn to the back seat!" The Negro did not move. The driver became furious, pulled to the side of the street, got up and stood in the aisle, saying: "Boy, I tole yew to get back. Now, either yew get back, or I'll throw you off'n this bus!" Without a word, the Negro got up, and from an advantage of several inches, looked down at his antagonist. "Mister," he said, "Lemme tell you sunthin.' Number one, I ain't your boy. You wouldn't claim it, and even if you did, I wouldn't admit it. Number two, I'm a man 29 years ole, I got a job and family, and like you see, I'm growed up. Number three, I ain't one of them non-violent people."

It seems to me that anyone attempting to understand racism, in himself or another, must know its psychology, which is fundamentally a psychology of violence, denying human rights or inhibiting their practice. The psychology (or pathology) of racism is therefore my prime concern. How to cope with the inner city, how to structure poverty programs, how to revitalize the service of the Church, how to keep just enough crumbs sliding from the table of white America to quiet the Negro and keep him quiet (if unhappy)—all these are at best secondary considerations, if they are worthy of mention at all. What should occupy us is why we think blackness makes a person different or less, why straight hair is better than nappy hair or why an aquiline nose is better than a broad one. In effect, these childishly vicious little myths are at the root of a crisis which can tear this country apart, and which will do so if it is not resolved. As one magnificent editorial summed it up: "It seems to be the hardest thing in the world to convince ourselves that once we've noted skin color, facial features and hair texture, we have exhausted the subject of race — that everything beyond that is in our heads, put there by others and kept there by ourselves, and all the brutal material consequences of centuries, from lynching to patronizing friendship, were spun from an original thread of falsehood."

And so we ought to be profoundly uneasy with our emotional and psychic disorders in race relations, and we ought to ask why the inner city came to be and why it will remain that way until we seriously decide to change it, why the lack of human resources in anti-poverty is even more critical than under-funding, why civil-rights forces are split in philosophy, each with their own type of desperation, why the Church establishment has taken only the most faltering and indecisive moves relative to poverty and the Negro; why the white community has a perfect genius for maliciously adjusting to every Negro initiative and gain, in such a way that Negro life remains practically the same.

If we continue to disregard with the utmost contempt the moral aspects of the issue (as most whites do) and concentrate single-mindedly on sociology or politics, we have no way of knowing how long the Negro poor will remain submissive, tolerant, and even nonviolent in face of the myriad evidences of white violence against Negroes. Not after the summer's epidemic of rioting and the certain promise of more, not after the ominous white reaction to CORE and S.N.C.C.'s conception of Black Power, not after the defeat of this year's Civil Rights bill, not after an anti-poverty program which is a middle-class insult to thirty or forty million poor people, over one-third of whom are Negro, a program which, even as it stands, is being quietly cut back to support the American adventure in Southeast Asia. Not after three hundred and forty years of tyranny, which finds its only modern counterpart in the Nazi tyranny against the Jews. Indeed, the question of whether America must endure a current

(Continued on page 5)

THE PATHOLOGY OF RACISM

(Continued from page 1)

version of internecine conflict, which finds its only similarity in the Civil War, is not, to any great extent, in Negro hands at all. The question rather rests upon whether whites will withdraw from violent provocation and suppression of Negroes, which at this point in history is simply intolerable. Nor is there much likelihood that this will happen, which puts prognosis for the future within the capacity of a schoolboy.

Be that as it may, both human honesty and Christianity demands that we begin to expose the sheer deceit, unwarranted assumptions and misconceptions that infest most white discussions of black rights in America. Irresponsibility toward Negroes is seldom admitted, and an air of self-righteousness pervades the atmosphere. In Scriptural terms, there is no willingness to repent or to make atonement. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon pretension to lawfulness is insidiously abandoned when the law has to do with Negroes.

Bishop Cerety, of Portland, Maine, made this point in a speech which dared to make concrete reference to "the massive disobedience of whites toward Civil Rights legislation." Citing as an example the fair-housing laws already on the books Bishop Garety commented: "The Negro knows, however, that these laws are disregarded and disobeyed at every turn by lies, subterfuges, falsehoods—and he is the victim of this quiet lawlessness. Similarly, enforcement of fair-employment practices legislation is frequently evaded by illegal means . . . We white people tremble when we hear the extremist cry 'Black Power.' And yet the Negro in this country is faced constantly and on every side with what he sees as the White Power which has lashed him, held him down, humiliated him for these many, many years. He knows that discrimination against him, disdain and even hatred because of his color is an all-pervading fact of our white-dominated society. In the great mass of Negroes this fact keeps constantly alive a deep and enduring mistrust of the generality of whites."

What is the basis, one might ask, for racial pathology of such depth and virulence? What has so infected our consciousness that we can ignore the common facts of humanity, to be obsessed with its surface distinctions? The widespread impersonality of modern life is one answer. Racial separatism, white-oriented education, innocuous and bland religion, social selfishness and materialism are others. These and similar deprivations combine to imbue us with the conviction that black men must be dirty because they're black, must be criminal because they're immoral, must be unintelligent because they are uneducated, must be promiscuous because they have their children, and keep them. And when in contrast, Negroes are obviously clean, educated and moral, the phobia against blackness still prevails, and rejection is still the rule. So we capsulize our fears and myths and moral imbecility in the Negro "problem," and by a sick sort of transference load the whole unlovely burden upon black backs and call it theirs. James Baldwin has some very strong and pointed language to say about this brutal delusion. "In effect, there is no Negro problem. The problem is that one is still in a kindergarten, an emotional kindergarten, and the Negro in this country operates as some weird kind of gorilla who suddenly is breaking up all the blackboards. I am tired of not only being told to wait, but of people's saying, 'What should I do?' They really mean, what should I do about the Negro problem? . . . What should I do for you? There is nothing you can do for Negroes. It must be done for you. One is not attempting to save twenty million people. One is attempting to save an entire country, and that means an entire civilization, and the price for that is high.'"

America is very far from paying the price. In fact, most of America is unaware that a price must be paid. In spite of the rhetoric pouring from pulpits, from the news media and from Washington (most of it inspired by uninformed and superficial good will), America has made the nearly unanimous decision to outlaw the Negro, or to put it more accurately, to live with its age-old decision to outlaw him indefinitely. Most Negroes now live in what has been called "occupied territory," citizens under colonial rule, where the white presence is preponderantly expolitative or repressive. Merchants, parasites, bill collectors, charlatans, housing agents, are all protected by the watchful eye of police power, which, in the inner city, is the buffer force shielding the white community from the restlessness of black resentment. In the most practical sense, Negroes must live according to white whim and nod—rules are very clear, and limits are scrupulously set. Enforcement of rule and limit is total, and enforcement is made possible by the ruthless economics of the system. Unemployment among Negroes is three, five or eight times as high as among whites, as it is in parts of Chicago now, and as it has been in Harlem for many years. At this point, Negroes earn less than half of what whites earn, a condition worsening in the most inexorable fashion—because of automation, because of impoverished education, because of lily-white trade unions, and in spite of a swollen war economy and an unparalleled gross national income. We must understand that, according to our real value system, power in this country means money, and that most Americans believe that money will buy most of what is important. Therefore, keeping the Negro in his place, keeping him from power or from ready access to it, keeping him the native colonial client and the perpetual American scapegoat, is purely and simply, keeping him poor.

Education is next, and part of the conspiracy is causing the Negro to be ignorant—ignorant of his own history, ignorant of his contribution to this country, ignorant of the cultural riches available to whites. As a practical measure of repression, the policy has been enormously successful, since men with ideas can be troublesome, and even uncontrollable. The American experience has shown that majority suppression of a hated minority depends for its success upon poverty and educational deprivation, and that the two are inextricably dependent. So it is that the "separate but equal" facilities were calculated as separate but hardly equal, and they were the perfect solution to keeping Negroes separate and unequal. Today, the neighborhood school in the North has become the symbolic counterpart of the almost total separatism of white and black in the South.

Harold Howe, United States Commissioner of Education, has this to say about compliance with the Supreme Court decision of 1954: "While we have gone on urging moderation, sweet reason, and bigger and better panel discussions, the schools throughout the nation remain almost as segregated today as they were in 1954, when the Supreme Court decided that racially segregated education was illegal. The small progress that the South has made toward desegregation has been offset by increasing **de facto** segregation in the cities of the North. Since 1954, an entire sub-generation of Negro and white youngsters who started first grade in that year has now graduated from high school, most without any classroom experience with the other race. The facts today are that a Negro youngster in an American elementary school has on the national average, not much more than 15% of his classmates from the majority white group; in the Southern states the figure is nearer to 5%; white high school students can expect to have nine out of ten of their classmates from their own white group. The picture does not inspire calm satisfaction."

It is a fact that there is more segregated housing in this country than in 1954; nor have fair-housing legislation in many Northern States, executive orders, Federally financed housing, or the Civil Rights bills of 1964 and 1965 done much to change the stubborn pattern. Many urban areas in the South first began a conscious segregation of Negroes under threat of the legislation coming out of Washington: while the North blandly continued patterns of residential exclusion that were decades, and even centuries, old. Apart from Federal initiative, this has been the trend: either a small minority of Northern states would enact open housing by law, and see it subverted by corrupt housing interests that pandered to

a market obsessed with the sanctity of private poverty: or the states would reject open occupacy, and insure future rejections by nominating or electing candidates like Maryland's Mr. Mahoney or California's Mr. Reagan. With 50% earning power, with a closed housing market, with the fierce threat identified with moves into white neighborhoods, Negroes are literally forced to rent in the inner city, where they are often victims of slumlords, where their rent dollar is worth seventy-five cents, where they must pay exorbitant costs for food, furniture, credit and general services, where the whole syndrome of poverty remains their share of the American inheritance.

Under these conditions, it is little wonder that Negro infant mortality is twice that of whites, that life expectation is from eight to ten years less, that alcoholic psychosis is double, that hypertension and nervous disorders are considerably more common, that narcotics and crime flourish. After all, when there is far less reason to hope, there is far greater reason to rebel or escape.

The extreme pathology of segregation becomes even more evident when we consider its enormous human and material cost. Slavery was initially an economic measure, with morality adjusted to condone it. When the slaves were freed, what passed as morality would not allow their freedom — it had taken too great a toll among the oppressors. So it is that the Negro has been "welcomed" in both slavery and colonialism as an economic asset. Consciously or unconsciously, as a part of prejudice or an effect of it, the Negro has been fenced into poverty as a prop to the nation's private economy. He did not cease to be "Black Gold" with the Emancipation Proclamation—as cheap labor, as victim of exorbitant rents, real estate and food prices, as customer of alcohol, narcotics and numbers, as barter in prostitution, as one whom white law suppressed that his value might continue. The Negro has been very profitable to us indeed, as a huge asset to private enterprise.

Yet private gains are more than lost in the public domain. The country at large pays at least fifty billion dollars a year for the extravagance of rejecting the Negro. We spend almost five billion dollars in welfare, most of which goes to the inner-city ghetto; we invest astronomical amounts in added police and fire protection; riot damage is in hundreds of millions, and has just begun; we lose thirty billion dollars annually because of employment bias; we accept educational costs, which under segregation in the South and comparable devices in the North, hover from one-third to one-fourth above needs, producing in turn an inferior education system for both whites and Negroes.

We are very loath, however, to allow considerations of public interest to invade the private world of income or investment. This would be, in our opinion, an infringement of sacred American rights to one's property, whether that be home, business, savings or labor. And so the signs of the times are not allowed to penetrate —whether these be urban carnage and destruction, a major economic crisis among Negroes, or the growing poetry of despair that now fills civil-rights and black nationalist talk. We can continue to rot morally while the Negro deteriorates physically, and we can face the certain eventuality of a series of Watts upheavals, because we suspect, with profound uneasiness, that it is cheaper to hire more police, or to call out the National Guard, than it is to remove discrimination. Indeed, our very absence of sincerity leads us to decide that police power is our only resource against the massing bitterness of black insurgency.

There is more yet to harrow our waking hours and invade our dreams. Racism is always ambiguous, and it is not less so for being sophisticated. For we treasure the Negro in wartime, while not allowing him to live humanly in peace. Even if one were objectively convinced of the morality of the Vietnam escapade, one would still be very hard put to condone the injustice of Negro participation in that war. A study recently published by the Center for Organization Studies at the University of Chicago verifies a very apparent fact: the Negro is derailed into the armed forces because of inferior education. In civilian lfe, he goes to the ranks of the unskilled; in the armed forces, to combat troops. The percentage of Negro troops in combat arms rose from 12.1% in 1945 to 33.4% in 1962. It is appreciably higher today. In short, poverty and low-grade education makes Negro youngsters fit applicants for cannon fodder, and to this fact is added the extra compensation and prestige offered to specialized battle troops. Although Negroes are about one-tenth of the population, Negro dead and wounded in Vietnam are not one-tenth of the casualties, they are one-third.

Whitney Young, the director of the Urban League, recently went to Vietnam to talk to black troops there. He returned saying that Negroes, in face of the heavy price they were paying in this war, were expecting a better show at home. In spite of Mr. Young's obvious concern, it was an idle gesture, since America is patently eager to trap black men in urban decay and hopelessness, while forcing them to fight its questionable quarrels abroad, all under an incredible blanket of false moralisms and deceit. Anyone who is unconvinced of the duplicity ought to read the **Autobiography of Malcom X**, one of the great books of our times.

Some interesting phenomena are obviously in store for us in this country. For one thing, we are witnessing a massive failure of both domestic and foreign policy, simply because we are insensitive to human rights, and therefore, powerless to promote them. Our normal reaction to a human-rights revolution (both the Negro and Vietnamese revolutions are essentially that) is to meet it with naked force, while continuing to talk the hypocrisy of law and peace. The bastions of American power, and I mean by that the political-industrial-military complex, have the President, Mr. Rusk and Mr. McNamara as their spokesmen. And these men cannot wear two hats: they are white supremacist and caste-conscious at home, they are the same abroad. The victim in America is certainly the Negro; abroad it can be Dominicans or Vietnamese. The point is that the value system demands a victim. And so Americans must ask themselves today if they can handle with force a revolution home, and one abroad—and have these in face of growing indications that they are already out of hand and moving to a climax of disaster. Justice may do little more now than make a few Christians; it may be too late for peace.

Let us imagine that Shylock was a Negro, who in the third act of **The Merchant of Venice**, rails at his persecutors—in particular, Antonio who symbolizes the malice of Christians. Let **Negro** therefore stand for **Jew**, and let **white** stand for **Christian**. "Why," Shylock asks, "has (Antonio) disgraced me and hindered me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated my enemies; and what's his reason? I am a Negro. Has not a Negro eyes? Has not a Negro hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a white is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? and if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? if we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Negro wrongs a white, what is his humility? Why, revenge! The villainy you teach me, I will execute; and it shall go hard, but I will better the instruction."

Will we force the Negro "to better the instruction?" It is mere realism to understand that the time is short, and hate is shutting the door.

Ed. note: Father Berrigan is a Josephite priest stationed in Baltimore and active in the peace and civil-rights movements. His book **No More Strangers** was published last year by Macmillan. The article you have just read is the text of a talk he delivered in Newton, New Jersey, in September of this year.

"The time is coming when we will regret the billions spent in Vietnam. The time is coming when we may regret the number of Negroes we have trained there in guerilla war. There is hardly a city where the Negroes do not already dominate the strategic areas through which the affluent consumer passes on his way to the inner core. We cannot rebuild that sense of community so essential to our beloved country's future by engaging in a white man's war in Asia while a black man's revolt rises at home."

—**I. F. Stone's Weekly,** September 19th

LETTERS

Christi Matri

Loughton
Essex
England

My dear friend Dorothy:

How deeply in debt I am to you for many things! The blessings that the **CW** brings to me every month, the well-remembered hospitality your house gave me, and all you have taught me, not by words but by your being **open to the spirit of God**, so that through you strength comes.

Today I am seized with the joy of radio early morning (and late last night) news about His Holiness' call to us to keep October's whole month dedicated to prayer and work and wisdom for Vietnam.

The agony there has been **haunting us**.

So we thank God for this new appeal—all the more weighty because it is being made after His Holiness' quiet retirement and retreat.

My eager longing is that he enlarges his call, to all of us, non-Catholics but fellow devotees of our Lord and **His** way of overcoming evil. The barriers between you and us are very fragile, almost non-existent, and we need each other's help.

As I'm eighty-two (nearly eighty-three), I can't do very much, but my prayers are that October will be a miracle month in essence.

Yours lovingly,
Muriel Lester

New Orpheus

Fordham University
School of Education
302 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Dear Marty:

The New Orpheus lecture series will be held again this year at the Fordham School of Education. We have already had Maurice Friedman on "The Death of God," and Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J. **(They Call Us Dead Men)** will speak on November 4th. Subsequent speakers will be: John Leo, on "The Changing Catholic" (November 18th); William Stringfellow, on "The Life of God" (December 2nd), and Brother David, O.S.B., on "East and West: An Encounter in Monasticism" (December 16th). All the lectures will be held at eight o'clock on Friday nights and there is no admission charge. CW readers are warmly invited.

Barbara Raggi

Pen Pals For Prisoners

R.F.D. 1, Box 1978
Voluntown, Connecticut
06384

Dear Friends:

We wish to thank all the individuals who have warmly responded to our **Pen Pals for Prisoners** proposals. (See February and April **Catholic Worker.**) A number of you have spoken of involving yourselves, if possible, beyond the level of writing letters to one or several prisoners. Thus we can be optimistic about the chances for a sufficient "lobby" of participants—sufficient to overcome the problems likely to be raised by prison administrators. Each of you should feel free to publicize the proposal from your own point of view, in other periodicals, and through different media, as you may find openings. Clippings of other publicity would be appreciated by us.

The idea has received very encouraging support from a prominent lawyer in Berkeley, who intends to do all in his power to introduce the program into the California penal system if and when it has been accepted by a single system elsewhere. He suggested the Vermont and Philadelphia systems as perhaps neither too large nor too small, and liberal enough to consider being the first.

Unfortunately, we here at the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action peace farm are involved in so many projects against the war in Vietnam that we find little time to pursue the steps toward establishing Pen Pals for Prisoners now open to us. We have not checked with ministers, who might care to present the idea to the Prison Chaplains' Office of the National Council of Churches (475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.). Prison chaplains are the most obvious links between the inside and outside worlds.

In other ways—through the American Psychiatric Association, for instance, through other professional groups, and through individual case workers—the search for connections between the inside and outside should be pursued. When enough contacts have proved successful for a pattern to emerge, the time will have come to plan formal procedures to establish and sustain pen-pal relationships.

The complete list of concerned individuals—which we hope will expand far beyond the present forty-six — will cover progress made over the summer and will be mailed to interested readers in September. Names and addresses of others equally interested are welcome anytime. We hope that between now and September you can find ways to:

- publicize the proposal;
- develop contacts with persons in relevant professions and with prison administrators, chaplains, and case workers;
- initiate personal correspondence with a prisoner or two by one means or other.

Thanks for your encouragement to us; we hope this has returned some.

Paul Salstrom & Anne Upshure

Friday Night Meetings

In accordance with Peter Maurin's desire for clarification of thought, THE CATHOLIC WORKER holds meetings every Friday night at 8:30 p.m. at St. Joseph's House, 175 Chrystie St., between Houston and Delancey Streets.

After the discussions, we continue the talk over hot sassafras tea. Everyone is welcome.

Image of Peace

George W. Henry Foundation
49 West 20th St.
New York, N. Y. 10011

Dear Walter Kerell:

Someone gave me Arthur Schlesinger's **A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House** for Christmas. Dipping into it, I find that JFK had been covering the San Francisco opening of the UN in 1945 for the Hearst papers. According to the book (page 88) he wrote this:

. . . War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today.

I suspect that this quotation could be put to good (?) use by the believers in the Cause. Not being a C. O., pacifist, or even particularly peace-loving, I have some conscientious scruples about passing it on to the brethren. But there is nothing to stop them from making use of what is to be found in the public print.

Alfred A. Gross
Executive Director

The Bitter Grape

The tragedy and bitterness of a jurisdictional dispute and membership raid struck the newly organized United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO recently when Teamster organizers moved into the Delano, California area. At least one of the major growers in the area, Perelli-Minetti, who crushes over 50,000 tons of grapes in his winery each year to produce the 11 Cellars brand, signed a contract with the Teamsters Union which excludes the UFW from its rightful jurisdiction.

The fraternal dispute is the more bitter since the United Farm Workers, and outgrowth of the National Farm Workers Association, founded by Cesar Chavez, leader of the Delano strikers, is now in the crisis stage of its organization and must simultaneously defend its jurisdiction, maintain the strikes it is engaged in to a successful conclusion, and push toward the organizational limits of its jurisdiction among farm workers; the latter alone a task of herculean proportions.

The Teamster Union, impelled by its own dynamic of "expand or die" and not bound by any "no raid" policy since its expulsion from the AFL-CIO for alleged leadership corruption, has very apparently extended the principle of vertical unionization "top to bottom in the industry—one big union" to the farm workers. Perelli-Minetti wine moves in trucks to the big consumer centers, and trucks in big consumer centers are Teamster driven and therefore Perelli-Minetti is vulnerable to Teamster organization—at the point farthest removed from their rightful jurisdiction: in his fields.

The tragedy is twofold: without the dynamic, the sacrifice, the discipline and the courage manifested by Cesar Chavez and the membership of the newly founded United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO, in maintaining the strike against the Delano growers, the interest of the Teamsters in extending their organization to the farm workers would never have been aroused. And if the leadership of the AFL-CIO, in their consuming desire to be accepted by the establishment, had not piously expelled the Teamsters from membership because of alleged corruption, the enormous strength of the Teamsters would have long since made a signed contract an actuality for the United Farm Workers. Perelli-Minetti products along with those of every grower in the area move on wheels; wheels are Teamster jurisdiction, and the fear of not being able to move the product from the fields to the consumer would have brought the grower to the bargaining table in short order. As it is the new membership of the UFW have a bitter introduction to the benefits of big unionism. Having fought and sacrificed for their own outfit; having moved from an association to a formal union; having groped for and joined hands with the rest of the labor movement, they are now, in the moment of initial victory, about to be defeated by the superior strength of a brother union. It can only be hoped that the membership of the United Farm Workers Union will stand fast, and continue to manifest the same discipline, courage and fortitude that made their union possible in the first place. It is too much to hope that either the Teamsters will relent or that the AFL-CIO will pour in even a fraction of the millions they have spent in previous dismal attempts to organize the farm workers to assist the UFW in their struggle for survival and victory.

One thing that all of us who have two dollars to spare can do is subscribe to the United Farm Workers Union paper, El Macriado, Box 1060, Delano, California. Every subscription to El Macriado gives hope and support to all farm workers, both organized and unorganized.

The Crafts of Freedom

(Continued from page 1)

minimum of political involvement. There was a certain uneasiness about urging a Negro sharecropper to register when you knew that it probably meant his losing his job. Jesse Morris, who had written a brilliant and detailed economic analysis called "The General Condition of the Mississippi Negro," and is presently an executive director of P.P.C., began to develop in practice some of the ideals of participatory democracy on an economic level. The concept of worker-owner cooperatives fit not only idealistically but realistically, given the nature of rural, Negro communities. Worker election of co-op managers and direct participation in such vital decisions as wage level, plant expansion, product development and marketing could overcome some of the psychological problems that the segregated system fostered. Groups as well as individuals and, hopefully, communities would be developing not only economic fortresses but the necessary psychological and political identity needed to confront the established white power.

Many of the civil-rights workers possessed craft skills or knew artisans in the North who were willing to go to Mississippi on a volunteer basis to train people. More importantly, many local people already possessed the necessary skills without realizing it. It was not unusual to have to convince a man who had built a very substantial home single-handed that he was good at carpentry or a maid, who had spent many years making clothes for her white mistress, that she was an expert seamstress. Handicrafts could also be made with a minimum of initial worker training and equipment investment. The Northerners who supported the civil-rights movement constituted a potential market for handicrafts and would have patience with production and shipping difficulties that were bound to arise. Furthermore, handicrafts imply a concern with the creative potential of the workers and overcome some of the problems of alienation arising out of assembly-line-type working conditions. The feeling of looking at an aesthetic, functional work of art and saying "I made it myself" can be a joy to anyone. For a Mississippi Negro the feeling is magnified tenfold.

Membership in P.P.C. was confined to Mississippi residents, the fee set at twenty-five cents a year, corporate rules were drafted and officers elected. At present there are over a thousand members throughout the state. P.P.C. decides policy matters that affect the staff and considers proposals from groups wishing to establish new cooperatives and expand existing ones. Loans are made from a revolving fund, which frankly does more revolving than funding.

At present, P.P.C. supports a network of fifteen cooperatives with financial, technical and marketing assistance. Working with a small staff that is willing to work for ten dollars a week or less at such unglamorous assignments as filling orders, delivering supplies, publicity and fund-raising, P.P.C. has managed to survive its first year.

Once a week a P.P.C. truck calls on a producer co-op, picks up the finished products and delivers raw materials, equipment and the P.P.C. Newsletter. The goods are brought to a retail wholesale cooperative in Jackson called Liberty House, where they are sold to the Jackson community, Northern outlets and individuals ordering from a mail-order catalogue. A New York branch store of Liberty House has just opened and serves as a retail outlet. P.P.C. maintains an office in New York, at 5 Beekman Street, which carries on a large share of the ordering of raw materials, publicity and fund-raising. The items include suede hats, quilts, handbags, designer dresses, children's clothes, candles, dolls and belts. A carpentry cooperative is now in the training stage at West Point, Mississippi, and wood handicrafts will soon be added to the catalogue.

Block Power

Two hundred former sharecroppers, most of whom lost their land or jobs because of civil-rights activities, are working in the co-ops. Although few are making more money than they did before joining the co-op, the economic independence and the new hope have fostered a spirit of cooperation and community awareness. In Prairie, Mississippi, for example, a small group working in a broken-down shack on the outskirts of town was engaged in sewing. Through an ingenious fund-raising scheme according to which individuals were urged to buy one cinder block apiece, funds were raised to acquire an acre of land and construct a solid factory. This co-op now employs fifteen people and produces a popular set of Negro and Caucasian stuffed dolls. On Friday and Saturday nights the factory is converted into a social club and the funds raised are used to buy more equipment. The co-op has become the concern not only of the workers, but of the whole county as well.

The project is plagued by a variety of difficulties which revolve around the lack of financial support. In order to produce the goods at a competitive price, raw materials have to be purchased in large quantities, and this cannot be done at the present time. Large contracts with major department stores cannot even be solicited, because production and shipping procedures have not been standardized to meet the needs of large-volume orders. Every time a machine breaks down, or an order gets lost in shipment a major crisis develops. Under "standard" business procedure of course, strong co-ops would be consolidated, weaker ones eliminated, workers fired and wages reduced.

Civil-rights organizations have all been sympathetic, but their own lack of funds and their increasing focus on Northern problems have drawn attention away from the economic plight of Mississippi Negroes. "The Civil Rights Movement don't mean nothing if your stomach's empty and your children go round the streets barefoot" said Mrs. Mathie Williams of Canton, Mississippi, who was a cook in the county jail, and was fired when she registered to vote. Now she is a worker in the Madison County Sewing Firm.

At present the co-ops cannot be self-sustaining. They cannot save money buying raw materials in large quantities or experiment with new designs and equipment. The need for more intensified worker-training programs, the difficulties of shipping products and the pressure of new groups wanting funds preclude complete financial independence. In a year, however, workers will be sufficiently skilled to produce a handbag in one-fourth the time it now takes. P.P.C. will have established credit to increase its purchasing power and increased inventory will cut shipping difficulties to a minimum. The co-ops will, one by one, develop economic stability. All this is a year away, and without substantial outside assistance during the next few critical months that goal will not be realized.

There are valid criticisms of the program, but it is an important step in the right direction. If it is successful, it could provide the model for more ambitious economic programs, such as cooperative farming chains with supermarket outlets, industrial factories, banks, and investment firms. The Poor Peoples Corporation is attempting to light the way to the realization of this goal.

Ed. note: Abbott Hoffman is sales coordinator of the Poor People's Corporation, Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y.

May 4, 1967

MEMORANDUM

TO: Emory Via

FROM: Bob Anderson

As I said, on re-reading it, I think there is less "talking down" than I originally felt. A couple of places do stand out. Pages 8 and 9 where we speak of "poor country people" and the "simple folk."

I think each section has too much introductory material, too many quotes. In one or two cases, as I recall, the introductory passages exceed the text in length.

Somehow the TIME, PLACE, SETTING lead-ins -- although handled, I think, effectively -- do not seem appropriate. I don't know exactly why I feel that way. Maybe they suggest a more literary approach than is called for here.

I have already told you my feelings on the racial and genetic portions and also the section arguing constitutional rights. A bit of reading into the lore of the Putnams satisfied me that we basically answer their arguments, conceding that our readers will have had no exposure to real Nazi type literature.

The question remains as to whether it's directed at a more sophisticated audience than is intended. An unskilled worker with a sixth or seventh grade education will find it heavy weather, but I don't know what the answer would be -- unless it were all done in words of not more than two syllables, and

illustrated in the way your minimum wage booklet was done. I think it's going to take at least a high school graduate to understand everything here that we want them to understand.

Perhaps it is so intended, but to me when we get to the portion linking unions with civil rights, the text begins to take on the tone of a "commercial" -- as though temporarily we weren't trying to educate union members as to the relationship between union rights and civil rights -- but as though we were trying to convince non-union men of the virtues of union affiliation. Reiteration of the phrase "right to free-load law" goes against the grain with me. I think it gives the pamphlet a coarser tone than we want.

Basically for all my carping, I do think she has done a creditable first draft and feel that the thing is worth the trouble of further editing. To me it would be a matter of (1) Settling for one or at most two introductory quotes; (2) Playing the lead-ins straight -- without dramatics; (3) Eliminating the section "Where to for You and Your Children." It sounds phony and preachy to me; (4) If the "commercial" is needed -- making it "soft-sell," as we say on Madison Street!

REA,Jr/js

To Emory Via from Miriam Wasserman

Some notes on ms.

Tone: It is intended to be persuasive without being hortatory. Wherever you can think of ways of better achieving this intention, that would be good.

Typography: The ms. is designed for a fruit-cake-and-icing type of lay-out. There ought to be just enough text to hold together the illustrative examples, quotations, etc. It is intended that these will be set in some kind of display type (not large, but distinctive, like a san serif) and boxed. To be arranged within the text according to content and layout needs. Also each section is introduced by a short incident, paragraph, or story. The introductions are more closely related to the text, serving as a kind of take-off point. Again they should be distinguished typographically from the main body of the text. In some sections we may find we have a disproportion of fruit and nuts to dough--one way or the other. We'll adjust.

Permissions: In a few cases we will have to get permission to reprint. When it is decided which material is to be kept, I will provide names of publishers to be written to. — see attached

Missing material: Here and there I have left out some figures or facts that can be relatively easily obtained if they are not already in your office. I didn't want to stop and do any more research at this point.

Revisions: I am sure that after a week or so I shall want to make revisions in addition to those your staff will desire. Again, I didn't want to keep it cooling here for that purpose.

PERMISSION TO REPRINT MUST BE SOUGHT FOR THE FOLLOWING FROM THE FOLLOWING:

our page 2: 14 ll. from "We're in the same boat, brother," taken from Folways Records Album No. FC 7533--Folkways Records and Service Corp., 117 West 46 Street, NYC

our page 2: about 60 words from "What We know about Race," p. 8, One Nation Library Pamphlet series--Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York

our pages 5-6: 2 pages about 65 words and about 30 words from "What We Know About Race" pp. 16 and 38

our page 29: about 100 words from article by Harry Golden in issue of Nov. 12, 1966--The New Republic, 1244 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

also passim: a total of about 250 words from SRC's Robert Coles' pamphlet, "A Psychiatric Study of the Desegregation of Southern Schools"--what is your policy on such quotations?

SAMPLE PERMISSION LETTER
Address to Permissions Editor in each case

Dear---,

For an educational pamphlet on race relations and Southern labor which we are preparing we should like permission to quote the following from ~~publications~~xm materials published by you:

----words from ----- etc.

Our pamphlet will be approximately 35 pages in length and will sell for under $0000.

Where you wish an acknowledgement of source we should like to do this on a separate page rather than on the page of text where material is being quoted.

WE THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH (from 54 EV Was Sermon Pamphlet)

"I don't hate them. Just they have their place and we have ours. I'm not trying to get into their place and I don't want them trying to get into mine."

"I don't see what all this civil rights business has to do with me. I got my own problems I'm not asking somebody to help me with. So let's them not ask me to worry about theirs."

"Look, they do it their way in the North. We do it our way down here. I'm not running up to Chicago or New York telling them how to run their business. What are they coming down here for trying to tell us how to run ours?"

"Sure, I know they got problems. I ~~sure~~ don't envy them those old houses and bad jobs and mean talk. But what am I supposed to do about it?"

- - - - - - - - - - -

Who's that talking? Is that you?

There's been a lot of talk and a lot of stirring up the last couple of years. Things seemed quieter when we were children and people knew what they thought and what they ought to do. Now with demonstrating, and guidelines, and integration, and registration, it's hard to know what the real facts are and what's right and what's wrong. And even when we know that (the?) facts, it's hard to know what we can do about it.

Let's try to look at some of the facts about what we are doing and maybe we can come up with some ideas about what we can do.

Some subjects ~~where~~ about which we all need to know ~~the~~ facts are: differences and likenesses among people; how segregation began; our Constitutional rights; ~~poor~~ working people in the South; labor unions in the South; politics in the South.

Perhaps knowing more about these subjects will help us get over the feeling that we can't do anything about what happens. Perhaps the facts can help us make our own decisions about what we think is right and what we think is good for us.

Transcribe?

Race: human . . .

We're in the same boat, brother,
we're in the same boat, brother.
And if you shake one end, you're going
to rock the other.
It's the same boat brother.

Oh, Lordy look down from His holy place,
Say "Lordy me but I see a face.
I'm about to launch the human race."

So He give 'em a boat with a mixed-up crew,
With eyes of black and brown and blue.
So that's how come that you and I
Got just one world with just one sky.

Oh it took some time for the crew to learn
What's bad for the bow ain't good for the stern.
We're in the same boat, brother, we're in the same
boat brother.

Transcribe?

There are many ethnic groups. They differ from one another much less than they resemble one another. The likenesses between, say, the average American white and the average Bushman of the Kalahari Desert of South Africa are far more numerous that the differences. The likenesses are about 95 per cent, while the differences are about 5 per cent.

use elsewhere if at all: what differences can be measured in %?

- - - - - - - - - - -

"Can you talk about race without losing your temper?" That's a question the AFL-CIO has been asking its members. If you're a typical American, chances are you would have to answer, "Well, it's hard."

A lot of us who feel angry when we talk about race really aren't quite sure what race is. How did this boat come to have a "mixed-up crew"? How is race different from nationality or religion? Do people in different

races only look different, or do they also think and feel different? Are some races more intelligent, honest, clean, musical than others?

Scientists have answered some of these questions.

Scientists say there is really just one race--the human race. Within the human race there are different groups called ethnic groups. Physical traits distinguish one group from another: hair color and texture, eye color, thickness of lips, skin color, shape of head, hairiness among men, and so on. Scientists believe that these differences came about over hundreds of thousands of years as different groups of people living in different climates gradually developed characteristics that made it easier for their bodies to function in the environment they were living in.

Many people seem to believe that the differences get handed down from one generation to the next by the blood--that there is such a thing as Negro blood, white blood, Indian blood, and so on. This is not so. If you've ever donated blood or had a transfusion, you may know that there are four types of blood, called A, B, AB, and O. All four types appear among all ethnic groups. The most thorough chemical or microscopic examination would not show the slightest difference between an A-type blood taken from a white man and an A-type blood taken from a Negro.

It isn't the blood that makes a newborn baby have nappy black hair or straight blond hair or dark brown skin or light pink skin. It is structures called genes in the fertilized ovum from which the infant developed. Half the genes come from the father, half from the mother, and they combine in quite complicated ways to determine the child's sex, physical characteristics, and mental and emotional potential (promise). why use word we have to define?

Most of these traits are independent. So each new baby is like a newly dealt poker hand. He might have been dealt the "cards"--genes--for brown skin, tallness, high intellectual potential, and maleness; or the cards for light skin, shortness, medium intellectual potential, and maleness; or the cards for light skin, shortness, high intellectual potential, and femaleness;

and so on.

There is nothing in the genes that makes brightness or stupidness go along with skin tone or shape of nose. Also being studious, or honest, or lazy; or speaking English, or French, or Congolese don't go along with the cards carrying the physical traits. As a matter of fact, These and other some of the most important human behavior traits aren't carried on the cards at all.

"behaving" often used only with "good" examples becomes moralistic rather than supposed of "behavior"

We learn ways of behaving. We learn to be honest, ambitious, or neat, just as surely as we learn to read, bake bread, or drive an automobile. But, as we remember from our own childhood and know from being parents, learning character traits is a far more difficult task than learning to multiply by twelve or write our name. [I don't know about that]

The physical traits that most people think of as racial are inherited: they are "in the cards" before the baby is born. The traits of personality and intelligence seem to be a combination of inherited and learned traits.

¶ The newborn has a potential (a promise in his genes) for intelligence, for example, and this promise is fulfilled or broken by what life offers him. If his intelligence is starved and neglected, the promise of his genes--the promise his parents made when they conceived him--will be broken. The same as if he had been given a promise of good health and long life by his genes and then raised without milk and meat and fresh vegetables, and sunshine, and warm clothing in the winter: he might survive but he would not be as robust and full of energy as his genes had promised. But if his intelligence is fed--with good schools and good books and with the confidence, love and attention of his parents, neighbors and teachers--the promise will be fulfilled.

(Illustrative material for "Race: human")

Negro is defined differently in the United States and Brazil. In the United States anyone who is not "pure white" is a Negro. In Brazil, anyone who is not "pure black" is a Caucasion.

People talk about the "American race," the "English race," the "French race." American, French, English are not races; they are nationalities. People also talk about the "African race," the "Negro race," the "white race," the "dark races." There are no such "races." There are many different types of colored and white people.

Primer approach? we don't give the audience credit for knowing anything here.

Suppose you were born in a small village in a land in which there is great poverty and where the illiteracy rate is high. At your present age you wouldn't be able to read or write. You would probably believe in all sorts of ignorant things, such as that the sun travels around the earth. Compared to yourself as you are at the present time, with all the advantages of having been born and brought up and gone to school in the United States, your "village" self would be very stupid, indeed. Why is your "village" self stupid and your American self intelligent?"

good pull-in lead

High intelligence is not the monopoly of any one ethnic group. What is often the monopoly of one ethnic group is the control of opportunity in such a manner as to afford its benefits to its own group while excluding other groups from enjoying them. Imagine that a group of one hundred Belgian men and women had been held in slavery in a village deep in the Congo and several generations of their descendents prevented from ~~either~~ having their own schools or participating fully in the society of their black captors. Now imagine that the captors gave the children of the fifth generation of Belgain slaves "intelligence tests" in skills that were important in that Congolese village. What kind of scores would they get?

Let's, start up them as white

Tests made the year before and the year after a school in Lousiville, Kentucky, was integrated showed that both Negro and white students improved considerably in how fast they learned. too vague a statement

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Courage and strong character are traits that children learn from all the experiences they have. A white boy in a recently desegregated school in

school in Atlanta, Georgia, wrote in the autograph book ~~for~~ of a Negro classmate: "Martha, I cannot tell you how much I admire your courage and determination. After you had finished that little talk in English, in my eyes you were 'nine feet tall.'" That boy learned something his teacher didn't have to tell him.

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Is play format comprehensible

The way it's always been . . .

Time: April 1865 (after the withdrawal of federal troops from the Southern states; after the inauguration of the first Democratic President of the United States in 24 years)

Places: Trains, hotels, dining rooms, passenger boats going south from Washington, D.C., to Columbia, S.C.

Characters: T. McCants Stewart, a Negro native of South Carolina who has lived in Boston for ten years; various fellow travelers and officials he encounters on his trip.

Some indidents:

In a station dining room near Petersburg, the traveler sits down at a table with white people and is courteously served. He writes a letter home: "The whites at my table appeared not to note my presence. Thus far I have found traveling more pleasant than in some parts of New England."

In Columbia, he watches a Negro policeman arrest a white man "under circumstances requiring coolness, prompt decision, and courage."

Throughout his trip he is impressed by the friendliness and courtesy of white fellow passengers. He writes home again: "I think the whites of the South are really less afraid to have contact with colored people than the whites of the North."

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We all remember how things were when we were children. Our parents and grandparents have told us how things were when they were children. This is the "history" that we know best. It seems to us that the way things were in those "~~logd~~ good old days" is the way things had always been, and the way things ought to be.

It comes as a supprise to many of us to discover that in the long history of the South, segregation is a fairly new arrangement of relations between whites and Negroes, and that cooperation between whites and Negroes in politics and in trade unkons has occurred quite often.

& elsewhere

In the ten or twelve years after the Civil War, federal officials and

Northern teachers and merchants came to the Southern states in large numbers. Some of the teachers and officials believed in segregation and some didn't; some of the businessmen and officials were honest and some weren't. By and large the federal officials in this period were not interested so much in integration as they were in helping the former slaves secure their rights as free workers and voters.

After the federal troops were withdrawn and the Democrats in each state came to win out over their Republican opponents, the question of segregation was still not very important. Negroes still voted in large numbers. Some held public office, like the policeman in Columbia. Those who had money ate in restaurants and travled in public conveyances with whites. Some whites considered this a right and fair way of doing things; some didn't like it.

How interpret this — tie to Beulah?

Most of those who didn't like it were poor country people whose lives were hard and whose feelings were bitter, the very same people who, owning no slaves themselves, had fought a long and terrible war to preserve slavery--and lost.

talking down?

In the later 1880's and early 1890's prices for farm commodities went way down and, as usual, it was the poor farmers who suffered the most. They began to turn their increasing bitterness against the well-to-do leaders of the economic and political community. Together with suffering farmers in other parts of the country, they organized the Populist party to try to better their situation. ¶ The Southern Populists had Negro members and solicited Negro votes. As a matter of fact, in a certain way the Negroes were very popular at this time because the well-to-do conservatives also tried to get the Negro votes. But at the same time as they were using the Negro votes to bolster their political control, the conservatives were beginning to turn against a moderate racial policy: they started white-supremacy campaigns and encouraged violence against Negroes.

mated

Gradually the conservatives won over the Populists, and they helped to

cement the new friendship by introducing stricter and stricter forms of segregation in public life and by taking away the Negroes' vote.

For a little while in the South there was an alliance between small white farmers and small Negro farmers to try to make a better life for all of them. That alliance failed in the face of an alliance among all the whites, rich and poor, against all the Negroes. The new alliance was preserved by pushing Negroes out of public life, in other words by segregation.

Segregation (the "good old days" we sometimes talk about) really began only about 60 or 70 years ago. Our grandparents might have been told stories by their grandparents about the "good old days" when it looked as if the simple folk of both races could work together for the good of all. What kind of stories will our children tell their grandchildren?

disparaging?

a more acceptable term?

Too many generations back. My grandparents told me about it.

(Illustrative material for "The way it's always been")

"They are in the ditch just like we are." --a Texas Populist in the 1890's

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"The People's party will settle the race question by offering a platform immensely beneficial to both races and injurious to neither and by making it to the interest of both races to act together for the success of the platform."

--Tom Watson, Georgia Populist, candidate for Vice-President — 1892

Time after time the Populists would discover that after they had won in the white counties, fraudulent returns from the Black Belt counties were used to defeat them. In 1896, the New Orleans Times-Democrat cynically remarked that white supremacy had again been "saved by Negro votes." Without explanation this could be misleading

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In the 1870's and 1880's most of the saloons in Mississippi served whites and Negroes at the same bar. In some of the restaurants, Negroes and whites were served at separate tables but in the same room. In Jackson, Angelo's Hall was used alternately by white and Negro groups for gatherings or parties.

In 1885 in New Orleans a visitor reported that he saw "a colored clergyman in his surplice seated in the chancel of the most important white Episcopal church in New Orleans, assisting the service."

"The common sense and proper arrangement . . . is to provide first-class cars for first-class passengers, white and colored. We need separate cars for rowdy or drunken white passengers far more than Jim Crow cars for colored passengers." --a Charleston, S.C., newspaper, 1897

Struggling people in a struggling land . . .

How would you like your busy executives to be able to relax on spacious lawns under spreading magnolia trees every weekend . . . to take a swim in the plant pool in the middle of the day? How would you like to locate in a plant built for you by a community that will welcome you with true Southern hospitality? Best of all, how would you like rock bottom local taxes, low state income taxes, and an abundant and willing work force?

Locate in "Southstate" where profits are high and living is good.

How would you like to live in a house with broken screens, leaky plumbing, and a sagging front porch? How would you like to live in a town where the children have been hanging around the streets all summer since three years ago when they shut down the public swimming pool? How would you like to be able to pay three cents or four cents on every grocery dollar to help keep the state tax on incomes over $6,000 nice and low? How would you like your children to attend the poorest schools in the nation because good schools cost too much? How would you like to live in a town where the newspaper, the police, and the mayor help Northern industrialists smear your union organizers as "outside agitators" so you will stay "willing"?

Stay in "Southstate" where wages are low and living is hard.

- - - - - - - - - - -

Mix up the nation's richest soil, six to ten months of sunshine and above-freezing temperatures, and a hard-working, honest people, and what do you get? The poorest section in the whole United States.

That's hard to believe, isn't it? Certainly, if resources are abundant, climate favorable, people hard-working, you ought to come up with a prosperous, flourishing land. But here, in the South we don't. No wonder many of us think that somebody else must be to blame.

Economists can measure poverty and prosperity the way a surveyor measures land or a caprenter measures lumber or a butcher a side of beef. Only, instead of acres, feet, and pounds, economists use such measures as average hourly wages, average income per family or per person, average number of years of

schooling, condition of housing, and ~~others.~~ so on.

We in the South fail to "measure up" to the rest of the nation in every single one of these tests. For example, in 1964, average income per person in South Carolina, (one of the original 13 states,) was only $1,647, while in the western state of Washington, (which didn't come into the Union until 1889,) average income was $2,634--a thousand dollars higher.

relevant?

In that same year, Alabama spent $277 for each schoolchild in school, while Connecticut in the Northeast spent $600, and the average of the whole country was $484. When a state doesn't spend very much on education, the children are less likely to finish high school and go on to college. In North Carolina, for example, out of every thousand ninth graders 590 graduate from high school and 212 go on to college; but in California 894 graduate from high school and 724 go on to college.

In other words, our children get fewer years of schooling and poorer schooling than do children in the North or in the West. And they grow up to get worse jobs, live in worse houses, and have less to spend on food and medicine and education for their children.

Why are we behind our fellow Americans in Nevada and Minnesota and Rhode Island? We don't answer the question.

Some people say it's Washington's fault. But the federal government in general pays out more in grants to poor states than it pays out to rich states and receives less from poor states in taxes than it receives from rich states.

Some people say its the Negroes' fault. But the Negroes are even poorer than everybody else. Some people say that's because they want to be poor, or because they're lazy. But then some people say we white working people want to be poor or we're poor because we're lazy. And we know that is not so.

History shows us that <u>a free working people in a rich land does not have to be poor</u>. When we say free, we mean a working people that can vote and can

organize in unions. The Constitution of the United States gives all Americans--North and South--that freedom. Let's look at the Constitution, and then see if we are using our freedom to help ourselves.

(Illustrative material for "Struggling people in a struggling land")

"Northwest Mississippi is dominated by the Delta Council. Fancy brochures have been distributed by this organization advertising the availability of a large, docile work force that is willing to work for substandard wages."

--Claude Ramsay, President of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, July, 1966

When you apply for unemployment insurance, the local office of your state unemployment insurance board decides whether you are "qualified" to receive it. If they disqualify you, you may have a long wait before you can start to collect or you may be refused payments altogether. Some states disqualify you if you quit your job even if you had a very good reason to quit. The laws in most states of the South encourage your local office to deny you benefits if you quit--whatever your reason for quitting.

check

SOURCE

In 1963 in Mississippi the average worker employed in manufacturing earned $1.69 an hour; in South Carolina, he earned $1.71 an hour; in Georgia, $1.83 an hour. The highest in the Deep South was $2.11 in Alabama. But in the whole rest of the United States the rate was below $2 in only two states! In Connecticut it was $2.54; in Texas, $2.35; in Wisconsin, $2.58; in Nevada, $3.11.

check for most recent

¶ In 1960, taking the states North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, between 30 and 50 percent of the houses or apartments were either dilapidated or missing one or more plumbing fixtures. Taking the states Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada, only between 8 and 22 percent were dilapidated or lacking plumbing.

Nationality: American

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." --Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. . . .

Congress shall have the power to provide for the general welfare of the United States. . . .

No States shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article. . . .

Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of people peacably to assemble. . . .

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

--Constitution of the United States

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The Constitution of the United States protects our rights.

For example, our rights to organize a union, strike against our employer, picket in front of his place of business to discourage strikebreakers from entering. All are protected by the Constitution.

Here is an account of an actual discussion about these issues that some union members had at a recent meeting:

CHARLIE (the discussion leader). Do you think that as Americans and as union members, you should have the right to picket?

WHOLE GROUP. Yes.

CHARLIE. What gives you the right to picket?

TONY. We got it from the Constitution. The Bill of Rights I think.

CHARLIE. Right. Now listen, this year, the SouthCarolina legislature passed a bill practically outlawing all picketing in the state. So your employer decides that now is a good time to try to break your union. He announces that starting Monday there's going to be a 10 per cent wage cut and no more paid vacations. What do you do?

WHOLE GROUP. Try to make him listen to reason, and if he won't, go on strike.

CHARLIE. Ok. But he can get replacements. There's some guys been waiting for a chance to get your jobs and they'll work for less. You're finished, aren't you?

RALPH. No. I don't think guys in this town would break a picket line.

CHARLIE. But suppose now the Governor says, "There will be no picketing in my state. I don't give a hoot about the Bill of Rights or those radicals on the Supreme Court. Washington isn't going to tell me what to do." So he calls out the National Guard--to stop you from picketing. What do you do now?

BOB. Go back to court, all the way to the Supreme Court if necessary.

CHARLIE. Ok, supposing you do, and supposing you win. And the Governor backs down. Now you go back to picketing. Let's suppose a statewide committee has been formed that calls itself the South Carolina Citizens for Freedom against Picketing. You're out there picketing, holding your signs high. You're not being violent, or saying anything, just walking back and forth quiet. The cops are watching you, maybe looking angry, but not interfering. Now a mob from the South Carolina Citizens for Freedom against Picketing wades in and starts screaming "Kill the dirty Communists!" and throwing bricks and stones. And the cops just go on watching. You're in trouble, eh?

Maybe you want to carry it from there.

The individual states in our country have more independence than local governments in almost any other country in the world. But would you want the individual states to have the right (which state officials sometimes call "states rights") to say you couldn't organize, or picket, or publish an article or editorial in your union paper that criticizes an employer? Aren't there some officials in your state that would do just that if they could get away with it?

The Constitution of the United States is the "supreme law of the land"; that means that no official--from a county supervisor to the President of the United States can go against the Constitution. It also means that the Constitution protects every citizen and that every American is a citizen: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States."

If every American, whatever state he lives in, whatever race he is, has the same rights under the Constiution of the United States, then why are wages lower in the South? And schools poorer? And unemployment payments lower? And unions weaker?

Are we using the freedoms the Constitution guarantees us in the best possible way?

(Illustrative material for "Nationality: American?)

In 1962 the voters of Simpson County, Mississippi, approved a bond issue of $1,200,000 to build a plant for a company called Universal Manufacturing Corporation--a company which was owned by another company located in Paterson, New Jersey.

(The people in New Jersey have no law prohibiting a union shop; the people in Mississippi do. Average income per person in New Jersey is $2,962; average income per person in Mississippi is $1,444. In 1966 Mississippi got $31 million for grade schools and high schools from the federal government, and New Jersey got only $24 million. But people in Mississippi needed that federal money: 18 percent of the adults had less than 5 years of schooling, while in New Jersey only 3 per cent of the adults had less than 5 years of schooling.)

Call it Jersey and you label yourself a demagogue

In 1964 some workers in Universal's plant asked the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to help them organize a union. Meanwhile a group of about 25 people in the town organized a Citizens' Universal Advisory Council of Simpson County. According to the IBEW, the County Board of Supervisors, two city mayors, and a radio station manager were all on the Advisory Council: its purpose was to prevent a union from being organized. The sheriff, highway patrolmen, and company supervisors worked together to prevent handbilling. The local newspapers ran editorials saying the union was being organized by "outside agitators"--in a company owned by a company from New Jersey! According to the National Labor Relations Board, there was a community conspiracy which "made inflamatory, irrelevant appeals to racial feelings, and also linked unions, civil rights, and communism as aspects of a single pernicious entity."

Spread union mail

In 1966, the IBEW went to court to get the workers' rights under the Constitution. They filed a suit under the Civil Rights Act of 1964--a law passed under the clause which says "Congress shall have the power to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." They charged that there was a conspiracy to deprive them of their rights as citizens of the United States.

Finally, after the National Labor Relations Board had issued an order in favor of the union, the company from New Jersey broke down. There was an election. The union won. There were negotiations. The workers at Universal got a contract.

What good would "states rights" have done the workers? ~~What good does "states rights" usually do the workers?~~

Whose side are you on, brother?

CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER. Negroes are the only people in the United States who when they meet call each other "brother!"

TRADE UNION MEMBER. Wrong. Trade union members call each other brother.

QUESTIONER. Are Negro and white working people going to be "brothers" like Cain and Abel?

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¶ If the Constitution is on our side, and Washington is often on our side, then why can't we in the South get the good things for ourselves and our children that we need and want?

On the basis of the preceding chapters, you may already have formed some idea or conclusion: One conclusion that many people come to is that no country is rich enough so that its people can afford to hate their neighbors and at the same time take good care of themselves and their families. If each person works only for himself and tries to undercut the other, there's less for everybody. On the other hand, by extending ourselves, we can build up wealth all around--wealth in goods and in good will.

Let's look at the facts again. Labor history is full of examples of both kinds: examples of Negro and white workers cutting each other's throats and examples of Negro and white workers coming together to get more good things and good will for all of them.

Case 1

In 1956, the American Federation of Teachers had about 4,000 members in Southern locals, 3,000 in Atlanta, Georgia. When the International voted that there could be no more segregated locals in the AFT, five Southern locals pulled out.

The New York City teachers have had a strong, integrated local since 19xx. It has a contract with the New York City Board of Education. Average teacher salaries in New York are $xxxx; average teacher salaries in Atlanta are $xxxx. New

York City teachers have tenure after three years; Atlanta teachers never have tenure. New York City teachers have protection against arbitrary disciplining by a good grievance procedure; Atlanta teachers have none. A New York City high school teacher teaches five classes a day; has a free lunch period; and two free periods to grade papers and prepare lessons. An Atlanta high school teacher . . ;. . . . . .

Which teachers ~~could~~ can do a better job teaching your children? What did the Atlanta teachers achieve by refusing to work together in integrated locals for better working conditions and better schools?

Case 2

After the Civil War new factories and new industries sprouted all over the country. Working conditions in most of them ranged from pretty terrible to atrocious. Children of eight and ten years old were employed. People worked a 60- and 70-hour week.

Courageous men and women sought to organize labor unions as the best answer to inhuman conditions. They had to confront: police brutality; terror; blacklists; yellow dog contracts; strikebreakers. Most of the labor unions excluded Negroes instead of teaching them about trade unionism.

For sure the employers didn't teach them. In 1867, for example, Boston shipbuilders brought Negro caulkers from Portsmouth, Virginia, to break the white workers' eight-hour-day campaign. Iron and cotton mill operators in the North went south looking for cheap Negro labor and threw better-paid white workers out of their jobs.

In the long run, what good did it do the Negroes to let themselves be used as strikebreakers and cheap help?

Chase 3

In 1963 the International Chemical Workers, with strong support from top civil rights leaders, organized the workers in the Scripto plant in Atlanta, Georgia, and won an NLRB election. Of the 900 workers, about 750 were unskilled Negro women; about 150 were skilled men, all but a handful white. There were no unskilled white women; the company said white women would't ~~work at~~ do that kind of work. The skilled workers had many special privileges and benefits: more holidays, better hospitalization coverage, Christmas bonuses. None of them belonged to the union.

After the election, bargaining began. But the company negotiators dragged their feet and finally the workers went out on strike. The skilled workers went through the picket line seven days a week during the whole strike. So did some white women whom the company hired as strikebreakers, finding that they would after all ~~work at~~ do that kind of work. The strikebreakers worked 7 days a week, 10 hours a day, like in the 1880's before there were strong unions.

But other unions throughout the city helped the strikers, and honored their picket line. And there was national publicity to influence purchasers of Scripto products. The strike was won: the union won; the Negro workers won; the white workers won; the company won. A year after the strike, about 65 per cent of the white workers had joined the unkon. The company had given up its anti-union stand and was working with the unkon in good faith. All the workers had pay increases, equalized working conditions, a grievance ~~procedure~~ procedure that meant they could do more than beef and stew when they felt they were being treated unfairly. Not a happy combination.

One white union member, talking about how the skilled workers had felt about the union at first, said, "Boy, what a mistake we made! We ain't gonna make that mistake again." Sounds continued, whether it is or isn't.

Case 4

In 1957, the International Union of Electrical Workers was organizing in Mississippi. The Sperry Rand Corporation (which has unionized plants in - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -) was having an election. A local paper printed a big front page picture of James B. Carey dancing with an unidentified Negro woman. (She happened to be the wife of a Nigerian delegate at an international labor convention in Switzerland, and should more accurately have been identified as African or Nigerian since Negro really means Negro-American.) The paper ran an editorial next to the picture saying that those who favor "whites and Negroes dancing cheek to jowl as 'Brother' Carey is doing should, of course, vote to let the IUE take over control of the Vickers plant and thereby give moral approval of Brother Carey and the company he keeps." Actually what mattered to the the newspaper and the company was not what Brother Carey might do at a labor union convention in Switzerland but what the IUE would do in Mississippi. The workers at the Vickers plant understood this: the IUE won the election.

(Illustrative material for "Whose side are you on?")

Richmond, Virginia, 1842. The Tredegar Iron Works decides to reduce labor costs by laying off free white workers and buying or renting slaves.

"I can hire one-half the working class to kill the other half." --Jay Gould, 19th century railroad magnate and stock-market manipulator

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New Orleans, October, 1892. White and Negro workers begin to agitate for a ten-hour day. Employers pit black against white. Newspapers write vicious anti-union editorials. But twenty thousand workers of both races walk out and close down the whole town. There is no violence and no property damage. Also there are no scabs, for ~~whill~~ who will scab when all are striking together? In four days, the New Orleans Board of Trade agrees to negotiate. The strikers win most of their demands.

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"The apprenticeship training programs don't just discriminate against Negroes; they discriminate against everybody." --George Meaney, President AFL-CIO

"We don't belong in this kind of battle, against disadvantaged people trying to gain equality. We may have some minor differences as to details, but substantially, justice and right <u>are</u> on their side. If we are looking for a fight, we have plenty of things worth fighting for, so let's concentrate on those." --Peter T. Schoemann, President of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters

(Schoemann seen trouble to labor lib?)

"There are 35 million people living under the poverty line in this country. Twenty per cent of them are black and 75 per cent are white. Therefore, the black working poor and the white working poor must unite in order that we can fight for full employment under the leadership of organized labor."

--A. Philip Randolph, Vice-President AFL-CIO

"Some day when the white Southerner has finally had enough of keeping himself poor in order to keep the Negro poor, too, there will be a change."

--Atlanta Contitution, October 8, 1966

"You boys are going to have to decide whether you want to be represented by the Klan or the AFL-CIO. It's not going to be both." --Claude Ramsay, Mississippi AFL-CIO President

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"Negroes are almost entirely a working people. Our needs are identical with labor's needs; decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. That is why the labor-hater and the labor-baiter is virtually always a twin-headed creature spewing anti-Negro epithets from one mouth and anti-labor propaganda from the other mouth." --Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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"We left the colored people out when we first organized and we lost two Labor Board elections. Then we asked them to join the union. We won the third election with their votes. They have made good union members and we are mighty glad they were with us." Georgia textile worker, 1940's

Other Civ Rts groups?
Freedom Budget

From plant to polling place . . .

A Civil Rights Act to protect voting rights, access to public accommodations, right to equal education of all citizens was passed by Congress in 1964. If you were a citizen of South Carolina, all five of your Representatives and both of your Senators voted against it.

Why S.C.?

also

A Law to Provide Worker Protection in Mass Transity was passed by Congress in 1964. This bill ensured that workers in federally supported mass transit systems had adequate labor standards and ~~xx~~ union protection. If you were a citizen of South Carolina, all but one of your Representatives voted against it.

calculate from voting people

"Right-to-work" laws and right-to-vote laws. If you lived in any of the 11 Deep South states in 1965 the chances are 00 to 00 that your Congressmen voted against your having the right to have a unkon shop in your plant and 00 to 00 against protection of Negroes' right to vote.

Whose side are they on, brother?

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~~Nxx~~ You know how the words people use sometimes mean one thing to them and something quite different to you? For example, take the so-called "right-to-work" laws. What does "right-to-work" seem to mean?

It could mean that anybody that can fulfill the qualifications for a particular job has the right to apply for that job and get if he's the best applicant. It could mean that everyone who is willing and able to work has a right to have a job, couldn't it? It could mean that ~~xxy~~ a worker ought to be protected against being fired without cause. But it doesn't mean any of those things.

What "right-to-work" means to the people who made up the phrase is that even if a large majority of the workers in your plant want it, you can't have a union shop. You can ~~xxxxx~~ negotiate a contract that will cover every last worker, give them wage increase, hospitalization, paid vacations,

a grievance committee, but you can't make any worker join the union and pay dues if he doesn't feel like it. Because the "right-to-work" law says you can't have a union shop. It's as if the majority of the people in your town decided to levy a special tax to repave all the streets, and some residents who would go right on using the streets anyway, would say, "Sorry, but I don't feel like paying that tax," and the law would say, "It's ok, you can't make them, because we have a Right-to-Use-the-Streets Law in any town."

The "right-to-work" laws are actually "right-to-freeload" laws.

Right-to-freeload laws make it hard for unions to be strong, because if people can get the benefits of a union for nothing, without paying dues and without leaving their TV set to go to union meetings, they do just that. And a local's membership falls off, and pretty soon it doesn't represent a majority any more, and you're back to no union in your plant.

Section 14B of the National Labor Relations Act gives each state the power to decide if it wants to have a right-to-freeload law or not. Nineteen states in the union have such laws; nine of them Southern states. (In other words, 00 per cent of the Deep South states have a right-to-freeload load, but only 00 per cent of the other states.)

The people that are in favor of the right-to-freeload laws call Section 14B a "states-rights" section; and the people that are opposed to right-to-freeload laws call Section 14B an anti-labor section. If you can get the voters all worked up about states rights, for other reasons, they might not notice that 14B is anti-labor.

If you are <u>aginst</u> freeloading and <u>for</u> a strong union, you already know that you would like to get the right-to-freeload law in your state repealed, and you would like to get 14B repealed in Congress. How do other people stand on this issue?

..;..... out of ten Congressmen from the Deep South states are <u>for</u> right-to-freeload laws and <u>for</u> 14B. And most members of state legislatures

and governors in the Deep South are for right-to-freeload laws; they're they ones who passed them. Ten out of ten civil rights leaders are against right-to-freeload laws and against 14B.

Here are some other ways in which pro-labor state legislatures could be helpful to us: Does your unemployment insurance pay at least your rent and grocery bill when you're laid off? If not, your state legislature has the power to raise the benefits. Do you know workers who have been hurt on the job and didn't get enough compensation to pay all their medical and living expenses while they were out? Your state legislature controls industrial compensation.

Not an adequate fill-in — simply legs can read

We put our legislators in the state capitol and our Congressmen in Washington. ~~xxxx

(Illustrative material for "From plant to polling place")

"Labor won the right-to-work fight in Oklahoma last year because the Negro vote was almost 100 per cent on our side. Had it gone the other way, Oklahoma would be a right-to-work state today. Let's never forget that."

--Peter T. Schoemann, United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters, April 1965

Anti-NO Source?

"Twenty-six counties in Mississippi have a Negro population majority. Many of Labor's worst enemies in the Mississippi Legislature live in these counties. We have very few members residing in these counties; if these people are to be removed from office, it will have to be done with the Negro vote. To a large degree our legislative program is dependent upon our ability to form a political alliance with these people. This we are trying to do. The enemies of the labor movement in this state know this and are working overtime to keep it from coming about." --Claude Ramsay, President Mississipi AFL-CIO, July 14, 1966

"We join hands with labor to fight for higher wages, better housing, health protection, more education and all of the fine programs that are designed to give all of our citizens a chance to share in the bounty of our nation. We join with them in urging the repeal of Section 14B because we believe that such action is in the best interests of all wage-earners as well as in the interest of our country." -- Civil Rights Leaders James Farmer, Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, May 27, 1965

"We believe thatminimum wage protection must be extended to one of the most cruelly used groups in the land, those people who work long, hard hours at backbreaking or menial jobs and who are nevertheless poor. We should raise the minimum wage to $2.00."--Civil Rights Leaders James Farmer, James Forman, Dorothy Height, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins

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"It has been traditional in the South for conservative candidates to blind white laboring men to their own economic interests by distracting them with

racism. And it has worked." --Atlanta Constitution, October 8, 1966

"We have a large percentage of people on the Social Security rolls than many states. Yet, our Congressional delegation consistently votes against improvements to the Act.

We have over fifty-five thousand AFL-CIO members residing in Mississippi. When the House of Representatives voted to repeal Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, all five of our Representatives voted against repeal and Senator Eastland helped carry on a filibuster that prevented the Senate from voting.

You may well ask yourself as I have, who do these people represent in the Congress of the United States? It certainly isn't the poor workers, the school teachers, the retired people or the union people. When you total up the groups just mentioned, you come up with a vast majority of the people who live and work in this state. How and why is this possible?

In a negative sort of way, the Negro has dominated Mississippi politics for many years. Instead of running for or against issues affecting the economic welfare of the people, most candidates have been elected on their ability to use the race issue." --Claude Ramsay, President of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, June 14, 1966

" 'I am a doffer in the mill and I get $1.72 an hour; the doffer in a mill in Massachusetts gets $2.35 an hour; I was willing to work for $1.72 an hour because I could say, "Nigger, get in the back"; and that was worth 63 cents an hour to me. But now I can't say that, he's sitting right in the middle of the bus, so give me the 63 cents an hour you owe me.'

In Virginia some of the unions assess members a dollar a month--to fight integration. As late as 1964, I saw Negro members of a union in the building trades sitting up in the balcony segregated from their white fellow union members. . . . Even at this late date the unions still do not realize what employers were quick to grasp--Jim Crow and 14B are one and the same struggle."

--Harry Golden, South Carolina journalist and author

Check

Let EV see whole article

Where to for your children and you?

"I've really changed a lot of my ideas. You can't help having respect for them, the way they've gone through the year so well. They're nice kids, that's what you find out after a while. But at first . . . when we were told that they're supposed to go to school with us . . . my daddy nearly died. . . I sneered a few times the first few weeks, but I just couldn't keep it up, and I felt kind of bad and sorry for them. I used to get nervous when I'd see them eating alone. I wondered how I'd have felt if I were in their shoes. . . next thing I knew I was quiet when some of my friends were calling them all the old names. . . I felt that I never again would look at them the way I did last September and before . . . I can't really describe any time or episode . . . it was just a kind of gradual feeling. . . . I argue with my parents . . . my mother is pretty good on the subject, she can change her mind, but my father is impossible to talk with . . . ."

Are we quoting here? If so, who?

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Who's that talking? Is that your kid?

Sounds like a good kid. Like the kind of kid who'll study hard and go far and keep his eyes in front of him.

Sometimes you ~~can~~ look around and it ~~looks~~ seems as if some people are walking down the road backwards. Besides that, they're far-sighted. They strain real hard to see two miles back, where they came from, and they say, "See that? That's the way the road is." And while you're telling them that's not the way the road is any more and they should turn around and walk frontwards, they trip on something behind them (which is really in front of them). They get bruised and dusty and very angry. But who they're angry at is you, for telling them to walk frontwards and look out where they're going.

Some people could break a leg and still not admit they're walking backwards.

Other people walk frontwards, some with the crowd, some way ahead of the crowd. The ones ahead, ~~they~~ might take a wrong turn sometimes. Maybe they

get lost or maybe they find out before they've gone too far and turn back to the main road. It must be lonely up there, but if that's where they want to be, that's their business.

Most of us are in the middle of the crowd,--walking face forward. We might fall down once in awhile, too, but at least we can see what we stumbled on. And the ones around us will give us a hand if we're not acting like a darned fool walking backwards.

And maybe sometimes on a good sunny day, when we're feeling pretty bright ourself, the fellow next to us will look peaked and tired, like he's having trouble getting along, and we'll be able to say, "Here, brother, let me give you a hand."

You know how good the warm sun feels on your back when you bend down like that to give a brother a hand?

It's not clear to me what exactly this is all supposed to mean. I don't believe in making something deliberately obscure unless we're telling to an audience that knows that is what we're doing - and can see through it.

(Illustrative material for "Where to for your children and you?")

"Negroes now seek jobs and careers worthy of the talents their Creator has given them, not to take away our freedom but to share in it."

--Peter T. Schoemann, President United Association of Plumbser and Pipe Fitters, April 1965

"I ask all of you to look into your hearts--not in search of charity, for the Negro neither wants nor needs condescension--but for the one plain, proud and priceless quality that unites us all as Americans. A sense of justice. . . . Justice requires us to insure the blessings of liberty for all Americans and their posterity--not merely for reasons of economic efficiency, world diplomacy, and domestic tranquility--but, above, all, because it is right."

--John F. Kennedy

"I don't think it matters two cents who is equal to whom. No individual is equal to another individual. We cannot be. It is not in our nature to be the same. All growing things are different. . . . Men have a right to be different but they also have the right to equal opportunity to live fully and freely, for as human beings they belong to the human race, and are of the same impprtance before God." --Lillian Smith, Georgia-born author

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"The bedrock of every religion throughout the world is the brotherhood of man. Trade unions were founded on theprinciple that every man must unite with his fellow man so that each may achieve freedom and justice."

--George Meany, AFL-CIO President

"Justice, equality and freedom for all men are right. Segregation, discrimination and prejudice are wrong. It is as simple as that."

--The Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, United Presbyterian Church

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Place. El Paso, Texas (across the Rio Grande from Mexico)

Date. August 1965

Occasion. Annual state labor convention

Scene 1.

A picket line of unorganized, ill-fed, ~~ill-housed,~~ badly dressed, underpaid Mexican-Americans snakes around the convention hall bearing signs saying, "Help the nationals. . . 65 cents an hour is not a living wage. . . We have

waited long mmm enough." The well-dressed union delegates pass through the line and enter the building.

Scene 2 (three days later, inside the hall)

The delegates get together to leave the hall, led by State AFL-CIO President Hank Brown. Carrying a Spanish-language sign that begins "Organisese!" he leads them out of the hall and into the streets.

Scene 3 (an hour later; downtown in the central plaza; speakers are on a speakers platform addressing the delegates and picketers in the street)

BROWN. The sweet guarantee of freedom is decent wages and working conditions. Let today be a message that Texas labor is not too fat to walk in the sunshine. . . that we gave one hour of our life to protest the conditions of life for all our brothers.

BURK (President of the AFL-CIO'S largest area council in Texas). Today, along with all of us, I took my tie off andput it in my pocket, and marched through the sun as a symbol that I remember where I came from. Why are we here? We are here because three million Texans must eat, sleep, and clothe their families on incomes of less than $200 a month. . . because children are hungry and sick, play with sticks and dolls on dirt floors. We are here becuse we cannot any longer live with these things. We are here in El Paso--in the street--because it is no longer necessary in this, the richest and fattest country on the face of the globe for a single child to be hungry, for even one woman to die of neglect, for one man to know economic despair. Texas labor here and now declares that every working man and woman in this state is a brother and sister.

Scene 4 (as the delegates are leaving the plaza)

LADY DELEGATE (somewhat overweight, perspiration pouring from her face). I feel better than I have in twenty years. We ought to be doing this more often.

Can we get a Beutler quote?

EV
ES

Planning Committee
Georgia Democratic Party Forum
Suite 1422, 40 Marietta St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

For Information Call:
E. T. (Al) Kehrer 525-8549
948-1427
John Morris 255-0778

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY May 9, 1967

TENNESSEE CONGRESSMAN TO KEYNOTE LAUNCHING OF GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY GROUP

Atlanta, Ga. - Sponsors of a May 13th statewide meeting of Democratic Party loyalists have announced that the keynote speaker for the launching of the Georgia Democratic Party Forum will be Congressman Richard Fulton of Tennessee's 5th Congressional District. Congressman Fulton of Nashville, Tennessee, is the youngest member ever appointed to the House of Representative's powerful Ways and Means Committee. Introducing him at the Democratic Party affair, which opens at Atlanta's Biltmore Hotel Saturday at 8:00 P.M., will be former Georgia Congressman Charles L. Weltner. Mr. Fulton and Mr. Weltner began their periods of congressional service together and occupied adjoining offices in Washington.

The Chairman of the Planning Committee for the Georgia Democratic Party Forum, E. T. Kehrer of Cobb County, indicates that participants are expected at Saturday's rally from at least 20 of Georgia's larger counties, with representation from a number of rural areas as well. He said: "We have had a heartening response from across the state from Georgians who want to see a strong Democratic Party here which will be loyal to the principles and goals of the National Democratic Party. It is now assured that the Georgia Democratic Party Forum can become a force for moderation in Georgia politics."

With signs displayed from the counties represented, Saturday's meeting will take on aspects of a political convention. Band music will be augmented by folk-singers Rosa Stafford and Laughlin McDonald, with a trio providing several numbers written especially for the occasion. Elsie and Geunie Griner of Nashville, Georgia, noted for their role annually in the "Cracker Crumble", will perform with appropriate satire on Georgia politics.

The chief business facing Saturday's grassroots Democratic Party confab will be the adoption of a provisional Statement of Purpose which will be presented by H. Dudley Castile of Marietta in behalf of the Planning Committee. After its adoption, a provisional structure will be considered for the operation of the group within the Democratic Party until a larger fall meeting scheduled for Macon.

Mr. Kehrer said that the Forum sponsors had received "cordial letters of regret" from Georgia's two senators, stating that they would be unable to attend, but indicated that no official word had been received from Governor Maddox's office. The Governor had earlier indicated to reporters that he had another engagement on May 13th and could not attend the rally being called by moderate and liberal Georgia Democrats.

Planning Committee
GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FORUM
Suite 1422, 40 Marietta St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

DEAR FELLOW GEORGIAN:

As one who received our original letter of April 8th, and possibly as a key contact person we have seen in our travels around the state, this is to let you know something of the final plans for our statewide meeting this coming Saturday in Atlanta at the Biltmore Hotel....

On the reverse side is a copy of our final press release. We are delighted to have Congressman Fulton of Tennessee as our keynoter and equally proud to have our own Charles Weltner on the dias with him. There will be others as well to speak, including some of you - and, then, when we move into our constituting convention phase everyone can have a say!

Referring back to the original invitational letter, remember that we hope to have as many counties as possible represented at the planning session on Saturday afternoon (May 13th) which will start with lunch at 1:00 P.M. and go through most of the afternoon in all likelihood. This will be at the Biltmore too and will cost $3.00 per person. (Sorry it's perhaps steep for some, but they aren't charging us for our assembly room later that day!)

At the planning session we will consider drafts of a Statement of Purpose for the Georgia Democratic Party Forum and a proposed structure, all of this possibly to serve provisionally until the fall when we think another and final founding session should be scheduled for Macon.

From the afternoon planning session we'll break for supper (on your own) and then be back in readiness for the rally which is to start at 8:00 P.M. at the Biltmore. With only a small group we can be successful if we have the right kind of statewide representation, BUT TO ASSURE THE SUCCESS OF MAY 13TH WE NEED TO HAVE THE ASSEMBLY HALL FILLED!! Please take last minute steps to get as many people as possible to the Biltmore. Every little bit you do could make the difference! If people realize the uniqueness of this historical occasion, they will want to come so they can say they were there when the grassroots folks in Georgia rose up and declared themselves to be tired of Dixicrat leadership in the Democratic Party!

For those coming from out of town and requiring housing, the Biltmore Hotel tells us that they will provide a special rate for persons coming to our meeting and wanting to stay over in Atlanta for the entire weekend. (Speak to a Mr. Fairie about this.)

Please get your local press outlets to announce the final plans for the May 13th meeting; but above all else get friends and others to join you in a local promotional effort - telephoning, planning cars to Atlanta, etc. We've had a good response from around the State and have met with enthusiastic groups. Now the future of this idea rests with lots of little folks who want to see a better climate in Georgia politics getting up and doing something about it.

FOR THE PLANNING COMMITTEE:

May 8, 1967

E. T. Kehrer

John Morris

Wasserman Pamphlet

WHAT ANY WHITE WOMAN CAN DO

in

The New Movement for Social Change

League of Women Voters Education Fund
before 7/1/69 – 1200 Seventeenth St., N.W.
after 7/1/69 – 1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

ANTI RACISM

Wasserman Pamphlet

(the new movement)

The racism which threatens America is principally a white problem which only whites can solve. That is the basic assertion of People Against Racism (PAR), a group of individuals organized to combat white racism. People Against Racism and a few similar organizations and individuals represent the beginnings of a new movement in this country. PAR symbolizes new perception, analysis, and new approaches to erase discrimination, unequal treatment, and racial injustice in America.

Applauding black liberation and other minority crusades for self-determination, the new movement offers direct support and involvement in those efforts only when requested. The programs of People Against Racism are not centered in the black ghetto or on Indian reservations; they are not concentrated in the rural South or Spanish-language barrios. People Against Racism believes that the struggle for racial equality and human justice is a battle that must be waged in the white community, with the white power structure, against white institutions.

The nucleus of whites who comprise PAR read the report of the Kerner Commission which officially exposed white racism and discarded the study as not only practically irrelevant, but also victimized by racist error. People Against Racism saw a classical mistake repeated: ignoring its own conclusions that the fundamental cause of racial injustice and strife is white racism, the Kerner report recommended that the Nation begin or expand programs to improve housing, education, welfare, and employment for deprived minorities. People Against Racism pointed out that such programs have failed in the past—and they predict failure in the future—because the problem is not in the ghetto, not in the minority community. The ghetto, the problems of minorities in poverty, are only a result or symptom of the illness of white racism. And until the illness is cured, the symptoms will not go away.

Before the Kerner Commission was formed, members of People Against Racism were living out their conviction that it is in the interest of white people to confront the roots of racism in their own communities. "For it is this white racism," an early PAR pamphlet said, "which carries the seeds of destruction of not only black people, but all of us."

People Against Racism realized from the beginning that they would be a minority movement: so few white Americans perceive the validity of PAR's basic assumption; most whites believe sincerely that they do not discriminate against racial minorities. And indeed most do not in a direct, overt way. Separation of the races is so complete that they seldom get the opportunity. Because most whites do not directly discriminate against or exploit black people, they believe that such things do not occur—or at least they want to believe they do not. This proposition is reinforced by a 1967 Harris Poll which showed that only one out of a hundred whites believed or admitted to believing that Negroes were treated "badly" in this country. Three-fourths of those polled thought "Negroes are treated the same as whites."

The need to deny racism has led to the development of an extensive catalogue of euphemisms which obscure feelings and conduct toward minority citizens. Under the guise of "preserving the neighborhood school," Negro children are kept separate in segregated schools. Black people, Mexican Americans, or Puerto Ricans are not denied jobs because of their race or culture, but because "they are not qualified." Whites oppose housing integration because Negroes "lower property values." Police should use extraordinary repressive force in the ghetto, not to deny legal rights of the residents, but to "stop crime in the streets." Black students fail to learn in ghetto schools not because the schools are inferior, but because black students are inferior by virtue of their "cultural disadvantage" or "poor environment." Militant minority leaders are denied power or respect because "they are going too fast." Ghetto mothers do not receive prenatal services because they are undeserving or "lazy."

Seeking ways to confront a society which systematically denies its own racism, People Against Racism began by describing an historical base for their claim. PAR reviewed this Nation's history to show both the historical development of racism and the contemporary effects on society. The findings are a reiteration of aspects of America's past which have been pointed out before, but which have been virtually ignored, if not denied.

PAR's recapitulation of the history of racism in America lists two principal developments: the treatment of American natives who were "in the way" of westward expansion and the American system of slavery.

The first racist act in the New World, PAR asserts, was the first killing of a native "Indian" by a white colonist. Thus began the systematic reduction of the Indian population from more than a million in the late 18th century to less than 500,000 by the end of the 19th century. Through various methods, principally shooting and starvation (and the incidental scourge of the white man's diseases), some tribes were extin-

guished entirely and more than half the Indians were destroyed.

The ostensible justification for this slaughter was the concept of Manifest Destiny. God willed that white people civilize the West. As the Indians were pushed back by military tactics, pioneers took possession of the land, and missionaries of the church condoned it all by pronouncing the natives uncivilized, unchristian, barbarian and primitive—less than human. There was no reason that the "superior" whites should not take their land by any means necessary. This concept remains and is transmitted through generations by the "white" version of that period of history with its racist distortions; it is perpetuated particularly by cowboy 'n' Indian movies and television westerns.

The second pertinent historical development of white racism is related to slavery. The United States maintained a brutal and dehumanizing slave system based exclusively on race. Countless numbers of black men, women, and children died in passage from Africa. In America, they were treated as chattel—property. Families were purposely broken up, individuals bought and sold, punished, and stripped of human dignity. All this was possible in a Nation founded on the principle that "all men are created equal" by pronouncing Negro not a man or, as the Constitution deigned him, three-fifths of a man.

The modern implications of these historical developments, says People Against Racism, lie not so much in how whites defined the Indians or Negroes, but in how whites defined themselves. By categorizing other races as inferior, whites automatically defined themselves as superior. PAR concludes that the significant result is that white Americans as a society—do not know who they are, "because they have constructed an identity that depends primarily on who they are *not.*" White American society, to put it another way, suffers mental illness, a psychosis manifested by delusions of superiority based on the inferiority of others. The psychological need to identify others as inferior—and it is a need, since whites' self-identity depends on it—becomes a compulsion to "keep them in their place," because any change in their inferior status threatens the whites' self-concept of superiority.

While it is important to understand this aspect of our cultural health, to set the historical record straight, People Against Racism points out that it is dangerous to simply leave it at that. It is a new and discomforting interpretation of history and leads to a sense of historical guilt without proportion. It is not the intention of People Against Racism to create a sense of guilt only. PAR contends that the Kerner Commission is to be criticized for doing precisely that. The Kerner report made a broad generalization on white racism and offered inadequate explanation, insufficient analysis or definition. The Commission thus further obscured the already perplexing concept of racism, implying that all white people somehow participated in some intangible disease passed on through generations. The resulting sense of guilt is mysterious and amorphous. Such vague guilt is too overwhelming for the individual to deal with: it paralyzes.

Insecure in a self-concept based on other people's inferiority and unable as individuals to bear societal guilt, people are apt to repress, deny, over-react, or act irrationally. PAR's assertion that this Nation is racist does not mean that all white Americans are racists. It does mean that the myth of white supremacy is engrained in the country's history and inherent in its structure. It means that we all participate in a society and system which has been continuously and methodically racist.

As a beginning of understanding of how racism works in this country and what part it plays in the system—as well as a means of analyzing the individual's participation in it—People Against Racism offers two basic distinctions—neither of them original or astounding—the distinction between attitudinal and behavioral racism and between individual and institutional racism.

Attitudinal racism is any concept which views other people as inferior on the basis of race, any attitude of white supremacy. Any acceptance of the ideas that Indians as a race are "drunks" or that Mexicans are "lazy" or that Puerto Ricans have less native intelligence or that Negroes, as such, "just want a handout": these are examples of attitudes which are racist.

Behavioral racism, on the other hand, is any action or behavior which has the practical effect of disadvantaging nonwhites to the advantage of whites, no matter the intent. The action need not be consciously anti-black or derogatory to a minority. Most urban renewal or inner-city freeway programs, for example, are racist in a practical sense—since they render black people homeless—although there is no ostensible racist motivation.

The definition of behavioral racism cuts through the rhetorical declarations of innocence that all whites have learned to make about their attitudes and actions towards racial or ethnic minorities. While an individual may not hold racist attitudes, to the extent that he participates or condones actions which have the

practical effect of disadvantaging minorities, he is a behavioral racist.

The second simple distinction concerns individual and institutional racism. Individual racism consists of an overt discernible act against people of another race. Based on a racist attitude, the individual racist may bomb a Negro church, refuse to serve Mexican Americans in a place of business, or vote to exclude a person from a club because he is Puerto Rican. The death of Negro children, bombed in a Birmingham church, results from an individual racist act.

High infant mortality rates among blacks compared to the much lower rate among whites, on the other hand, or the lower average of achievement among minority students result from institutional, systematic racism. Institutions themselves work in such a way as to deprive minorities of equal opportunities. Institutional racism can continue to operate because of the formation and structure of the institution itself, even though no individual racist controls or participates in that institution.

Having made that distinction, People Against Racism asserts that all white institutions are racist, "or, more accurately, white supremacist, and all operate to perpetuate white privilege." Since racism is an integral part of our history and culture, it is an integral part of the institutions of society. PAR points out that some institutions are more vigorously racist, some manifest the racism differently, some are more strategically located within the system and more effectively racist. Whatever the variation, institutions, by definition, seek to perpetuate themselves; in the process, they perpetuate racism as well.

Individual racist acts are based on racist attitudes. The racism of institutions—with the exception of white supremacist organizations—is almost always behavioral. In whatever form or guise, racism is built into the society and the way the "system" works. People Against Racism believes that the most serious problem to be dealt with is institutional behavioral racism—it is the principal reason for disparities between white and nonwhite income, employment, housing, education, and health care. It deprives this Nation's minorities of equal treatment. And it deprives the white majority of a decent and just country.

People Against Racism emphasizes that white people must begin to see that the present racist system is as destructive to them as it has been for blacks and other minorities. It is robbing white America of its humanity and preventing a healthy society. Says PAR: "Racist institutions are responsible for white people having no knowledge or distorted knowledge of the histories and cultures of people of color, and little or no knowledge and understanding of black people's struggle for liberation. Thus, white institutions have created a world of fantasy for white people. Unable to realistically and humanly coexist with people of color, White America pursues policies of repression and destruction at home and abroad."

Whites, the People Against Racism insist, must help whites. The issue has been confused in the past by efforts to "help the Negro," or "educate the Indian." Those citizens committed to the attainment of equal treatment in America have sought to deal with the "Negro problem," the results of discrimination rather than the cause of it. These efforts have failed. Racial polarization has increased. And in spite of token progress in the civil rights struggle, People Against Racism avows that on the basis of its studies, the life situation of most blacks in relation to whites has deteriorated in this decade. It is conclusive proof, says PAR, that paternalism will not work, cannot save this society.

People Against Racism believes that the only way absolute social disaster can be prevented is for whites to confront the roots of racism in their own communities. Whites, no less than blacks, must struggle for the power to control the institutions which create and perpetuate a disastrously distorted system. Anti-racist whites must first recognize their own powerlessness, particularly as individuals, to take on institutions. They must, therefore, organize themselves and others.

They must build a base. They must begin the task of bringing revolutionary change to the white institutions that control and define the identity and destiny of white Americans.

With this objective in mind, People Against Racism was organized in Detroit about three years ago. Individuals decided to create a group with four primary objectives: "To educate ourselves and others to the existence and manifestations of racism and to the objectives of the black movement, to raise the issue of racism in our own communities, to confront institutions on issues which arise locally and nationally and to take action, to support the black movement in those instances where direct support is possible."

In the spring of 1968, the Detroit Area People Against Racism affiliated with groups in other cities (some of which they helped organize) to form a National PAR organization. The national office is in Detroit; the Detroit area local has offices in a Detroit suburb. Other local chapters are in Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia, and Ann Arbor, Michigan. There are PAR members in other major cities, including Boston, Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles. In all, People Against Racism has about 250 active members.

PAR locals are financed almost entirely from member pledges of from one to five percent of annual income. At least one initial grant was secured from the Episcopal Church's General Convention Special Fund for national organization; in the future PAR intends to concentrate its grant requests on special, more or less independent projects. PAR believes that white organizations which can support themselves should, leaving foundation money for black programs less apt to be financially self-sufficient. PAR's self-sufficiency is made possible by the financial pledge and volunteer time expected from members and the low salaries of the few PAR professionals, all of whom could command much higher pay elsewhere. (PAR staff persons refer to "unorthodox" salary scales as a matter of their conscious choice of personal life style and emphasis on the meaning of their work as a worthwhile effort rather than a task contracted for wages.)

The national office of People Against Racism is essentially a training, resource, and organizing agency. So far, the national staff has conducted more than 20 week-end seminars on racism for more than 600 persons in Detroit and other cities across the country. Groups requesting PAR training pay travel expenses and a small training fee. About a fourth of PAR's national budget comes from training session proceeds. National PAR officers also maintain a heavy schedule of speaking engagements before high school classes, church groups, and civic organizations. Such talks are sometimes a first step in organizing new locals. The national office provides source material for more intensive seminars conducted at the local level.

People Against Racism has been concentrating on research into racism and how it works. Relevant, "action" research is emphasized, rather than more abstract, academic studies. PAR research activity includes working papers on institutionalized racism in such areas as education, police and courts, political representation, welfare and poverty programs, industry and labor; a position paper on Vietnam probing the relationship of racism to American involvement in the war; a study of the racist tendencies of American expansion, economic imperialism, and foreign policy in general; a major study on identity in white society, taking into account the effects of slavery and the practices of racial exploitation on the individual white person and on the national psychology. An updated and expanded version of "Repression in America," a background paper prepared for PAR's conference on Law, Order, and the White Backlash in Detroit, is available; the study documents the growing tendency toward military and legal repression and growing white hysterics in reaction to the dynamic of the black struggle for self-determination. Another study is available on white supremacy and the church.

Local chapters of People Against Racism utilize this and other source material in seminars which usually last 12 weeks. Study begins with papers on racist myths about Africa and Africans, the "Peculiar Institution," the Civil War, and the era of Reconstruction. A session on institutional racism covers educational and economic systems, both in the ghetto and in the white community, and attempts to show how the racist status quo is maintained. Institutionalized racism of the law and political process are considered. U.S. foreign policy is examined in terms of this country's involvement in the affairs of other countries under the rationalizations of "Manifest Destiny," "Free Trade," "Making the World Safe for Democracy," and "Anti-Communism." Discussions of increasing racial polarization are followed by several sessions on what can be done in terms of program, organization, and action.

PAR locals have had their most satisfying reception with high school students, but efforts are not concentrated on high schools simply because of the students' response. PAR sees the education system in America as one of the principal perpetuators of racist traditions

and myths in this country and therefore one of the most appropriate institutions to confront. In many cases, the impetus for PAR involvement comes from the students themselves, who may have formed a human relations club or who already have some awareness of distortions in their school's curricula.

In other cases, People Against Racism has offered its assistance in resolving racial problems which developed in local schools. In Detroit, for example, black students in two high schools organized around the issues of black studies, black pride, and militancy, to which white students reacted with misunderstanding and hostility. Racial violence threatened to erupt, and PAR moved in quickly to inform the white students (and parents) of the meaning and aims of the black students' cause. Efforts failed in one school, but succeeded in the other, where, on the basis of the increased understanding, white students organized not only to offer support and approval to the black demands, but also to work in their own self interest.

Local chapters of People Against Racism are also assisting students in the formation of their own free high schools. (People for Human Rights, the PAR affiliate in Philadelphia, has been most successful in this activity.) PAR offers its resources and advice, but the students run the schools and define the curricula, including besides courses in racism, classes in such subjects as communications techniques, new teaching methods, reinterpreted history, and new economic systems.

PAR locals also conduct seminars for adults. Besides speaking to groups on invitation and providing resource material and personnel to other organizations, extensive courses are arranged for teachers, college students, seminarians, social workers, or lawyers. A significant number of clergymen participate in PAR anti-racist sessions.

There has been virtually no contact with the white working classes. The bulk of PAR members are middle class, most have had some college education, and their intellectual rhetoric and class biases hamper attempts to communicate with working class people. PAR theorizes that white working people are exploited by the economic systems as blacks but are blinded by racism to their own exploitation. However, economic theories and philosophical discourses are irrelevant to a group of people who feel themselves in direct job competition with Negroes and who probably depend most absolutely on the myth of white supremacy.

In one metropolitan area, the local PAR has been contacted by a woman from a white working class suburb who has experienced the effects of racism and harassment because of her acquaintance with Negroes in job training classes she attends. People Against Racism is trying to assist her in her present situation, attempting to help her understand what is happening and why. In the process, PAR hopes to learn how to articulate white working class frustrations and refine ways to make low income whites aware of how they are exploited by racism and why they should seek to combat discrimination.

As People Against Racism seek ways to speak to some segments of the society, techniques which have proven successful with other groups are being refined. In a conference of high school students, PAR staff was able to simulate conditions in society, allowing the students to experience prejudice themselves and to analyze the process and understand the dynamics of racism. The technique was enormously successful, resulting in intense awareness and educated attitude change about oppression and how it works. People Against Racism, confident that the technique can be used effectively in other situations, is seeking to adapt the approach to different circumstances.

As PAR refines its techniques for fostering change, membership is growing, but dedicated People Against Racism still number about one-millionth of the total population. Although PAR is working for a wider membership, they realize they will never be a mass movement. Active membership in PAR involves a commitment which most people are not able to make.

And while the anti-racist movement is growing, there is an even greater burgeoning of polarization, violence, repression. People Against Racism welcomes what some anthropologists have designated as a distinct sub-culture developing in America which consists of people who insist on moral imperatives in the decision-making process. But as this sub-culture—which includes People Against Racism—applies abstract standards of justice, humanity, compassion, and integrity to matters of foreign policy, economics, education, social class, the "other side" responds with increasing repression, brutality, undemocratic measures.

At the same time, People Against Racism are aware that they may delude themselves that they are being effective on the sole basis of the opposition they arouse. They also realize that free speech is not necessarily productive. The freedom to dissent may be granted simply because no one is listening.

People Against Racism are determined to do more than talk. Frank Joyce, PAR's national director, asserts, "We are out to mount a significant opposition to

the way things are done in this country." Joyce is pessimistic about the possibility of change through reform, and although he is somewhat cynical about the prospects of radical change, he is no less committed to that goal: "We can conceive of no non-revolutionary way to combat racism; at the same time, we know that no revolution is imminent. It is possible, however, to build a movement, to organize opposition."

David Kramer, executive director of Detroit PAR adds, "We are haunted by the fact that action is always running to catch up with theory. It is true of us. Part of it, of course, is a function of time; we're a young organization. But we have succeeded in constructing a workable analysis, a continuing program, and a strategy for further action."

Not that People Against Racism pretend to have the final answer. "The sad thing is," says Frank Joyce, "that there *is* no strategy to end racism. The institutions which perpetuate it are hard to get at. There is also that overwhelming pervasiveness of racism; the whole system is so saturated with it, it will be almost impossible to even begin to overcome the sheer inertia of racism."

People Against Racism traces its origins to the Civil Rights Movement of the last decade. Many individuals in PAR have similar experiences to recount: having worked in the South they began to realize that what they were doing was partly paternalistic, partly dishonest ("I began to see that essentially I was using these people, this movement, to prove that I was not like other white people, that I wasn't racist. . . ."). Returning to their own communities, they worked in the ghetto, continued to "do what I could." Finally they saw that as a matter of both integrity and practicality, they could no longer work with the deprived—"help the Negro"—but should be confronting the deprivers, white society.

Such experiences are not the only means by which individuals have found their way to PAR. There are liberals, "men of good will," who have fought the fight for racial justice through the courts and legislatures, reformers who saw their proposals ignored, defeated, or watered down. And they watched the laws which were passed go unenforced. For the frustrated and cynical liberal whose definition of society and strategy of reform no longer seem valid, PAR is an opportunity to renew efforts for social justice.

People Against Racism includes young radicals whose commitment to anti-racism grew out of anti-war activities (reversing the route of graduates of the Civil Rights Movement, who progressed from concern for discrimination to the issues of poverty and peace). There are a substantial number of clergymen in PAR, ministers or priests instructed by their bishops or presbyteries or consciences to find whether organized religion could have any relevance to the social issues of the ghetto; their perception of the ghetto and what caused it led them to PAR. People Against Racism also includes persons from an essentially apolitical background whose social concern resulted from professional contact with the ghetto—teachers, attorneys, municipal employees, social workers.

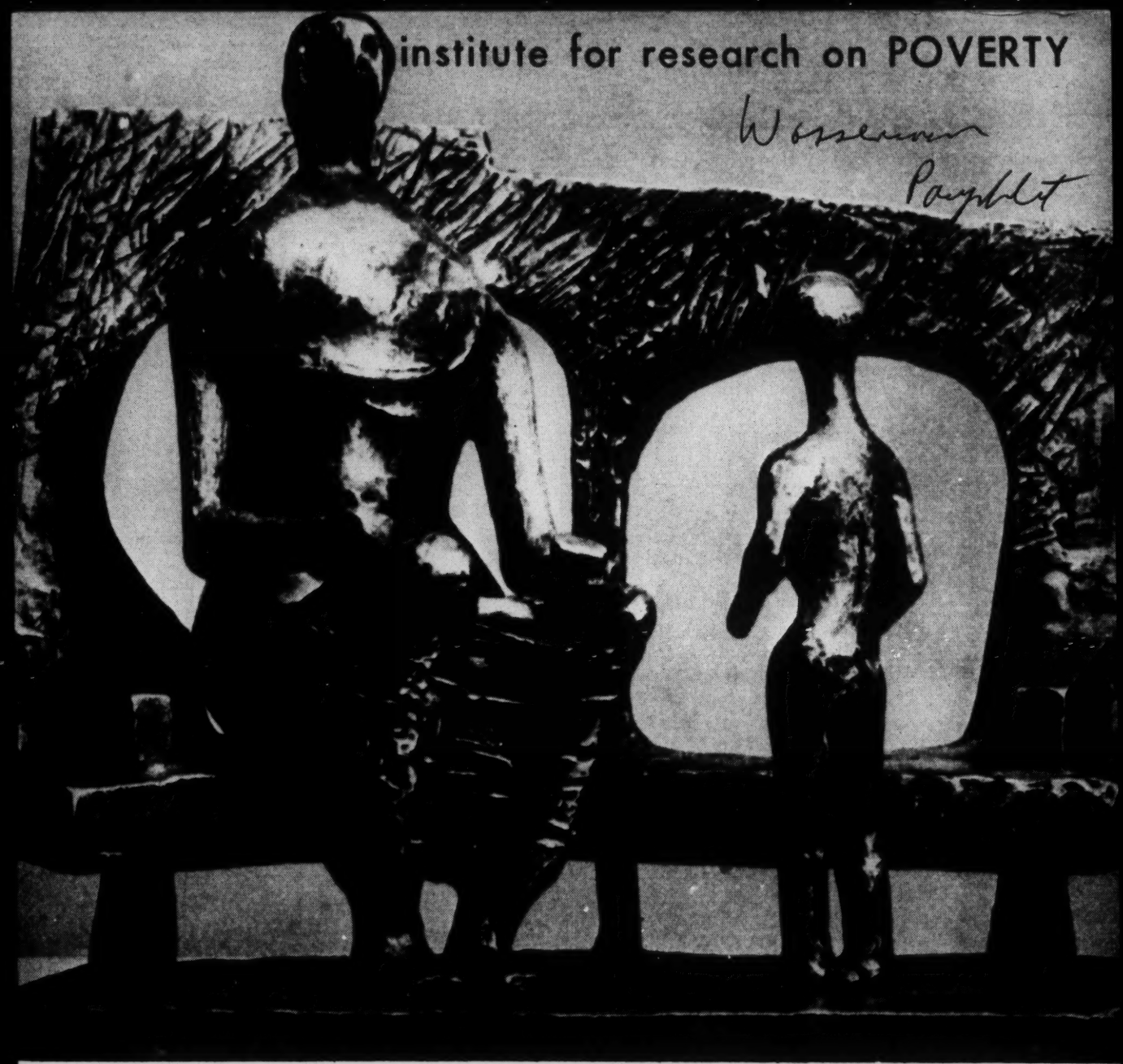
People Against Racism come from a variety of backgrounds and offer a variety of approaches to the struggle against racial injustice and exploitation in this country; what unifies them is the common conviction that the basic field of battle has shifted. The fight for human rights and social justice is now being waged where it should be, in the white community. White society must be made aware of the essential perception of People Against Racism and a few similar groups. As Pogo said: "We have met the enemy, and they are us."

By redefining the protagonists in the struggle for equality, the People Against Racism have declared a new war, strikingly analogous to an American war of a century ago. Again the conflict is between white and white. Again, the black man is an issue in the conflict, but his participation in the central struggle is limited. There are echoes of previous calls to conscience and morality, and once more there are governmental attempts at reform and compromise. Again, race is not the only issue but related to economics, political power, technological progress, even foreign policy. Once more, the struggle is to turn men's minds against established institutions and traditions, a similar attempt to eradicate undemocratic and unjust systems from the national life.

There, hopefully, the analogy ends. No one can imagine another conflict of such violence occurring, although there are those who warn us that increasing repressive tactics make the outbreak of widespread violence more probable. And while People Against Racism intends to change radically America's social and economic systems, both their aims and strategy are nonviolent.

In spite of the odds of history and numbers and the power of institutions and traditions, People Against Racism, their colleagues and supporters, show every sign of enduring as a new movement in a new civil war. □

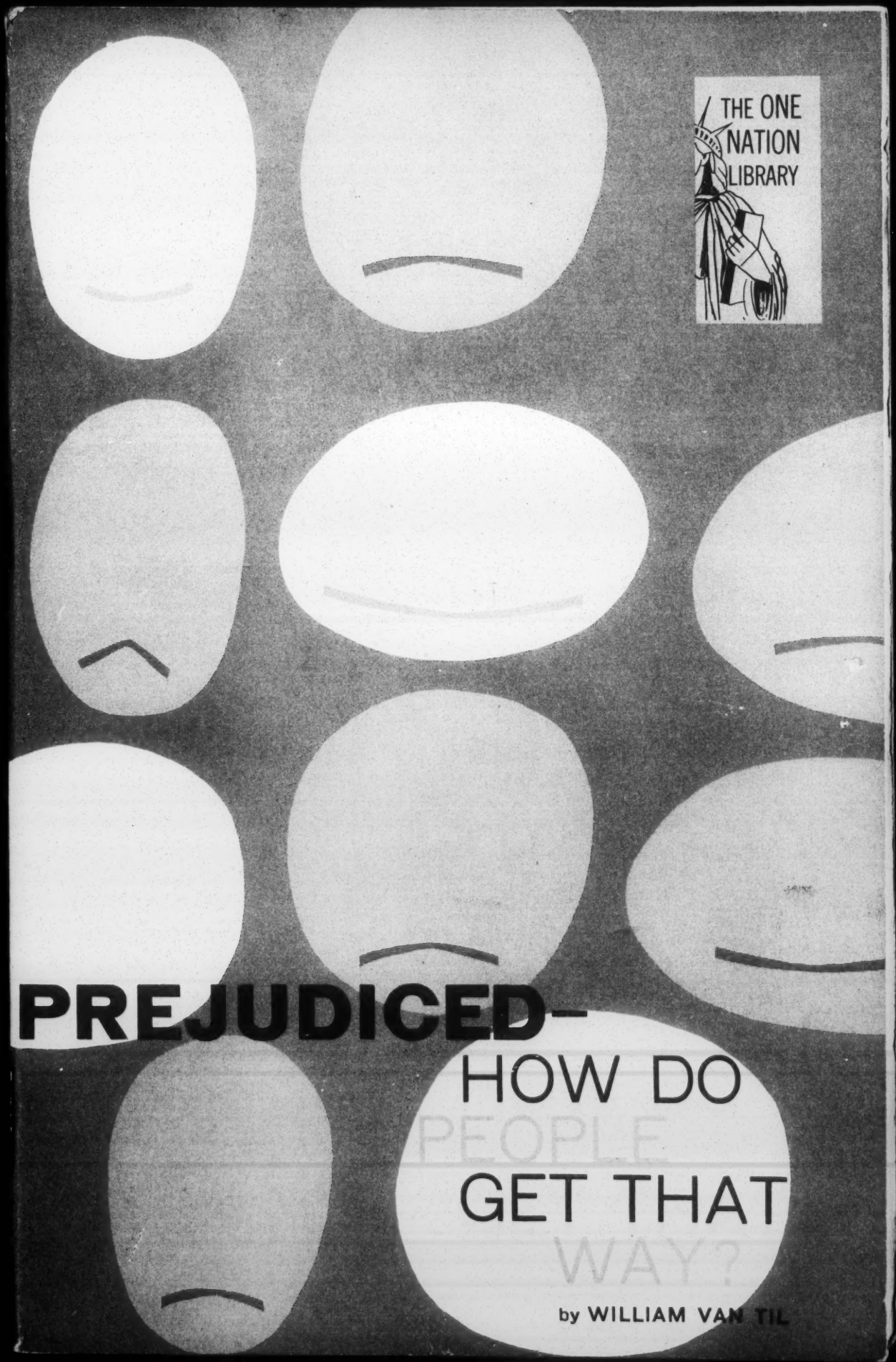
ERBIN CROWELL, JR.



Steven R. Asher and Vernon L. Allen

RACIAL PREFERENCE AND SOCIAL COMPARISON PROCESSES

reprint 27



PREJUDICED— HOW DO PEOPLE GET THAT WAY?

by WILLIAM VAN TIL

FREEDOM PAMPHLETS

ABC's OF SCAPEGOATING

By

GORDON W. ALLPORT

OCCUPATIONAL WAGE RATES AND FRINGE BENEFITS:

METALWORKING INDUSTRIES

ARKANSAS AND ITS EAST REGION

ARKANSAS

CHANGES OCCURRING WITHIN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF EASTERN ARKANSAS

By

Forrest H. Pollard*

March 8, 1967

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*Demographic and Marketing Specialist, Industrial Research and Extension Center, College of Business Administration, University of Arkansas, Little Rock, Arkansas.

PREFACE

This presentation corresponds to that presented to the participants in the East Arkansas Urban Policy Conference on October 12, 1965, except that it has been up-dated in those areas where more recent statistical data are available.

CHANGES OCCURRING WITHIN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF EASTERN ARKANSAS

A. Introduction

This presentation is a discussion of the changes occurring within the socio-economic structure of Eastern Arkansas as reflected by demographic data.

The area to be discussed is the East Region of Arkansas as defined by the State Planning Commission.[1] This region consists of the following 15 counties: Clay, Craighead, Crittenden, Cross, Greene, Jackson, Lawrence, Lee, Mississippi, Monroe, Phillips, Poinsett, Randolph, St. Francis, and Woodruff. For comparison purposes, the relative changes occurring within the socio-economic structure of East Arkansas will be related to those occurring in (1) the other four regions of the State; (2) the Southern Region of the United States; and (3) the United States.[2]

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Although the changes occurring within the socio-economic structure of the individual counties will not be discussed, the data are included in the Tables in the Appendix. It is important that it be remembered that the socio-economic structure of a particular county may differ significantly from the regional structure of which it is a part.

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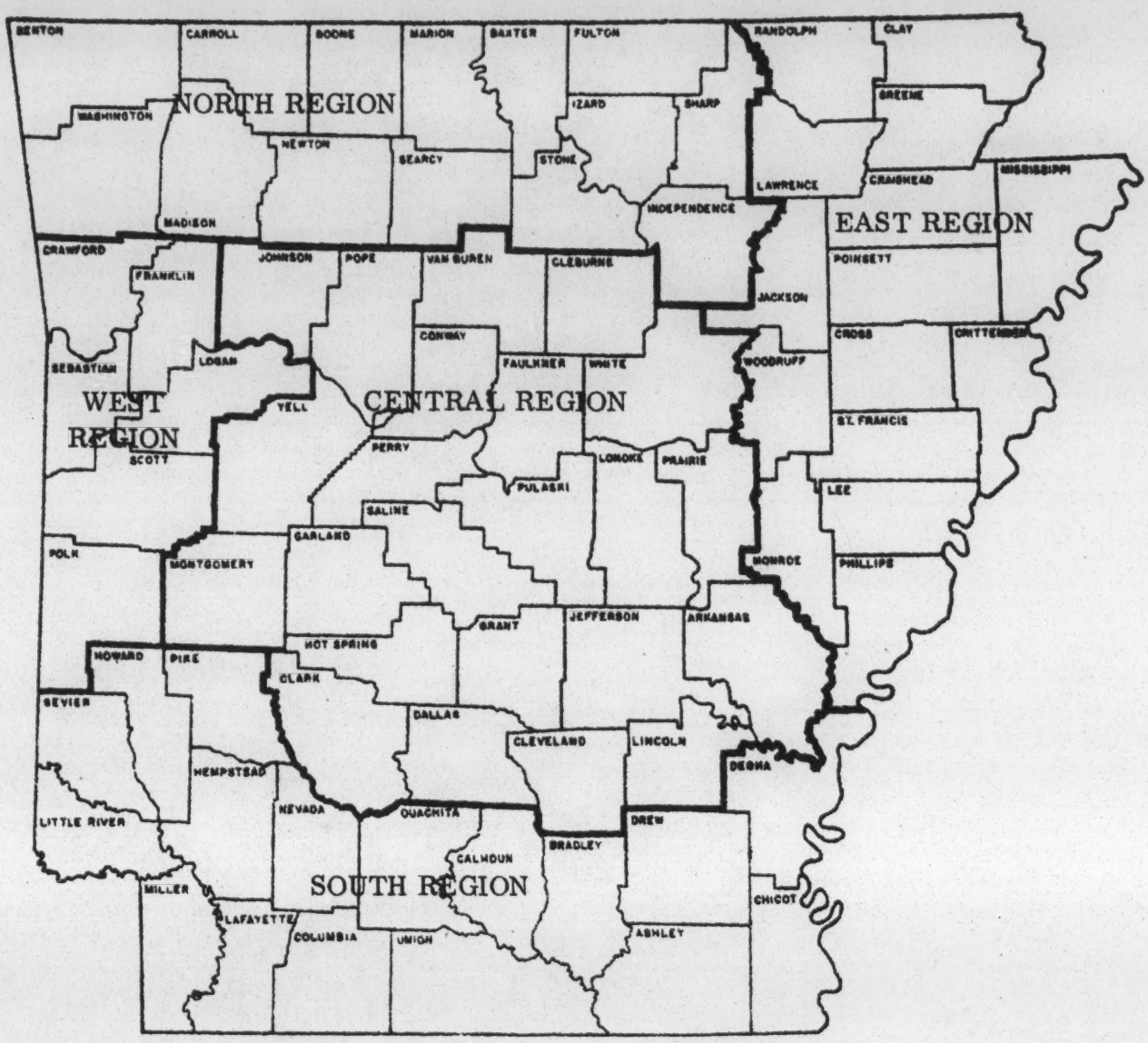
[1] Numerous factors were studied in delimiting the economic regions of the State of Arkansas as shown in Figure 1. "This determination is a result of preliminary study and analysis by the staffs of the State Planning Commission, Associated Planners, the University of Arkansas' Industrial Research and Extension Center, and the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology of the University of Arkansas. The conclusions and regional delineations that follow are the result of considering: (1) economic factors, i.e., markets, trade centers, transportation routes, types of employment, income source, and location of industrial activities; (2) geographic factors including natural resources, water sheds, and land use patterns such as location of timber areas, mountain areas, agricultural areas, etc.; (3) social and cultural factors including population characteristics; and (4) political factors, including county boundaries, places of governmental activities, areas of functional governmental jurisdiction, and factors of political cooperation." (Regions of The State of Arkansas, A Preliminary Report, July 15, 1963, Prepared by Associated Planners, Little Rock, Arkansas.)

[2] The Southern Region of the United States includes the following states: South Atlantic--Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida; East South Central--Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi; and West South Central--Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

FIGURE 1

REGIONS OF ARKANSAS



A greater part of the historical data is taken from the 1950 and 1960 United States Censuses of Population and Surveys of Current Business. County population totals and per capita income figures have been updated by the inclusion of intercensal estimates of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of the University of Arkansas.

Projections of the total population for the year 1980 will also be presented.

The population characteristics to be analyzed in this review of socio-economic change are: (1) population size, (2) residential distribution of the population, (3) population density, (4) color distribution of the population, (5) age and sex distribution of the population, (6) migration, (7) education, (8) income, and (9) occupational skills.

It is hoped that this historical analysis and summary of future implications will provide you with additional background data for your study of human resources and personal guidance.

B. Analysis of Population Characteristics

Population Size

Population growth rates for the United States and its Southern Region closely approximated each other during the period from 1940 to 1960. The relative increase in population for the United States from 1940 to 1950 was 14.5 per cent and from 1950 to 1960 it was 18.5 per cent. For the Southern Region of the United States, the relative increments were 13.3 and 16.5 per cent, respectively.

However, the State of Arkansas experienced population losses over both of these decades. The State's population fell from 1,949,387 in 1940 to 1,909,511 in 1950 or by 2.0 per cent and by 1960 the population had fallen to 1,786,272 or by 6.5 per cent from 1950 to 1960.

The Eastern Region of the State also experienced population losses over both of these decades, although the loss from 1940 to 1950 was only 0.5 per cent (from

511,682 to 509,174). However, the region's population loss of 65,080 from 1950 to 1960 represents the largest absolute and percentage loss (12.8) experienced by any of the State's regions (the Central Region experienced a small growth in population). Yet the East Region's 1960 population of 444,094 represented 24.9 per cent of the State's 1960 population and was second in relative rank (the Central Region's population of 686,077 represented 38.4 per cent of the State total).

In contrast to the 1950-1960 experience, intercensal population estimates (as of July 1, 1965) by the U.S. Bureau of the Census reflect a 1960 to 1965 growth rate for Arkansas' population that closely approximates those for the United States and its Southern Region. These growth rates were 8.7, 8.1, and 9.3 per cent respectively. East Arkansas' estimated population growth of 24,069 represented a 5.4 per cent increase for the 1960-1965 period. This growth rate exceeded only that of the State's South Region (1.1 per cent). The State's growth rates for its North, Central, and West regions were 11.4, 10.7, and 13.9 per cent, respectively.

Residential Distribution of the Population

In 1960, 69.9 per cent of the people of the United States resided in urban areas, compared to 58.5 per cent of the people of the Southern Region and 42.8 per cent of the people of the State of Arkansas.

An even smaller proportion of the population of the State's Eastern Region resided in urban areas. The region's 1960 urban population of 147,568 represented only one-third of the area's total of 444,094. Five of the region's fifteen counties had urban populations that exceeded the proportion (33.2 per cent) representative of the region. The counties and the respective urban proportions of their population are as follows: Craighead (45.3 per cent); Crittenden (40.7 per cent); Greene (39.5 per cent); Mississippi (38.5 per cent); and Phillips (45.2 per cent).

This region does not contain a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (a city of 50,000 or more inhabitants). Its largest urban area is Blytheville with a population of 25,883 (Special Census, September 11, 1962). Crittenden County though is included as a part of the Memphis Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Table 4 of the Appendix shows the magnitude of the rural-farm population in East Arkansas. Its 1960 rural-farm population of 134,992 was larger than that of any other region in the State and it also represented a greater proportion (45.5 per cent) of its total rural population than was the case in any other region of the State.

Population Density

The 1960 population per square mile was greater in East Arkansas (44.8 persons) than in any other region of the State. The population densities for the other regions of the State were as follows: North Region (21.2 persons), Central Region (40.7 persons), West Region (31.6 persons) and the South Region (26.8 persons).

Even though the population per square mile in the East Region represented the high for the State, it was considerably below the 50.5 and 62.7 density figures for the United States and its Southern Region, respectively.

Color Distribution of the Population

The 1960 nonwhite population of the State's East Region represented 30.4 per cent of its total population. Only in the State's South Region was the nonwhite population a greater proportion of the total population. The nonwhite population accounted for 0.6 per cent of the North Region's population, 20.3 per cent of the Central Region's, 4.3 per cent of the West Region's, and 34.4 per cent of the South Region's population. In absolute numbers the East Region's nonwhite population of 134,972 was exceeded only by the Central Region's nonwhite population of 139,173.

Because the percentage loss in the East Region's white population between 1950 and 1960 exceeded the nonwhite population loss for this same period (13.8 per cent compared to 10.4 per cent), the nonwhite proportionate share of the total was a little larger in 1960 than in 1950 (30.4 per cent compared to 29.6 per cent).

Age Distribution of the Population

The dependency ratio is a significant socio-economic characteristic indicated by the age distribution of a population. This ratio is calculated by dividing the number of dependents (those persons under 18 and those 65 years of age and over) of a population by the number of productives (those persons 18 through 64) of the same population.

The 1960 population distribution shows that there were 935 dependents for every 1,000 productives in Arkansas compared to 819 dependents for every 1,000 workers in the United States. In the State's East Region the number of dependents exceeded the number of productives. There were 1,037 dependents to every 1,000 productives.

Another important socio-economic characteristic is the proportion of the total population that is 65 years of age and over. This proportion was identical in the United States and Arkansas' East Region. In these areas 9.2 per cent of the total population was 65 years of age and over. The proportion for Arkansas (10.9 per cent of the total population) was considerably higher.

Migration

In addition to differences in the size of the population of a specific area over time, the net movement of population into or from an area over time is also a significant measure of population change.[3]

A net out-migration of 167,203 persons from the East Region of Arkansas during the period from 1950 to 1960 was the largest amount of out-migration experienced by any of the State's regions. The rate of out-migration from the East Region (32.8 per cent) also exceeded the rate experienced by any of the regions. This data is shown in Table 9 of the Appendix.

Intercensal population estimates for the period 1960-1965 reflect continued migration from the East Region, although the annual average for this period is only 25.3 per cent of the annual average for the period of 1950-1960.

The East and South regions experienced out-migrations of 18,741 and 16,349 persons respectively and out-migration rates of 4.2 and 5.1 per cent. The Central, North, and West regions experienced in-migrations of 23,767; 14,073; and 10,147

[3] Net migration is the difference between the expected population and the actual population at the end of a specific time period. The expected population is the total of the population at the beginning of the time period and the amount of natural increase (excess of births over deaths) over the time period. A migration rate is computed by dividing the amount of migration over a specific time period by the population at the beginning of the time period.

persons, respectively. The in-migration rate for the Central Region was 3.5 per cent; for the North, 6.9 per cent; and the West, 7.6 per cent.

Education

The median school year completed by the 1960 population 25 years old and over was lower in the East Region than in the State or the United States.

The median school year completed by the male population in the East Region was 7.8, in the State, 8.7 and in the United States, 10.3. This data reflects a range of 2.5 years between the median school year completed in the East Region and the United States.

For the female population the median school year completed was 8.3 in the East Region, 9.1 in the State, and 10.9 in the United States, indicating a range of 2.6 years between the region and the nation's median school year completion.

Not in any of the region's counties was the median school year completed by either the male or female as high as that of the State.

Income

Table 12 of the Appendix contains per capita personal income estimates for the United States, Arkansas, and the State's socio-economic regions.

Estimated 1965 per capita personal income for the United States was $2,746; Arkansas, $1,850; and the East Region of Arkansas, $1,584. The per capita income range for the East Region was from $1,263 in Lee County to $1,920 in Craighead County. Jackson County was the only other county in the region whose estimated per capita personal income ($1,889) exceeded the State figure.

Occupational Skills

Tables 14 and 15 of the Appendix show major occupational classifications by sex, number, and per cent distribution for the United States, the Southern United States, Arkansas, and the East Region for 1960.

Male employment in the East Region was heavily concentrated in farming. Farmers, farm managers, and farm laborers accounted for 36.0 per cent of total employment, comparedto only 11.6 per cent in the Southern United States and 8.3 per cent in the

United States. Relative to these two areas, employment in the East Region is low in the professional, clerical, craftsmen, and service classifications.

Relative differences in the female occupational structure between the East Region and the United States and the Southern United States were not as significant as those in the male occupational structure. The basic differences were in the clerical and private household workers classifications. Clerical workers account for only 16.7 per cent of the East Region's employment, compared to 25.1 per cent and 29.7 per cent in the Southern United States and the United States, respectively. In contrast, private household workers accounted for 18.6 per cent of the East Region's employment and only 12.9 per cent and 7.9 per cent of the employment in the Southern United States and the United States, respectively.

C. Population Growth

Projected populations for the State of Arkansas and each of its five major regions are shown in Table 13 of the Appendix. The State figures were computed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. In deriving the figures for the regions, it was assumed that each region's relative share of the total projected State population would be the same in 1980 as it was estimated to be in 1965.

In contrast to the population loss experienced from 1940 to 1960, the East Region's population is projected to increase over the twenty-year period of from 1960 to 1980. However, it is estimated that the East Region's relative share of the State's total population declined from 24.9 to 24.3 per cent during the 1960-1965 time interval.

D. Summary

The more important conclusions from this socio-economic analysis are as follows:

1. That even though the East Region experienced population losses over the twenty-year period from 1940 to 1960, according to intercensal estimates its population has been increasing since 1960 and is projected to continue in view of population projections made for the year 1980. However, it is expected that the region's relative share of the State's total population will decline slightly.

2. In 1960, 69.9 per cent of the people of the United States resided in urban areas, compared to only 33.2 per cent in the East Region of Arkansas. The East Region does not contain a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (a city of 50,000 or more inhabitants). Crittenden County is included as a part of the Memphis Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

   Its 1960 rural-farm population of 134,992 is larger than that of any other region in the State and it also represents a greater proportion (45.5) of its total rural population than is the case in any other region of the State.

3. The 1960 population per square mile was greater in East Arkansas (44.8 persons) than in any other region of the State, although it was considerably below the 50.5 and 62.7 density figures for the United States and its Southern Region, respectively.

4. The 1960 nonwhite population of the State's East Region represented 30.4 per cent of its total population.

5. In 1960 the number of dependents in the East Region exceeded the number of productives. There were 1,037 dependents to every 1,000 productives.

   The 1960 proportion of the population 65 years of age and over was identical in the United States and Arkansas' East Region.

   The proportion was 9.2 per cent.

6. Intercensal population estimates for the period 1960-1965 reflect continued migration from the East Region, although the annual average (4.2 per cent) for this period is only 12.8 per cent of the annual average for the period 1950-1960.

7. The median school year completed by the male population 25 years of age and over in 1960 in the East Region was 7.8 and in the United States, 10.3. The median school year completed by the female population for these areas was 8.3 and 10.9, respectively.

8. Estimated 1965 per capita income for the United States was $2,746; Arkansas $1,850; and the East Region of Arkansas $1,584.

9. Male employment in the East Region in 1960 was heavily concentrated in farming and relative to the United States' occupational structure was low in the professional, clerical, craftsmen, and service classifications.

   The female occupational structure in the East Region reflected a shortage in clerical employment relative to United States' figures and a large concentration of private household workers relative to the national average.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

TOTAL POPULATION UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1890-1960

Geographic Area	Year							
	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960
United States	62,979,766[a]	76,212,168	92,228,496	106,021,537	123,202,624	132,164,569	151,325,798	179,323,175
Southern United States	20,028,059	24,523,527	29,389,330	33,125,803	37,857,633	41,665,901	47,197,088	54,973,113
Arkansas	1,128,211[b]	1,311,564	1,574,449	1,752,204	1,854,482	1,949,387	1,909,511	1,786,272
East Region	204,436	249,636	337,697	417,150	473,093	511,682	509,174	444,094
Clay	12,200	15,886	23,690	27,276	27,278	28,386	26,674	21,258
Craighead	12,025	19,505	27,627	37,541	44,740	47,200	50,613	47,303
Crittenden	13,940	14,529	22,447	29,309	39,717	42,473	47,184	47,564
Cross	7,693	11,051	14,042	18,579	25,723	26,046	24,757	19,551
Greene	12,908	16,979	23,852	26,105	26,127	30,204	29,149	25,198
Jackson	15,179	18,383	23,501	25,446	27,943	26,427	25,912	22,843
Lawrence	12,984	16,491	20,001	22,098	21,663	22,651	21,303	17,267
Lee	18,886	19,409	24,252	28,852	26,637	26,810	24,322	21,001
Mississippi	11,635	16,384	30,468	47,320	69,289	80,217	82,375	70,174
Monroe	15,336	16,816	19,907	21,601	20,651	21,133	19,540	17,327
Phillips	25,341	26,561	33,535	44,530	40,683	45,970	46,254	43,997
Poinsett	4,272	7,025	12,791	20,848	29,695	37,670	39,311	30,834
Randolph	14,485	17,156	18,987	17,713	16,871	18,319	15,982	12,520
St. Francis	13,543	17,157	22,548	28,385	33,394	36,043	36,841	33,303
Woodruff	14,009	16,304	20,049	21,547	22,682	22,133	18,957	13,954
North Region	212,221	235,455	232,674	235,622	225,253	233,788	227,983	204,692
Central Region	373,107	426,588	523,533	590,385	622,900	645,060	669,827	686,077
West Region	117,540	127,698	154,726	157,352	143,507	157,511	143,786	133,451
South Region	220,875	272,187	325,819	351,695	398,729	401,346	358,741	317,958

[a]Includes population (325,464) of Indian Territory and Indian reservations specially enumerated in 1890 but not included in general report on population for 1890.

[b]Total for 1890 includes 32 Indians specially enumerated, not distributed by counties.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 2

TOTAL POPULATION AND PER CENT CHANGE UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1940-1960

Geographic Area	Total Population			Per Cent Change	
	1940	1950	1960	1940-1950	1950-1960
United States	132,164,569	151,325,798	179,323,175	14.5	18.5
Southern United States	41,665,901	47,197,088	54,973,113	13.3	16.5
Arkansas	1,949,387	1,909,511	1,786,272	-2.0	-6.5
East Region	511,682	509,174	444,094	-0.5	-12.8
Clay	28,386	26,674	21,258	-6.0	-20.3
Craighead	47,200	50,613	47,303	7.2	-6.5
Crittenden	42,473	47,184	47,564	11.1	0.8
Cross	26,046	24,757	19,551	-4.9	-21.0
Greene	30,204	29,149	25,198	-3.5	-13.6
Jackson	26,427	25,912	22,843	-1.9	-11.8
Lawrence	22,651	21,303	17,267	-6.0	-18.9
Lee	26,810	24,322	21,001	-9.3	-13.7
Mississippi	80,217	82,375	70,174	2.7	-14.8
Monroe	21,133	19,540	17,327	-7.5	-11.3
Phillips	45,970	46,254	43,997	0.6	-4.9
Poinsett	37,670	39,311	30,834	4.4	-21.6
Randolph	18,319	15,982	12,520	-12.8	-21.7
St. Francis	36,043	36,841	33,303	2.2	-9.6
Woodruff	22,133	18,957	13,954	-14.3	-26.4
North Region	233,788	227,983	204,692	-2.5	-10.2
Central Region	645,060	669,827	686,077	3.8	2.4
West Region	157,511	143,786	133,451	-8.7	-7.2
South Region	401,346	358,741	317,958	-10.6	-11.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 3

URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1960

Geographic Area	Total	Population			
		Urban		Rural[a]	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
United States	179,323,175	125,268,750	69.9	54,054,425	30.1
Southern United States	54,973,113	32,160,250	58.5	22,812,863	41.5
Arkansas	1,786,272	765,303	42.8	1,020,969	57.2
East Region	444,094	147,568	33.2	296,526	66.8
Clay[b]	21,258	2,776	13.1	18,482	86.9
Craighead	47,303	21,418	45.3	25,885	54.7
Crittenden	47,564	19,374	40.7	28,190	59.3
Cross	19,551	4,922	25.2	14,629	74.8
Greene	25,198	9,947	39.5	15,251	60.5
Jackson	22,843	7,007	30.7	15,836	69.3
Lawrence	17,267	3,547	20.5	13,720	79.5
Lee	21,001	5,134	24.4	15,867	75.6
Mississippi	70,174	26,986	38.5	43,188	61.5
Monroe	17,327	4,636	26.8	12,691	73.2
Phillips	43,997	19,885	45.2	24,112	54.8
Poinsett	30,834	7,727	25.1	23,107	74.9
Randolph[b]	12,520	3,665	29.3	8,855	70.7
St. Francis	33,303	10,544	31.7	22,759	68.3
Woodruff	13,954	-	-	13,954	100.0
North Region	204,692	56,439	27.6	148,253	72.4
Central Region	686,077	357,923	52.2	328,154	47.8
West Region	133,451	69,863	52.4	63,588	47.6
South Region	317,958	133,510	42.0	184,448	58.0

[a]This classification includes rural farm and rural nonfarm population.

[b]Part of Clay annexed to Randolph.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 4

RURAL POPULATION AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1960

Geographic Area	Rural		Rural Farm		Rural Nonfarm	
	Number	Per Cent of Total Population	Number	Per Cent of Rural Population	Number	Per Cent of Rural Population
United States[a]	54,041,888	30.1	13,444,898	24.9	40,596,990	75.1
Southern United States[a]	22,797,630	41.5	5,920,797	26.0	16,876,833	74.0
Arkansas	1,020,969	57.2	331,645	32.5	689,324	67.5
East Region	296,526	66.8	134,992	45.5	161,534	54.5
Clay	18,482	86.9	8,839	47.8	9,643	52.2
Craighead	25,885	54.7	14,703	56.8	11,182	43.2
Crittenden	28,190	59.3	8,070	28.6	20,120	71.4
Cross	14,629	74.8	6,373	43.6	8,256	56.4
Greene	15,251	60.5	10,499	68.8	4,752	31.2
Jackson	15,836	69.3	6,710	42.4	9,126	57.6
Lawrence	13,720	79.5	5,520	40.2	8,200	59.8
Lee	15,867	75.6	11,734	74.0	4,133	26.0
Mississippi	43,188	61.5	12,122	28.1	31,066	71.9
Monroe	12,691	73.2	6,016	47.4	6,675	52.6
Phillips	24,112	54.8	12,241	50.8	11,871	49.2
Poinsett	23,107	74.9	11,094	48.0	12,013	52.0
Randolph	8,855	70.7	4,424	50.0	4,431	50.0
St. Francis	22,759	68.3	11,323	49.8	11,436	50.2
Woodruff	13,954	100.0	5,324	38.2	8,630	61.8
North Region	148,253	72.4	57,576	38.8	90,677	61.2
Central Region	328,154	47.8	77,891	23.7	250,263	76.3
West Region	63,588	47.6	16,420	25.8	47,168	74.2
South Region	184,448	58.0	44,766	24.3	139,682	75.7

[a]Figures were taken from sample data rather than actual count.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 5

DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1960

Geographic Area	Total Population	Land Area in Square Miles	Population Per Square Mile
United States	179,323,175	3,548,974	50.5
Southern United States	54,973,113	876,935	62.7
Arkansas	1,786,272	52,499	34.0
East Region	444,094	9,913	44.8
Clay[a]	21,258	640	33.2
Craighead	47,303	717	66.0
Crittenden	47,564	623	76.3
Cross	19,551	626	31.2
Greene	25,198	579	43.5
Jackson	22,843	637	35.9
Lawrence	17,267	592	29.2
Lee	21,001	620	33.9
Mississippi	70,174	921	76.2
Monroe	17,327	617	28.1
Phillips	43,997	704	62.5
Poinsett	30,834	762	40.5
Randolph[a]	12,520	647	19.4
St. Francis	33,303	636	52.4
Woodruff	13,954	592	23.6
North Region	204,692	9,648	21.2
Central Region	686,077	16,853	40.7
West Region	133,451	4,221	31.6
South Region	317,958	11,864	26.8

[a]Part of Clay annexed to Randolph.

Source: U. S. Census of Population.

Regia of
Contrasts
D-W
Urban-Rural
Loss-gain

TABLE 6

WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1960

Geographic Area	Population			Per Cent Distribution		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
United States	179,323,175	158,831,732	20,491,443	100.0	88.6	11.4
Southern United States	54,973,113	43,476,636	11,496,477	100.0	79.1	20.9
Arkansas	1,786,272	1,395,703	390,569	100.0	78.1	21.9
East Region	444,094	309,122	134,972	100.0	69.6	30.4
Clay	21,258	21,254	4	100.0	100.0	(a)
Craighead	47,303	45,691	1,612	100.0	96.6	3.4
Crittenden	47,564	19,461	28,103	100.0	40.9	59.1
Cross	19,551	13,640	5,911	100.0	69.8	30.2
Greene	25,198	25,181	17	100.0	99.9	0.1
Jackson	22,843	19,373	3,470	100.0	84.8	15.2
Lawrence	17,267	17,112	155	100.0	99.1	0.9
Lee	21,001	8,167	12,834	100.0	38.9	61.1
Mississippi	70,174	49,343	20,831	100.0	70.3	29.7
Monroe	17,327	8,888	8,439	100.0	51.3	48.7
Phillips	43,997	18,552	25,445	100.0	42.2	57.8
Poinsett	30,834	27,585	3,249	100.0	89.5	10.5
Randolph	12,520	12,349	171	100.0	98.6	1.4
St. Francis	33,303	14,324	18,979	100.0	43.0	57.0
Woodruff	13,954	8,202	5,752	100.0	58.8	41.2
North Region	204,692	203,371	1,321	100.0	99.4	0.6
Central Region	686,077	546,904	139,173	100.0	79.7	20.3
West Region	133,451	127,759	5,692	100.0	95.7	4.3
South Region	317,958	208,547	109,411	100.0	65.6	34.4

[a] Less than 0.1 per cent.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 7

WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1950 AND 1960, AND PER CENT CHANGE, 1950-1960

Geographic Area	1950			1960			Per Cent Change, 1950-1960	
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
United States	151,325,798	135,149,629	16,176,169	179,323,175	158,831,732	20,491,443	17.5	26.7
Southern United States	47,197,088	36,849,529	10,347,559	54,973,113	43,476,636	11,496,477	18.0	11.1
Arkansas	1,909,511	1,481,507	428,004	1,786,272	1,395,703	390,569	-5.8	-8.8
East Region	509,174	358,552	150,622	444,094	309,122	134,972	-13.8	-10.4
Clay	26,674	26,666	8	21,258	21,254	4	-20.3	-50.0
Craighead	50,613	49,057	1,556	47,303	45,691	1,612	-6.9	3.6
Crittenden	47,184	15,673	31,511	47,564	19,461	28,103	24.2	-10.8
Cross	24,757	16,775	7,982	19,551	13,640	5,911	-18.7	-26.0
Greene	29,149	29,091	58	25,198	25,181	17	-13.5	-70.7
Jackson	25,912	22,158	3,754	22,843	19,373	3,470	-12.6	-7.6
Lawrence	21,303	21,027	276	17,267	17,112	155	-18.6	-43.9
Lee	24,322	9,871	14,451	21,001	8,167	12,834	-17.3	-11.2
Mississippi	82,375	60,176	22,199	70,174	49,343	20,831	-18.0	-6.2
Monroe	19,540	10,014	9,526	17,327	8,888	8,439	-11.3	-11.4
Phillips	46,254	18,653	27,601	43,997	18,552	25,445	-0.6	-7.8
Poinsett	39,311	36,043	3,268	30,834	27,585	3,249	-23.5	-0.6
Randolph	15,982	15,817	165	12,520	12,349	171	-21.9	3.6
St. Francis	36,841	15,711	21,130	33,303	14,324	18,979	-8.8	-10.2
Woodruff	18,957	11,820	7,137	73,954	8,202	5,752	-30.6	-19.4
North Region	227,983	226,628	1,355	204,692	203,371	1,321	-10.3	-2.5
Central Region	669,827	526,820	143,007	686,077	546,904	139,173	3.8	-2.7
West Region	143,786	137,972	5,814	133,451	127,759	5,692	-7.4	-2.1
South Region	358,741	231,535	127,206	317,958	208,547	109,411	-9.9	-14.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 8

TOTAL POPULATION BY AGE, COLOR, AND SEX, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1960

Age in 1960	United States		Southern United States		Arkansas		East Region		North Region		Central Region		West Region		South Region	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Male, Total	78,367,149	9,964,345	21,509,214	5,556,136	690,762	188,225	154,409	65,378	101,515	644	269,885	66,849	62,434	2,646	102,519	52,708
0-4	8,849,181	1,480,548	2,414,519	839,419	69,277	29,053	17,147	10,716	9,257	85	27,328	10,161	6,014	386	9,531	7,705
5-9	8,202,157	1,302,211	2,278,647	766,302	68,384	27,112	16,944	10,018	9,296	72	26,151	9,111	6,066	377	9,927	7,534
10-14	7,456,573	1,067,716	2,147,163	654,235	72,073	23,393	18,035	8,459	10,051	66	26,738	7,762	6,497	318	10,752	6,788
15-19	5,837,093	796,568	1,769,059	500,364	58,938	17,469	14,777	6,205	8,806	60	21,476	5,889	5,240	212	8,639	5,103
20-24	4,645,822	626,518	1,427,008	344,841	39,348	9,282	8,967	3,033	6,163	57	16,282	3,667	2,975	117	4,961	2,408
25-29	4,721,783	611,292	1,347,218	300,331	36,374	7,258	8,326	2,244	4,954	27	15,177	2,950	2,930	110	4,987	1,927
30-34	5,218,188	628,036	1,436,603	298,198	38,883	7,052	8,720	2,219	4,903	35	16,252	2,810	3,247	95	5,761	1,893
35-39	5,446,833	632,679	1,480,546	302,340	41,809	7,339	8,971	2,328	5,453	26	17,685	2,930	3,543	127	6,157	1,928
40-44	5,117,038	558,843	1,364,443	285,229	42,182	7,986	8,978	2,569	5,663	21	17,096	3,097	3,833	107	6,612	2,192
45-49	4,828,179	529,746	1,282,716	283,143	43,218	8,808	9,203	2,943	6,064	33	16,989	3,300	4,081	139	6,881	2,393
50-54	4,286,023	448,806	1,127,761	243,140	40,257	8,662	8,258	2,886	5,998	33	15,572	3,124	3,838	128	6,591	2,491
55-59	3,728,599	398,646	951,687	214,717	35,583	8,515	7,109	2,826	5,678	32	13,560	3,022	3,462	125	5,774	2,510
60-64	3,121,664	287,655	765,784	156,468	28,963	6,844	5,378	2,218	4,984	27	11,179	2,448	2,863	111	4,559	2,040
65-69	2,684,132	246,956	668,040	150,348	28,112	7,515	5,037	2,611	5,203	25	10,741	2,535	2,902	123	4,229	2,221
70-74	2,018,350	166,866	496,440	101,538	21,939	5,439	4,006	1,875	4,110	21	8,373	1,865	2,218	79	3,232	1,599
75+	2,205,534	181,259	551,580	115,523	25,422	6,498	4,553	2,228	4,932	24	9,286	2,178	2,725	92	3,926	1,976
Female, Total	80,464,583	10,527,098	21,967,422	5,940,341	704,941	202,344	154,713	69,594	101,856	677	277,019	72,324	65,325	3,046	106,028	56,703
0-4	8,509,371	1,481,801	2,320,864	841,073	66,822	29,291	16,625	11,067	8,736	72	26,461	10,040	5,856	403	9,144	7,709
5-9	7,885,385	1,302,027	2,192,739	766,829	65,871	26,746	16,086	9,993	8,761	75	25,342	9,126	5,934	348	9,748	7,204
10-14	7,182,319	1,066,884	2,070,086	651,082	68,708	22,929	17,160	8,378	9,477	58	25,703	7,666	6,016	296	10,352	6,531
15-19	5,771,136	814,446	1,691,877	501,205	57,456	17,292	13,930	6,069	8,349	46	21,875	6,139	5,072	228	8,230	4,810
20-24	4,824,957	703,464	1,409,244	376,688	40,685	10,537	9,305	3,420	5,648	32	16,855	4,087	3,533	150	5,344	2,848
25-29	4,833,802	702,247	1,387,626	349,267	38,997	9,018	8,825	2,924	5,138	34	16,097	3,311	3,252	150	5,685	2,599
30-34	5,370,642	732,320	1,492,837	360,524	42,313	9,687	9,320	3,116	5,503	34	17,695	3,705	3,555	159	6,240	2,673
35-39	5,694,008	707,589	1,550,971	354,760	45,089	9,791	9,741	3,142	6,129	42	18,248	3,716	4,067	152	6,904	2,739
40-44	5,305,982	618,380	1,400,922	326,580	44,539	10,015	9,502	3,258	5,901	41	17,739	3,750	4,214	161	7,183	2,805
45-49	4,956,983	564,577	1,317,255	315,202	44,064	10,640	9,228	3,474	6,313	28	17,219	3,901	4,201	184	7,103	3,053
50-54	4,407,505	463,620	1,170,788	265,024	41,807	9,825	8,099	3,168	6,263	36	16,596	3,570	4,107	162	6,742	2,889
55-59	3,897,612	405,008	1,021,574	232,338	37,598	9,544	6,926	2,972	6,167	35	14,729	3,504	3,786	146	5,990	2,887
60-64	3,429,009	304,124	864,104	177,759	31,044	7,530	5,609	2,452	5,336	44	11,976	2,671	3,209	141	4,914	2,222
65-69	3,055,092	271,730	764,267	171,668	29,161	7,931	5,400	2,567	5,074	43	11,244	2,865	3,006	149	4,437	2,307
70-74	2,372,692	181,024	583,310	115,266	22,181	5,243	4,087	1,652	3,896	25	8,378	1,931	2,314	103	3,506	1,532
75+	2,968,088	207,857	728,958	135,076	28,606	6,325	4,870	1,942	5,165	32	10,862	2,342	3,203	114	4,506	1,895

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 9

ESTIMATES OF CHANGE IN POPULATION AND NET TOTAL MIGRATION, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1950-1960

Geographic Area	April 1, 1960 (Census)	April 1, 1950 (Census)	Net Change, 1950-1960		Components of Change, 1950-1960			
							Net Total Migration	
			Amount	Rate	Births	Deaths	Amount	Rate
United States	179,323,175	151,325,798	27,997,377	18.5	40,947,000	15,610,000	2,660,000	1.8
Southern United States	54,973,113	47,197,088	7,776,025	16.5	13,611,000	4,431,000	-1,404,000	-3.0
Arkansas	1,786,272	1,909,511	-123,239	-6.5	470,172	160,825	-432,586	-22.7
East Region	444,094	509,174	-65,080	-12.8	141,714	39,591	-167,203	-32.8
Clay[a]	21,258	26,551	-5,293	-19.9	5,016	2,154	-8,155	-30.7
Craighead	47,303	50,613	-3,310	-6.5	11,372	3,734	-10,948	-21.6
Crittenden	47,564	47,184	380	0.8	18,036	4,307	-13,349	-28.3
Cross	19,551	24,757	-5,206	-21.0	6,185	1,826	-9,565	-38.6
Greene	25,198	29,149	-3,951	-13.6	5,743	2,053	-7,641	-26.2
Jackson	22,843	25,912	-3,069	-11.8	6,204	2,198	-7,075	-27.3
Lawrence	17,267	21,303	-4,036	-18.9	4,779	1,632	-7,183	-33.7
Lee	21,001	24,322	-3,321	-13.7	7,819	1,981	-9,159	-37.7
Mississippi	70,174	82,375	-12,201	-14.8	23,142	5,489	-29,854	-36.2
Monroe	17,327	19,540	-2,213	-11.3	5,955	1,712	-6,456	-33.0
Phillips	43,997	46,254	-2,257	-4.9	15,544	4,519	-13,282	-28.7
Poinsett	30,834	39,311	-8,477	-21.6	10,454	2,333	-16,598	-42.2
Randolph[a]	12,520	16,105	-3,585	-22.3	3,374	1,232	-5,727	-35.6
St. Francis	33,303	36,841	-3,538	-9.6	13,092	3,084	-13,546	-36.8
Woodruff	13,954	18,957	-5,003	-26.4	4,999	1,337	-8,665	-45.7
North Region	204,692	227,983	-23,291	-10.2	42,028	18,750	-46,569	-20.4
Central Region	686,077	669,827	16,250	2.4	163,873	59,944	-87,679	-13.1
West Region	133,451	143,786	-10,335	-7.2	34,011	12,721	-31,625	-22.0
South Region	317,958	358,741	-40,783	-11.4	88,546	29,819	-99,510	-27.7

[a]Data adjusted to allow for transfer of current river township from Clay County to Randolph County between 1950 and 1960.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 10

TOTAL POPULATION, ABSOLUTE AND PER CENT CHANGE, UNITED STATES, SOUTHERN UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1960-1965

Geographic Area	Population 1960	Population 1965	Absolute Change, 1960-1965	Per Cent Change, 1960-1965
United States	179,323,175	193,795,000	14,471,825	8.1
Southern United States	54,973,113	60,107,000	5,133,887	9.3
Arkansas	1,786,272	1,929,146	142,874	8.0
East Region	444,094	468,163	24,069	5.4
Clay	21,258	21,429	171	0.8
Craighead	47,303	51,508	4,205	8.9
Crittenden	47,564	53,280	5,716	12.0
Cross	19,551	19,778	227	1.2
Greene	25,198	24,663	-535	-2.1
Jackson	22,843	22,187	-656	-2.9
Lawrence	17,267	17,342	75	0.4
Lee	21,001	21,975	974	4.6
Mississippi	70,174	76,632[a]	6,458	9.2
Monroe	17,327	18,690	1,363	7.9
Phillips	43,997	45,916	1,919	4.4
Poinsett	30,834	32,276	1,442	4.7
Randolph	12,520	12,368	-152	-1.2
St. Francis	33,303	36,015	2,712	8.1
Woodruff	13,954	14,104	150	1.1
North Region	204,692	228,094	23,402	11.4
West Region	133,451	152,053	18,602	13.9
Central Region	686,077	759,416	73,339	10.7
South Region	317,958	321,420	3,462	1.1

[a]Includes gain in Military Personnel of approximately 900.

Sources: U.S. Census of Population; and University of Arkansas, Bureau of Business and Economic Research; Arkansas 1965 Population Estimates, May, 1966 (Fayetteville).

TABLE 11

PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME ESTIMATES, UNITED STATES AND SUMMARY OF ARKANSAS REGIONS

Area	1950	1960	1965
United States	$1,491	$2,217	$2,746
State of Arkansas	815	1,340	1,850
North Region	715	1,246	1,767
East Region	721	1,126	1,584
Central Region	917	1,496	2,058
West Region	925	1,446	2,057
South Region	777	1,262	1,713

Sources: Survey of Current Business; and University of Arkansas, College of Business Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research.

TABLE 12

PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME ESTIMATES, UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS IN ARKANSAS, 1950, 1960 AND 1965

Geographic Area	Per Capita Income 1950	1960	1965
United States	$1,491	$2,217	$2,746
Arkansas	815	1,340	1,850
North Region	715	1,246	1,767
Baxter	746	1,238	2,054
Benton	881	1,439	1,950
Boone	754	1,325	1,997
Carroll	685	1,232	1,503
Fulton	518	869	1,170
Independence	665	1,124	1,713
Izard	491	866	1,251
Madison	502	900	1,175
Marion	525	922	1,258
Newton	368	608	1,019
Searcy	446	809	1,161
Sharp	484	818	1,579
Stone	442	745	1,166
Washington	965	1,561	2,048
East Region	721	1,126	1,584
Clay	665	1,124	1,622
Craighead	857	1,418	1,920
Crittenden	675	998	1,444
Cross	715	1,157	1,836
Greene	725	1,154	1,679
Jackson	753	1,232	1,889
Lawrence	603	1,024	1,388
Lee	620	806	1,263
Mississippi	810	1,242	1,501
Monroe	672	942	1,407
Phillips	714	1,045	1,530
Poinsett	741	1,273	1,690
Randolph	660	996	1,536
St. Francis	658	962	1,426
Woodruff	572	1,012	1,614
Central Region	917	1,496	2,058
Arkansas	1,030	1,608	2,283
Clark	693	1,169	1,735
Cleburne	497	956	1,494
Cleveland	529	856	1,115
Conway	572	1,154	1,755
Dallas	651	1,052	1,492
Faulkner	657	1,149	1,489
Garland	1,114	1,543	2,250
Grant	568	1,102	1,404
Hot Spring	791	1,452	1,986

- continued -

TABLE 12
PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME ESTIMATES . . . 1950, 1960 AND 1965 - (Continued.)

Geographic Area	Per Capita Income 1950	1960	1965
Jefferson	867	1,431	1,934
Johnson	649	1,020	1,446
Lincoln	477	841	1,177
Lonoke	766	1,039	1,573
Montgomery	493	1,038	1,459
Perry	487	811	1,085
Pope	678	1,261	1,429
Prairie	636	1,258	1,846
Pulaski	1,326	1,987	2,586
Saline	809	1,348	1,779
Van Buren	480	847	1,193
White	647	1,202	1,482
Yell	558	1,127	1,948
West Region	925	1,446	2,057
Crawford	660	1,136	1,292
Franklin	571	1,022	1,519
Logan	588	1,032	1,574
Polk	580	1,132	1,727
Scott	550	915	1,371
Sebastian	1,328	1,823	2,583
South Region	777	1,262	1,713
Ashley	797	1,352	1,929
Bradley	781	1,163	1,588
Calhoun	537	884	1,516
Chicot	537	948	1,327
Columbia	798	1,313	1,607
Desha	619	1,077	1,575
Drew	624	1,011	1,414
Hempstead	671	1,105	1,611
Howard	632	1,336	1,907
Lafayette	681	1,009	1,296
Little River	570	1,131	1,945
Miller	860	1,267	1,805
Nevada	631	979	1,520
Ouachita	932	1,398	1,938
Pike	644	1,094	1,684
Sevier	670	1,152	1,460
Union	1,134	1,708	2,225

Sources: Survey of Current Business; and University of Arkansas, College of Business Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research.

TABLE 13

TOTAL POPULATION AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY REGIONS, ARKANSAS, ACTUAL 1960 AND PROJECTED RANGE, 1980

Geographic Area	1960 Census	1980 Series I-B	1980 Series III-B
State[1]	1,786,272	2,268,000	2,455,000
North Region	204,692	267,624	289,690
East Region	444,094	551,124	596,565
Central Region	686,077	891,324	964,815
West Region	133,451	179,172	193,945
South Region	317,958	378,756	409,985
Per Cent Distribution			
State	100.0	100.0	100.0
North Region	11.4	11.8	11.8
East Region	24.9	24.3	24.3
Central Region	38.4	39.3	39.3
West Region	7.5	7.9	7.9
South Region	17.8	16.7	16.7

[1] In both the Series I-B and Series III-B projections a very moderate decline from the birth levels of the recent past is assumed. The Series I-B projection is based on the assumption that the gross migration rates experienced during the period 1955-1960 will continue for the entire projection interval and in the Series III-B projections no net migration is assumed. An alternate set of projections, in which it is assumed that birth levels will decline substantially from those of the recent past, indicate a Series I-D population of 2,152,000 and a Series III-D population of 2,323,000.

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, "Illustrative Projections of the Population of States: 1970 to 1985," February 7, 1966, pp. 14, 15, 90, 91 and Appendix Table 10.

TABLE 14

OCCUPATION GROUPS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX, NUMBER, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND THE EAST REGION IN ARKANSAS, 1960

Occupation	United States	Southern United States	Arkansas	East Region
Total males	43,466,946	12,426,780	394,839	95,147
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	4,479,358	1,087,017	25,161	4,197
Farmers and farm managers	2,387,584	891,983	49,662	17,909
Managers, officials and proprietors, except farm	4,629,842	1,329,346	41,527	7,824
Clerical and kindred workers	3,015,476	740,123	17,495	3,073
Sales workers	2,977,872	813,587	22,994	4,756
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	8,488,777	2,290,638	62,479	11,323
Operatives and kindred workers	8,641,687	2,446,215	71,037	18,393
Private household workers	61,063	23,644	585	146
Service workers, except private household	2,598,669	683,876	17,169	2,837
Farm laborers and farm foremen	1,201,922	549,691	37,435	16,393
Laborers, except farm and mine	2,997,789	1,030,826	35,698	5,774
Occupation not reported	1,986,907	539,834	13,597	2,522
	Per Cent Distribution[a]			
Total males	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	10.3	8.7	6.4	4.4
Farmers and farm managers	5.5	7.2	12.6	18.8
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	10.7	10.7	10.5	8.2
Clerical and kindred workers	6.9	6.0	4.4	3.2
Sales workers	6.9	6.5	5.8	5.0
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	19.5	18.4	15.8	11.9
Operatives and kindred workers	19.9	19.7	18.0	19.3
Private household workers	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
Service workers, except private household	6.0	5.5	4.4	3.0
Farm laborers and farm foremen	2.8	4.4	9.5	17.2
Laborers, except farm and mine	6.9	8.3	9.1	6.1
Occupation not reported	4.6	4.3	3.4	2.7

[a] Per cents are not rounded to equal 100.0.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

TABLE 15

OCCUPATION GROUPS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SEX, NUMBER, AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, UNITED STATES, ARKANSAS AND THE EAST REGION IN ARKANSAS, 1960

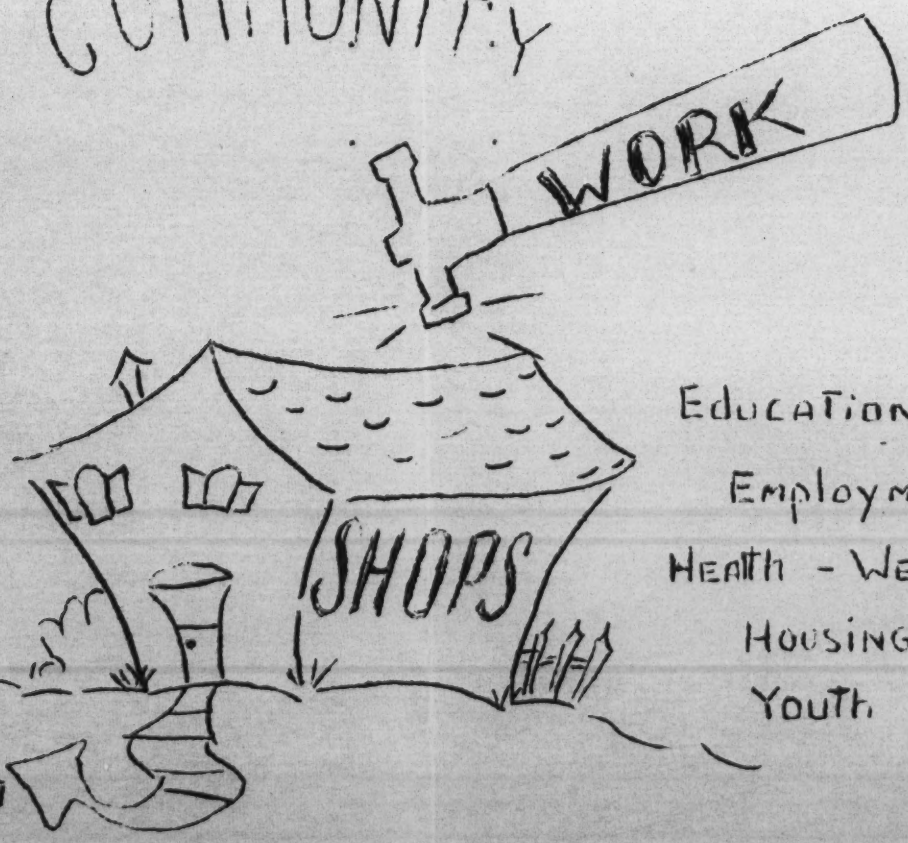
Occupation	United States	Southern United States	Arkansas	East Region
Total females	21,172,301	6,188,755	170,652	35,002
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	2,753,052	775,213	20,959	4,020
Farmers and farm managers	118,100	49,061	2,343	482
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	779,701	240,304	8,717	1,650
Clerical and kindred workers	6,291,420	1,553,239	33,370	5,837
Sales workers	1,661,113	471,824	14,103	3,002
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	252,215	61,421	1,722	402
Operatives and kindred workers	3,255,949	929,700	25,871	5,292
Private household workers	1,664,763	798,611	24,281	6,505
Service workers, except private household	2,846,289	836,221	27,278	4,939
Farm laborers and farm foremen	242,885	115,738	2,986	1,362
Laborers, except farm and mine	109,746	32,720	1,075	202
Occupation not reported	1,196,768	324,703	7,947	1,309
	Per Cent Distribution[a]			
Total females	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	13.0	12.5	12.3	11.5
Farmers and farm managers	0.6	0.8	1.4	1.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	3.7	3.9	5.1	4.7
Clerical and kindred workers	29.7	25.1	19.6	16.7
Sales workers	7.8	7.6	8.3	8.6
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.1
Operatives and kindred workers	15.4	15.0	15.2	15.1
Private household workers	7.9	12.9	14.2	18.6
Service workers, except private household	13.4	13.5	16.0	14.1
Farm laborers and farm foremen	1.1	1.9	1.7	3.9
Laborers, except farm and mine	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
Occupation not reported	5.7	5.2	4.7	3.7

[a]Per cents are not rounded to equal 100.0.

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

M.A.T.

MOVING · HEAD · COMMUNITY



Education
Employment
Health - Welfare
Housing
Youth

- Thursday -
August 10, 1967

MOVING AHEAD TOGETHER (MAT)

MAT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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Marcella Lester, Chairman

Edna Poore, Secretary

MAT ADMINISTRATORS

Albert Holland, Sr.
Executive Director

Rev. Cody B. Bush
Associate Director

Curtis Hicks
Program Director

INTRODUCTION

What is MAT? What is MATS' function in the Community?

M.A.T. is a Social Action Agency. M.A.T.'s function is to bring about change in the Socio-Economic and Cultural standards within the community, and to give voice to the poor in the community.

Office: 1222 Germantown Street
Dayton, Ohio 45408

Phone: 222-8335
222-8336 222-8231

HOUSING WORKSHOP

T O P I C

THE CURRENT TREND OF THE CITY

.....in disposing of Inner-West Dayton Property.

* * * *

PLACE: Mt. Olive Baptist Church
502 Pontiac Street
Dayton, Ohio

TIME: 7:45 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.

Workshop conducted by: Mrs. Dorothy Speed

EDUCATION WORKSHOP

T O P I C

THE COMMUNITY AND EDUCATION

The affects of the new School Bond Issue; Methods of improvement in West Dayton School Curriculums; Teaching Standards.

* * * *

PLACE: MAT Office, 1222 Germantown Street

TIME: 5:30 P.M. to 7:00 P.M.

Workshop conducted by: Mr. Phillip Thornton

HEALTH & WELFARE WOR[illegible]P

T O P I C

Welfare Rights Organization: Guidelines for person's needing assistance.

* * * *

PLACE: People's Community Church

TIME: 6:15 P.M. to 7:45 P.M.

Workshop conducted by: Mrs. Evelyn Stewart

* * * *

YOUTH WORKSHOP

T O P I C

THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN TODAY'S SOCIETY

* * * *

PLACE: Wesley Center
2301 W. Third Street
Dayton, Ohio

TIME: 7:00 P.M. to 8:30 P.M.

Workshop conducted by: Mrs. Imogene Armstrong

EMPLOYMENT WORKSHOP

T O P I C

NEGRO MINORITY EMPLOYMENT

Recent court decisions and Legislative Acts; Their affects on minority groups; Employment opportunities.

* * *

PLACE: MAT Office, 1222 Germantown Street

TIME: 8:00 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.

Workshop conducted by: Mr. Curtis Hicks

MOVING AHEAD TOGETHER (M.A.T.)
1222 Germantown Street
Dayton, Ohio 45408
Phones: 222-8335 222-8336 222-8231

ANNOUNCEMENT

Residents of "West Dayton"

MR. AL HOLLAND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF M.A.T.

WILL BE ON WHIO'S CONVERSATION PIECE,

TUESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1967 AT 1:10 P.M.

TUNE IN TO 1210 ON THE DIAL (WHIO RADIO)

MR. HOLLAND WILL BE MOST HAPPY TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS

CONCERNING THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM-MAT.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The First Eugene V. Debs Lecture
before the
Midwest Labor Press Association

By Michael Harrington

Reprint Series No. 17 1967

CENTER FOR LABOR AND MANAGEMENT
College of Business Administration
The University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

REPRINT SERIES NO. 189

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

The Study of Social Movements

by JOSEPH R. GUSFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BULLETIN

File

SCSPP

Annual Report

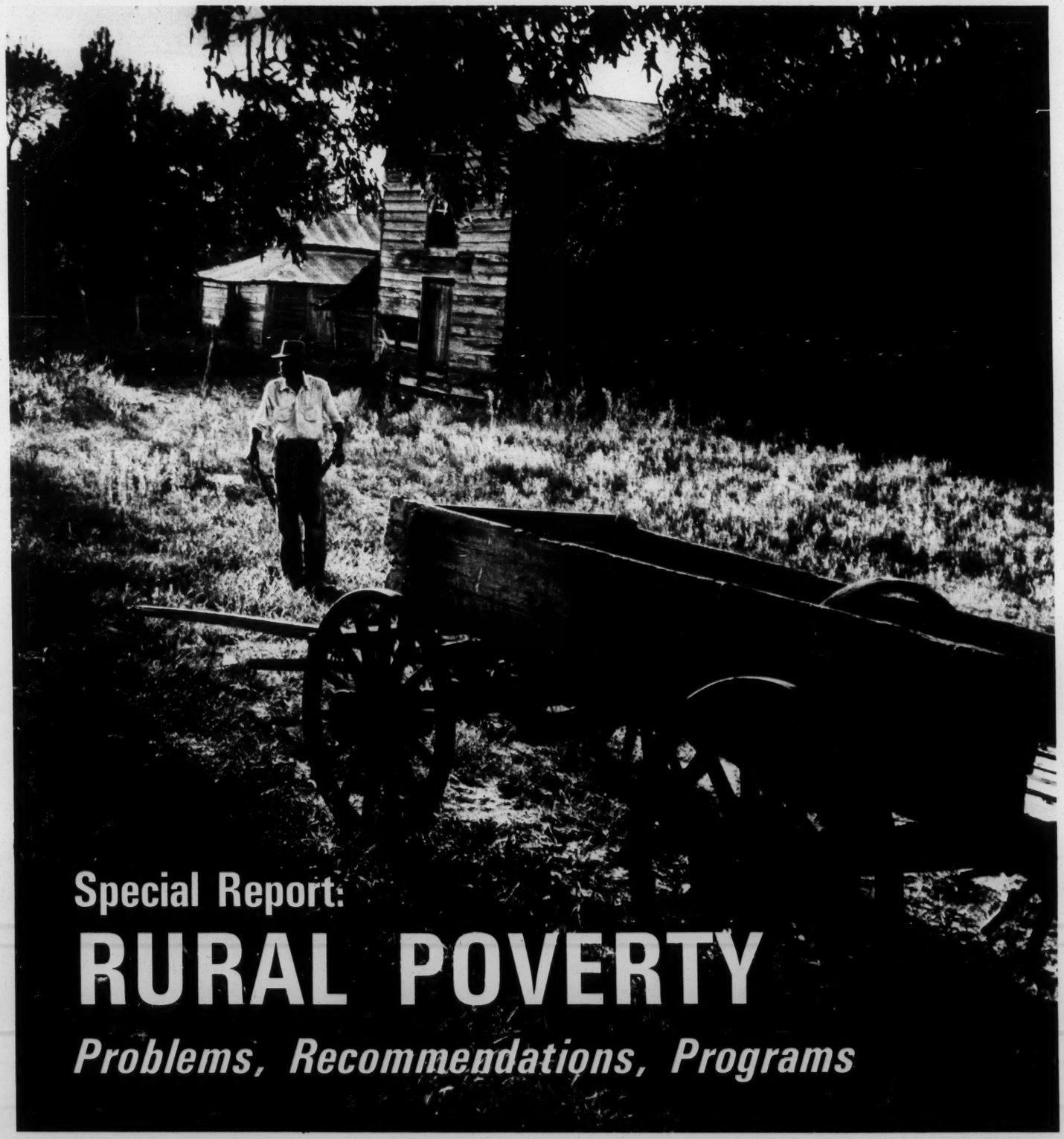
1969

The Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy

Box 10 - Ac

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

Vol. 3, No. 1 April, 1967



Special Report:

RURAL POVERTY

Problems, Recommendations, Programs

Southern Rural Action Project

news CCAP
CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther, Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Secretary
Clyde Ellis, Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

~~11:00 AM~~
50 Whitehall

REUTHER ANNOUNCES LAUNCHING OF SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION PROJECT TO BE HEADED BY RANDOLPH BLACKWELL

ATLANTA, SEPTEMBER 1--The first results of the the Southern Rural Action Project, an experimental, privately-financed, anti-poverty program which seeks to build an economic base for grass roots communities in the rural South was announced here today by Walter Reuther, Chairman of the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty.

At the same time, CCAP Chairman Reuther officially announced the appointment of Randolph Blackwell, former program director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as director of the Atlanta-based project.

Under the new program, supported financially by the Stern Family Fund and CCAP, grass roots organisations in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi will be receiving resources to fight poverty from a variety of support groups being organized among religious, civic, labor, academic, business and student

organizations across the Nation. The first grass roots communities receiving support under the experimental program which is aimed at assisting more than 100 rural communities over the next three years, will be Taliaferre, Lincoln, and Hancock Counties in Georgia and Green and Wilcox Counties in Alabama. A number of grass roots communities in Mississippi are expected to join the program shortly.

Under the new program, groups from more affluent sectors of the Nation--both in the South and the North--are linked with a grass roots organization in a two-year community development plan. The following projects are already under way.

One of the first support groups, headed by the Dean of Clark College in Worcester, Massachusetts, is organizing a team of 25 salesmen to market the products of a small co-operative in Taliaferre County that produces athletic uniforms.

The National Student Association, with chapters on more than 300 campuses across the Nation, is also developing sales groups among its affiliates to support the co-operative.

An Alabama Alumni Association, composed of more than 2000 former residents of that state now living in the North, has agreed to link up in a development program

with a community group in Greene County, Alabama. Until recently the Alabama Alumni Association, which has chapters in Chicago, Detroit, and Brooklyn among other cities, had only met on a social basis. Under the Southern Rural Action Project they will now be able to make a personal commitment to the eradication of poverty in their home state.

The National Council of Negro Women will also be cooperating with the Southern Rural Action Project through the South, under the Council's new project to provide for the training for women in community services.

"This program is designed to meet a great unmet need in the War on Poverty," said Mr. Reuther. "More and more people in the South are looking for economic solutions to their poverty problems. This program is designed to provide the bridge between those people who have the resources and those who need them if they are to have the opportunities they need to break out of poverty.

"There are many groups in the United States," Reuther said, "who are committed to the eradication of poverty and yet have not found a way of joining in the battle. At the same time there are hundreds of other groups who have the will, but who lack the resources to help themselves. By linking these two groups together in a partnership, we hope to forge a vital new anti-poverty

force that will contribute to the development of a democratic New South.

Ten National Organizations will join with the Crusade in participating in the Southern Rural Action Project. They will assist the SRAP in locating support groups from among their affiliate chapters and will aid in the development of plans and strategy for the overall project. The include: The National Council of Churches; The Southern Regional Council; The Southern Christian Leadership Conference; The Delta Ministry; The National Council of Negro Women; The National Council of Catholic Women; Wednesdays in Mississippi; United Church Women; National Council of Catholic Women; The National Student Christian Federation; and The National Student Association.

The Citizens' Crusade is a privately financed, nonpartisan grouping of more than 100 leaders and organizations of religious, civil rights, labor, academic, business, student and grass roots groups. Among its programs is a three-year $4,000,000 effort to train 1,000 community workers from the ranks of the poor.

An immediate start to that program was announced recently following the receipt of a $375,000 starter grant from the Ford Foundation. The program will have two training centers--at still unannounced sites on the east and west coast. The program is designed to organize the poor and help them participate more effectively in the War on Poverty.

File

southern rural research project

p.o. box 956
1516 mabry street selma, alabama 36701
(205) 872-2530

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SPENCER HOGUE, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT

KATHLEEN A. VEIT
U. Z. NUNNALLY
DIRECTORS

March 29, 1971

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is the supplement to our 1971 proposal which we promised to send you. We will forward the list of industries in the counties we cover as soon as it is mimeographed.

Kathy and I enjoyed meeting with you during our visit to Atlanta. We will keep in touch with you concerning our progress in dealing with fair employment practices in the Black Belt.

Sincerely,

Ann Jackson

(Miss) Ann Jackson

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

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Orrville Farmer's Co-operative

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Dallas County

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Autauga County

REV. & MRS. M. O. ODEN
Dallas County

NATHAN F. PAYNE
Orville Farmer's Cooperative

MRS. CATHERINE PEAK
Elmore County Improvement Organization

CLARENCE PEAK
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Dallas County

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Lowndes County

MISS NANCY SPEARS
Lee County Headstart

FRANK MILES, JR.
Lowndes County Freedom Party

CHARLES SMITH
Lowndes County Christian Movement

MRS. MOZZELLE THOMAS
Welfare Rights Organization

ALBERT TURNER
Perry County Civic League

MRS. VALERIE WATTS
Welfare Rights Organization

MRS. CLARA WALKER
Dallas County

MRS. ALLIE WILLIAMS
Akron Home Improvement Club

CLARENCE WILLIAMS, JR.
Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization

JASPER WILSON
Elmore County Improvement Organization

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BRUCE ROGOW, Esq.
Miami, Florida

MISS NANCY SCHEPER
Berkeley, California

MARK SHAPIRO
Detroit, Michigan

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Brooklyn, New York

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RAY KAUFMAN
Los Angeles, California

PETER MARCUSE, Esq.
Waterbury, Connecticut

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Modesto, California

southern rural research project

p.o. box 956

1516 mabry street selma, alabama 36701

(205) 872-2530

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VICE-PRESIDENT

KATHLEEN A. VEIT
U. Z. NUNNALLY
DIRECTORS

SUPPLEMENT TO

Proposal - 1971

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

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Modesto, California

NEW DIRECTOR

The Southern Rural Research Project has a new director. The outgoing directors, U.Z. Nunnally and Kathleen Veit, felt it was time the project was run entirely by the local people of Alabama, whom the project is designed to serve.

The new director is Miss Annie Belle Jackson, 28 years old and a native of Lowndes County, Alabama. She has been active in movement and related activities since 1965 when she began work on voter registration and voter education in Lowndes County. Later she worked on the development of the Lowndes County Co-op, a co-operative gas station and supermarket built to serve the people of Lowndes County. She was involved in Welfare Rights Organizing in her county and has been on the Board of SRRP for a year. These activities are in addition to a full time teaching job (she has a Master's degree in counseling from Alabama State University).

Miss Jackson is very much aware of the problems that black rural farm families face in their struggle for existance in the South--having been reared in a black farm family which includes 10 children. The family faced daily harassment during the early years of the civil rights movement due to the strong stand they took to back up their beliefs in dignity and economic equality for all.

Miss Veit will remain in Alabama for two or three more months to help Miss Jackson become acquainted with her new job.

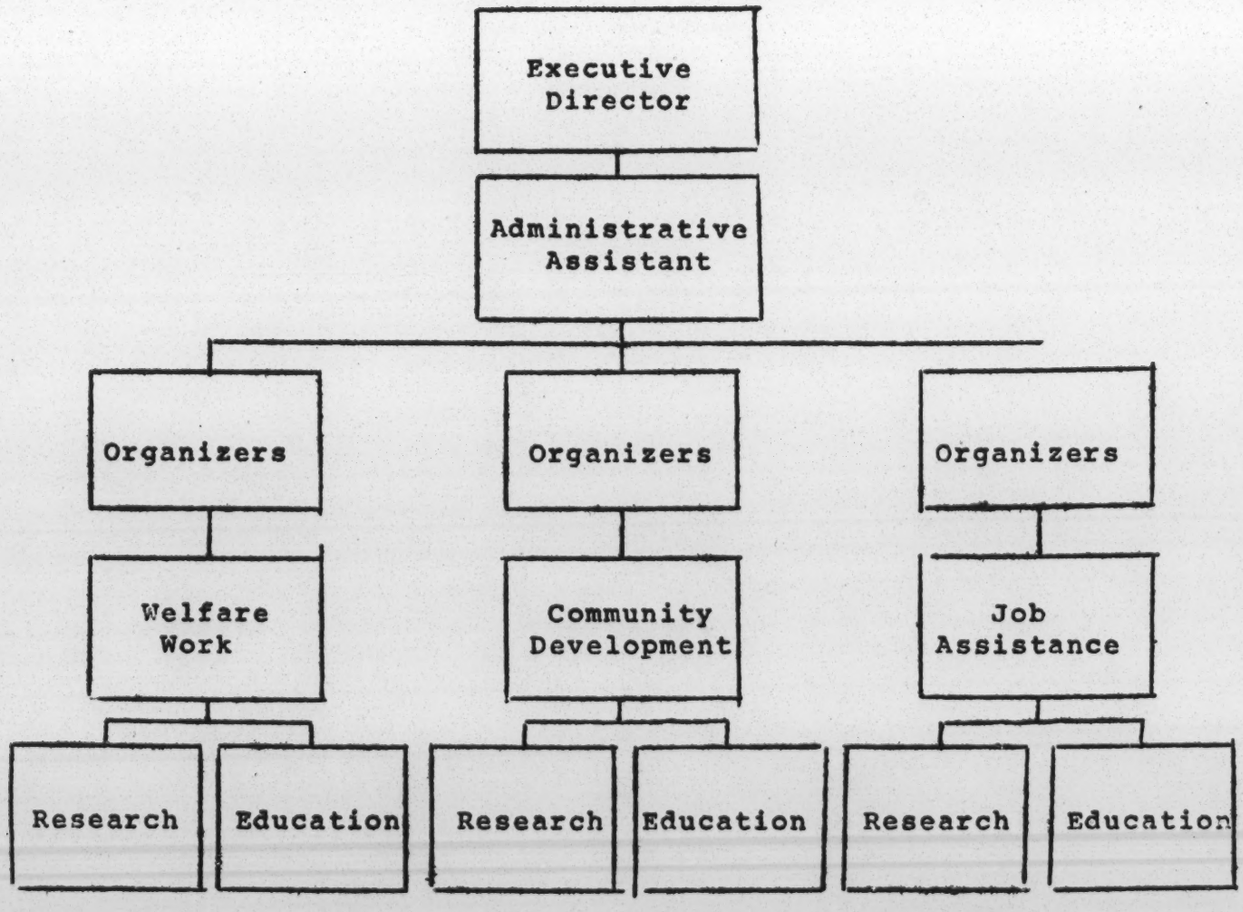
RESTRUCTURING THE PROGRAM

Since the early part of 1971, when SRRP came under new directorship, there has been much serious thought and discussion concerning what direction we should take and what plans we should formulate for the coming year and thereafter.

Weighing heavily on our minds was the realization that as long as government agencies remain in the control of local whites, black people will continue to be the victims of severe discrimination. And it seems inevitable to us that this white control will continue far into the future. SRRP's history has demonstrated that very little improvement in the conditions of the majority of blacks has come as a result of the efforts to pressure these agencies for fair treatment and maximum benefits.

SRRP has come to a point of reassessment of what our role as a meaningful organization should be. We have concluded that the most effective role for us to assume would be one in which we could offer an alternative to the black people of Alabama--an alternative which would mean the expansion of our services to include many of the services that they are now being denied by government agencies. With intensive organizational and educational work, SRRP can become a prime force in the establishment of co-operatives and self-help programs throughout the state. We as an organization feel that it is time for black people to become self-reliant and to stop depending upon sources which have long exhibited their hostility to them.

To achieve this objective, we have called for a restructuring of the organization into three main branches, welfare work, community development, and job assistance. Below is a chart illustrating the new structure of SRRP.



FUNCTION OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The function of the executive director will be to coordinate and direct communications and activities between the various counties, to make sure that important bulletins and newsletters are posted and distributed to all concerned and to plan, call for and preside over staff and other meetings. The director will initiate meaningful methods, techniques and programs in order to make the goals of SRRP a reality. The director will also attend meetings which will be productive to SRRP and the community with leaders and organizations inside and outside the state.

FUNCTION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

The administrative assistant will work directly with the organizers to implement programs initiated by the executive director. This assistant will feed the director information on all new developments and problems surrounding SRRP's programs, whereas prompt and efficient action can be taken to iron out difficulties. The administrative assistant will take care of most of the required inter-county travel and program supervision and will keep tabs on the progress in individual areas. With her assistant acting as "her man on the scene," the executive director will have the time needed to fulfill the many duties of administration.

ROLE OF THE ORGANIZERS

The role of the organizers will be to create workable structures in the area to which they are assigned, under the close supervision of the administrative assistant. These areas will be

divided into research and education and the organizers will work to discover and to utilize all the resources at their disposal.

WELFARE WORK

We will continue our program dealing with Welfare Rights, including research and documentation of discrimination against black people by welfare, social security, food programs, Farmer's Home Administration, and others, as well as aiding in individual cases and providing information and encouragement to the welfare rights organizations we helped to form in 1970. However, the greatest emphasis will be on informing people of their rights and how to most effectively exercise those rights. Using the 73-page manual which covers welfare and food programs, we will hold workshops in each county with key people who are sincerely interested in helping individuals with welfare problems. They will learn the rules and regulations and can in turn help others in their own community.

We will continue to urge the people to obtain the most that they can in terms of assistance from these agencies, even though we realize that it will be quite limited (See page 28 of "Proposal-1971"). But we will stress the fact that this assistance will only be a supplement to the more important self-help programs they will be forming. Data will be collected on the procedures of forming these programs, which will include the three areas of desperate need--<u>medical care</u>, <u>adequate housing</u>, and <u>nutrition</u>. From this data we will decide on how to best equip the people to fulfill these needs.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

We will form a community development program, dealing with research into the formation and operation of co-operatives in farming, manufacturing and merchandising. We will educate black people so that they may form such successful co-operatives, thereby becoming economicially independent of such apathetic and hostile government agencies. The educational program will include basic education (reading, mathematics and language skills) plus specialized education (agriculture, economics, production, marketing, etc.).

To implement this educational program, we will hire five teachers who will be willing to travel throughout the eleven-county area in which SRRP will be working. In addition to the salaried teachers, we will ask college students of various schools in the area to volunteer their services to help the teachers, to fill in in their absence and to do individual tutoring. The volunteer assistance of teachers and professors at local schools and colleges will also be requested. We will seek to engage local people who possess special knowledge and skills in agriculture, marketing, economics and various types of production to speak and conduct demonstrations.

We will request the use of the facilities of local educational institutions and churches, in order to carry out this program. If more space is needed than these resources are willing or able to supply, we can rent a building at minimal expense.

JOB ASSISTANCE

The last phase of SRRP's new program is involvement in employment practices of the industries situated in the 11 counties we work in. Compared to other parts of the nation, there are few industries in each of these counties; which makes the jobs they offer all the more sought after. During our work with welfare recipients last year we found that virtually all recipients or applicants would rather have a job if it were available. However, the limited number of jobs available in these industries go mainly to whites. Although in the past few years, efforts have been made on the part of the State of Alabama to encourage new industries into Alabama, the employment practices have not changed from pre-civil rights days.

The project proposes the following twofold program to attempt to deal with discriminatory employment practices:

1. Education: We will conduct a program of informing local people of where the industries are in their counties, what jobs might be available and encouraging them to apply for these jobs. SRRP will also conduct workshops on how to fill out an application, what to expect during an interview, what might be included on written apptitude tests, and most important, what an individuals rights are under various federal laws and regulations covering discrimination in hiring and employment. These laws and agencies include: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1969, Executive Order No. 11246, the Minimum Wage Law, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Contract Compliance, and the National Labor Relations Board.

2. Research: The project will also conduct a detailed survey of the industries located in the counties we cover to obtain the information needed to determine how each industry stands on fair employment practices. When necessary, SRRP will make contact with appropriate federal agencies in behalf of individuals to correct injustices. If these actions fail, we will obtain the necessary legal representation for the individual involved so that he or she may file suit against the offending industry.

LEGAL SERVICES

The proposed legal service program remains basically the same as described in the "Proposal-1971." In addition, it will handle any legal problems which arise out of the above proposed programs.

PROPOSED BUDGET

We realize that such extensive reorganization will require much time and effort before we transform our objective into a working reality and we are prepared to do all in our power. to make this project a success. We are also aware of the tremendous need for financial resources to launch and maintain such a program.

On the following page, we have calculated the budget for the coming year:

PROPOSED YEARLY BUDGET

SALARIES	
Executive Director	$ 6,000.00
Administrative Assistant	5,000.00
Organizers (6 at $75.00/week)	23,400.00
Secretary	5,000.00
	$ 39,400.00
OFFICE EXPENSES	
Office rent and utilities	$ 2,000.00
Office supplies	1,000.00
Maintenance of office equipment	200.00
Printing	800.00
Postage	400.00
Telephone	1,500.00
	$ 5,900.00
TRAVEL EXPENSES	
Autos - repairs	$ 1,000.00
Autos - insurance (for 3 cars)	750.00
Autos - gas	3,000.00
Payment of loan on 2nd car	2,000.00
Purchase of 3rd car (used)	1,000.00
Other travel (air fares)	2,350.00
	$ 10,100.00
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	
Teachers' salaries (5 at $80.00/week)	$ 20,800.00
Teaching equipment:	
-Books, periodicals, movies, tapes and records	3,000.00
-Audio-visual equipment (tape recorders, record players, movie projector and movie screen	5,000.00
-Miscellaneous	1,500.00
	$ 30,300.00
LEGAL SERVICE EXPENSES	
Office supplies	$ 1,000.00
Phone	1,500.00
Postage	300.00
Legal Books	500.00
Litigation Costs	11,000.00
	$ 14,300.00
TOTAL	$100,000.00

SSOC

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

March 28, 1966

Mr, Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is a tentative agenda I drew up to give people an idea of the kind of thing I am thinking about for the students and labor conference. The conference is coming along pretty well. There is a student planning meeting for it this Saturday here in Durham, NC. At that time an agenda will be drawn up and a date set. Hopefully the conference can be held around the very end of April of early May.

I have just gotten back from a weeks or so in Washington and New York. I had some good talks with labor people and I am hoping that we will be able to get support from labor nationally.

On April 8,9, and 10 SSOC will be having its southwide Spring conference in Atlanta at Old Gammon Seminary. We will be having workshops on a variety of things including one to deal with the student - labor relationship. I would very much like to have you there for that workshop if possible. Probably it will be on Friday night and Saturday morning of that weekend.

I hope to get to Atlanta a few days before the conference but if I don't I will try to send you more information on the SSOC conference. My problem is that I have been away from Nashville for several weeks and don't have the information myself.

I hope that I will be able to talk with you more about the labor conference while I am in Atlanta. Thanks again for your interest and help.

Sincerely,

Gene Guerrero

Gene Guerrero, Jr.

Proposed Agenda For the Students And Labor Conference - Gene Guerrero

Friday Night

Henderson
Williams

6:00 PM - Address on "The Economics of the South". This probably should be given by some academic person who could approach the current economic picture in the South from something of a historical perspective. It should cover such things as the rural-urban shift, automation, etc.

8:00 PM - A couple of good films on the labor movement in the South, followed by free time.

Saturday

Marshall

9:00 AM - Address on "The History of the Labor Movement in the South". This should be a broad address dealing with movements for economic change, perhaps going back to the populists, then through the thirties to the present.

11:00 AM - Possibly small discussion groups to deal with previous two addresses.

Marshall

1:00 PM - Address on "The Labor Movement in the South Today".

Jim Pierce

Chair: Kelner, Greenberg

2:00 PM - Panel Reaction to preceding address. Panel should represent various perspectives including those of: a southern organizer, a labor organizer who has worked with students, someone attempting labor organizing outside the labor movement, and someone to moderate who can keep discussion constructive.

6:00 PM - Small workshops or discussion groups to discuss questions raised at this point in the conference.

Sunday

9:00 AM - Workshops on various ways students can relate to labor. Should include campus organizing, community labor organizing, roles for students within organized labor, migrant organizing, sharecroppers, etc.

Hammer?
Rustin
Henderson

12:00 AM - Closing address on a "Strategy For Economic Change in the South". This should tie together the various themes of the conference.

How many Union "observers"

Gene Guerrero
SSOC
P.O. Box 6403
Nashville, Tenn

CHARLOTTE, N.C.
PM
29 MAR
1966

U.S. POSTAGE 3¢
LIBERTY

U.S. POSTAGE 5¢

Write Slavin

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Actions by:
Fed, State, local Govt
Business & Industry
Unions
Voluntary Orgs.

Strengthen
News

AIR MAIL

AIR MAIL

March 29, 1966

SSOC
P. O. Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear SSOC:

Enclosed is my registration to the spring conference. Since I live in Atlanta, I won't be rooming and boarding at Old Gammon, so could you please let me know how much the registration fee will be? In addition, if there are pre-conference mailings of working papers, I would like to receive copies.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
Administrative Secretary
Labor Program

/jb

EV:

Is this worth attending?

Probably. Seems I gave some ideas originally re such a program. I would like to see copy of final program when available.

I may not be in town then. Do you want me to pay your registration?

SSOC

THIRD ANNUAL SPRING CONFERENCE

APRIL 8-10, 1966

Old Gammon Seminary Atlanta, Georgia

Registration for the southwide spring conference of the Southern Student Organizing Committee will begin at Old Gammon Seminary on Thursday evening, April 7 and continue through Friday morning. The program will begin at 1:00 p.m. on Friday, April 8th with a discussion of the Southern Student Movement. Workshops are being planned on:

STUDENTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
SOUTHERN POLITICS
URBAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZING
RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZING
STUDENTS AND LABOR

Additional action workshops will be held on: summer projects, the draft, and Vietnam/foreign policy activity. A legislative session scheduled for Sunday morning will deal with program priorities, structure, fundraising, and the election of officers.

The Southern Folk Festival will be touring the South during the month of April and will be in Atlanta for the conference weekend.

Persons wishing to register should complete the form below and return it to the SSOC office as soon as possible. A $10.00 registration fee will be charged -- payable at the conference. This will include housing and food (Friday through Sunday). Some scholarships and travel grants are available. Apply only if desperate.

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

Downtown Holiday Inn

April 5, 1966

in by - 6:00

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is a more or less final agenda for the students and labor conference. As you can see it is to be held in Durham, North Carolina on April 22,23, and 24. On Friday night Norm Hill of the IUD will deliver an address which will deal with the role of the labor movement in the society. We would very much like to have you be a part of the panel which will pick up on that question after Mr. Hill's talk. Also I would like for you to be in Durham for the entire conference if that would be possible.

I am hoping that the labor conference will be significant in a real way. There is a real interest among students in the labor movement. It seems crucial to me for students to be related to labor in various ways. I am working on a number of ideas as to how this can happen. One is that students who have had some civil rights background might work with southern organizers over the summer.

I will be coming to Atlanta in a couple of days for the SSOC conference. I hope that you will be able to come out for it and that I will be able to talk with you more while I am in Atlanta.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

Gene Guerrero

Gene Guerrero
Gene Guerrero - Nancy Park } 688-2202

Rev. Elkin
6:30 - Regis - 10:00 P.M.
7:00 -

Al Kehrer — would like copy —

STUDENTS AND LABOR CONFERENCE April 22-24 , Durham, North Carolina

N. C. College Education Bldg.

Friday

7:00 PM - "What is the Labor Movement", an address by Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, Washington, D.C.

8:00 PM - Panel discussion of address with:

1) Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
2) John Russell, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, Ashville, North Carolina
3) Jim Williams, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Washington, D.C.
4) Mendy Sampstein, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia

8 2.00

Miss Nancy Polk
Duke Local 77
AFSCME
604 W. Chapel Hill St
Durham

Saturday

10:00 AM - "The Upper South, Civil Rights, and the Labor Movement", addresses by Robb Burlage, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., and Jim Pierce, Industrial Union Department, Charlotte, North Carolina

11:00 AM - General discussion of previous topic with panel composed of:

Wilbur Hobby, Director, Region III COPE, Durham, North Carolina
Dan Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Paul Swaity, United Textile Workers of America, Charlotte, North Carolina
Howard Fuller, Operation Breakthrough, Durham, North Carolina

12:30 PM - Lunch

2:00 PM - "Unions-A Vehicle for Social Change ?", general discussion with panel composed of:

1) Peter Brandon, Am. Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Durham, North Carolina
2) Myles Horton, Highlander Center, Knoxville, Tennessee
3) Al Kehrer, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, Atlanta, Georgia
4) Marty Moran, Int. Ladies Garment Workers, Atlanta, Georgia

4:00 PM - Small Workshops on previous topics

6:00 PM - Supper

8:00 PM - Films: "The Inheritance","People of the Cumberlands", "The Scripto Strike"

Sunday

10:00 AM - Workshops on specific ways students can relate to labor including:

a) campus union organizing
b) organizing the poor
c) union education and political action
d) unions in an urban strategy for change

1:30 PM - "A Strategy for Change" - Closing address by Robb Burlage, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.

22-24 Apr 1966

REPORT AND NOTES ON THE STUDENTS AND LABOR CONFERENCE

[See numbered p. 2. - E.Via]

The Students and Labor conference sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee was held April 22-24 at North Carolina College in Durham. The report was prepared by Gene Guerrero of the SSOC staff. The notes were prepared by Brian Paterson, Instructor in History at A & T College in Greensboro, North Carolina

Southern Student Organizing Committee
P.O. Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Background

Over the past year there has been more and more interest among southern students in labor organizing and the labor movement. This interest is related to two developments. One is the realization that the economic problems of the South are of fundamental importance and that for change to come they must be confronted. Secondly, there have been several instances in the past year where students have cooperated with labor. In North Carolina an organizer, Peter Brandon, working with the Amalgamated Meatcutters worked with students from North Carolina College, Duke University, and the University of North Carolina to organize several plants. This fall Brandon began working with service employees at Duke University who are currently organized into a local of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Students and faculty have played a key role in this campaign and helped organize the employee's association which developed into the AFSCME local. Also this year students at Emory University in Atlanta participated in an organizing drive of service employees which failed. At four or five other schools students have investigated the possibilities of organizing campus employees.

Early in the fall SSOC held a two week seminar and executive committee meeting which discussed the labor movement and decided on sponsorship of a students and labor conference. However it wasn't until February that a staff member was able to begin work on the conference.

Planning

Early planning for the conference involved talking with labor and labor-related persons in Atlanta, North Carolina, Washington, and New York about the idea. Most agreed that it was something which should be tried and agreed to help.

On April 2 there was a planning meeting in Durham, North Carolina. Students from North Carolina College, Duke University, and the University of North Carolina attended. The meeting established basic areas the conference should cover. The primary concern of those at the planning meeting was that most of the discussion be directed towards North Carolina and its problems. April 22 - 24 was set as the conference date and North Carolina College chosen as the site.

Recruitment

It was realized at the planning meeting that three weeks was little time to set up the conference and do an adequate job of recruitment. However it was felt that the conference should be held as soon as possible because the end of the academic year was approaching. A mailing on the conference was sent from Nashville to SSOC's North Carolina mailing list, contacts in Virginia and South Carolina, and key contacts in other parts of the South. Campus visits were made to the following North Carolina colleges in the weeks preeceding the conference: Wake Forest, High Point College, Guilford College, A & T College, Bennett College, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Duke University, North Carolina College, the University of North Carolina, North Carolina State University, Shaw University, and Meredith College. These campus visits made it clear that most students have little knowledge or familiarity with organized labor. It is probably safe to say that students are more divorced from labor than from any other major institution in the country. Even students who have been active in the civil rights movement are relatively unaware of labor.

The Conference

Total registration for the conference was fifty-three. This included thirty students from eight colleges and thirteen labor or labor related reasource persons. The program began with a talk on "What is the Labor Movement" by Norman Hill of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. A panel composed of Emory Via, Southern Regional Council, Emanuel Coutlakis, Local 525 of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, and Jim Williams, International Union of Electrical Workers reacted and added to the points made by Mr. Hill. A short question and answer period followed. After this a film, The Inheritance, depicting the history and role of the labor movement was shown.

On Saturday morning Robb Burlage of the Institute for Policy Studies, and Jim Pierce from the Industrial Union Department discussed North Carolina and the Upper South. A panel discussion followed these talks. This panel was composed of Wilbur Hobby, COPE, Dan Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School, and Timothy Bazemore, Bertie County Voter's Movement.

After lunch a panel composed of Myles Horton, Highlander Center, Al Kehrer, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO, and Peter Brandon, Duke Local 77, AFSCME, decided that most of the afternoon should be devpted to student reaction to what had been said. Therefore Mr. Kehrer and Mr. Brandon made brief presentations as to how they saw unions as instruments of change then Mr. Horton threw discussion open to students. For the rest of the afternoon and continuing in the evening there was a give and take interchange between students and the labor representatives. Also two films, People of the Cumberlands and Union and Freedom, were shown Saturday evening.

On Sunday morning there was a discussion of the church and unions led by Rev. Charles Webster from North Carolina State University. Following this there was discussion of ways students can relate to labor dealing most specifically with the idea of a summer project allowing students to work with labor organizers in several organizing drives. Other ideas were students attending union summer schools and meetings, working with COPE on political activity, working with local central labor bodies, and working with union education programs.

Evaluation

One fault of the conference was that there were fewer students in attendance than might have been expected. This should have been anticipated because of the time limitations on the conference and because of the newness of this whole students-labor area to students. Also because of the closeness of the conference to the end of the school year, many students in attendance were not able to attend all sessions because of academic commitments.

Another fault of the conference was that there was little time on Friday and Saturday morning for students to react to the presentations by the reasource people.

Despite these limitations a remarkable understanding developed between the students and the labor people. Students had come to the conference knowing virtually nothing about the labor movement, and many of the labor people were unfamiliar with students and their concerns. The conference discussion was able to focus in on the Upper South, the necessity for students-labor cooperation, and specific ways for relationships to be developed.

Recommendations

1. All at the conference agreed that ways for students to work with labor people over the summer should be developed. A number of unions and labor people are very open to this possibility including the southern office of the Industrial Union Department, the Duke Local, the Amalgamated Meatcutters, and

possibly the Textile people. It is possible that the labor movement nationally may support suchaa project.

In such a project students could work in a variety of situations gaining practical experience as to how unions work. These students could serve as a base for campus based student-labor projects in the fall. It seems to me that this kind of project is important enough so that it should be pursued even if it has to be done on a small scale with little money.

2. In the fall there should be a series of regional conferences or seminars to bring students and labor people together. These seminars could serve to build a base of students interested in economic organizing in much the same way as this conference was able to do.

3. SSOC should begin to provide the following services to students interested in labor.

a) Provide staff to assist local groups of students in relating to labor persons and organizing campaigns.
b) Gather and distribute good literature on labor and labor organizing.
c) Provide names of "good" labor persons in various areas to students.
d) Sponsor programs such as the regional seminars to bring students and labor people together.

4. The southern labor movement should begin to reach out to students by:

a) Inviting students to labor schools and meetings in various areas.
b) Make available to SSOC and student groups information on various campaigns students could work on in their areas.
c) Put interested students on various labor mailing lists.
d) make available to SSOC names of labor persons most open to students and student help.

5. There should be coordination between SSOC and labor people as to organizing campaigns students could work in on a short term basis such as over the Christmas holidays.

6. In the fall, planning for a more extensive student-labor summer project should begin.

Conference Budget

Recruitment Travel(bus and gas)	$76.95
Recruitment Mailing (postage and supplies)	$15.00
Staff salary (month of April)	$80.00
Literature	$40.00
Conference site and housing expenses	$35.00
Student travel	$ 5.00
Phone	$20.00
Total	$271.95
Received in registration fees and literature contributions	$28.51
Total conference costs	$243.44

Students and Labor Conference Participants

Duke University

Harry Boyte
P.O. Box 4561, Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Doug Broyles
P.O. Box 4423, Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Charlotte Bunch
P.O. Box 6624, College Station
Durham, North Carolina

Doug Adams
P.O. Box 4019, Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

Jean Godfrey
P.O. Box 7242, College Station
Durham, North Carolina

Sara Evans
P.O. Box 7099, College Station
Durham, North Carolina 27708

Frank Ingram
603 Watts Street
Durham, North Carolina

University of North Carolina

Helen Hammond
YMCA
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

M. Gunther
116 Basnight Lane
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

John Fikes
P.O. Box 743
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Leslie G. Carr
Dept. of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Peter Nemenyi
Dept. of Statistics
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Chuck Schunior
P.O. Box 202, U.N.C.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Ben Spaulding, Jr.
YMCA
Universlty of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

North Carolina College

Frank D. Williams
P.O. Box 2231, Chidley Hall
North Carolina College
Durham, N.C. 27707

Walter M. Brame
P.O. Box 2428, Chidley Hall
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Bernard Ray Thornton
P.O. Box 2823
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Ellen V. Liles
515 Cecil Street
Durham, North Carolina

Phyllis Cantor
628 Fidelity Street
Carrboro, North Carolina

Hank Elkins
Campus Minister
North Carolina Carolina
Durham, North Carolina

Raymond Arrington
1508 South Roxboro Street
Durham, North Carolina

University of South Carolina

Larry Ledeen
1529 Pendleton Street
Columbia, South Carolina

High Point College

Joe McNulty
P.O. Box 3408
High Point College
High Point, North Carolina

Bill Nabors
107 Sunset Drive
High Point, North Carolina

David Robinson
P.O. Box 3506
High Point College
High Point, North Carolina

A & T College

Brian Peterson
History Dept.
A & T College
Greensboro, N.C. 27411

Ralph Desmarais
History Department
A & T College
Greensboro, N.C. 27411

Lynchburg College

Carol Edwards
325 College Street
Lynchburg, Virginia

University of Virginia

Tom Gardner
VCHR, P.O. Box 62
Newcomb Hall Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Roger Hickey
212 Manpin
Station #2
Charlottesville, Virginia

Reasource Persons

Norman Hill
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Emanuel Coutlakis, Sec.-Treas.
Local 525, Amalgamated Meatcutters
30½ Battery Park Avenue
Ashville, N.C. 28802

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Jim Williams
Int. Union of Electrical Workers
1126 16th Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Robb Burlage
Institute for Policy Studies
1900 Florida Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Jim Pierce
Industrial Union Department
2121 Commonwealth Avenue, Room 212
Charlotte, North Carolina

Wilbur Hobby
COPE Area Director
P.O. Box 175
Durham, North Carolina

Dan Pollitt
University of North Carolina Law
School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Timothy Bazemore
Voter's Movement
Route 4, Box 85
Windsor, North Carolina

Peter Brandon
AFSCME, Duke Local 77
604 West Chapel Hill Street
Durham, North Carolina

Al Kehrer
Civil Rights Dept., AFL-CIO
40 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Myles Horton
Highlander Center
1625 Riverside Drive
Knoxville, Tenn. 37915

Rev. Charles Webster
3805 Hillgrand Drive
Durham, North Carolina

Others in Attendance

Dick Ramsay
American Friends Service Committee
P.O. Box 1791
High Point, North Carolina

Anne Johnson
Peace Center of Miami
2120 W. Flagler
Miami, Florida

John Buenfil
909 Rockland Avenue
Charlottesville, Virginia

Carol Van Alstyne
North Carolina Fund
P.O. Box 687
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Allan Ross
Welfare Dept.
P.O. Box 810
Durham, North Carolina

Mariam Stone Capehart
801 Underwood Ave.
Durham, North Carolina

Oliver Harvey
Duke Local 77
604 West Chapel Hill Street
Durham, North Carolina

Buddy Tieger
P.O. Box 35
Powellsville, North Carolina

Mrs. Hattie Williams
Duke Local 77
604 West Chapel Hill Street
Durham, North Carolina

Nancy Park
Duke Local 77
604 West Chapel Hill Street
Durham, North Carolina

NOTES OF THE STUDENTS AND LABOR CONFERENCE

Brian Peterson
Instructor
History Dept.
A & T College
Greensboro, N.C.

The following are notes taken by me at the conference. They should be of interest to all who were not able to attend the conference, and can serve as a permanent sort of record of the conference to those who were there. There were so many good things said, that I decided not to condense the statements much more than was already done taking notes. My apologies to all whom I've misquoted. These notes are not exact transcriptions, but a rough attempt to get the "essence" of what each speaker said.

WHAT IS THE LABOR MOVEMENT?
by Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO:

Unions can democratize work. On bread and butter issues of wages, fringe benefits and working conditions unions have accomplished a great deal. Unions also have what can be called a "Practical Idealism" as is seen in their concern for civil rights and welfare for all needy Americams. The CIO created the economic base on which Negro workers struggled for civil rights. Civil rights groups have received heavy financing by northern Negroes in CIO unions. The labor movement worked for the Fair Employment part of the Civil Rights Act, and also for Medicare, Public Housing and Demonstration Cities. Labor fights the Dirksen Amendment concerning re-apportionment.

However, the labor movement reflects the problems of American society. There are gaps between policy and practice. Some locals are segregated, and in some places there are segregated lines of seniority. On the other hand, The Alabama AFL-CIO is for civil rights and fights Klan unions. The unions conduct internal education programs on these problems. The main problems faced by labor in America today are: automation;the growth of jobs for which high levels of skill are needed and the decline of those with less skill; the growth of white collar workers; the South, which has less than 20% of its workers organized.

Since the merger of the AFL-CIO there has been unity of workers on political legislation. Labor pressure of the AFL-CIO helper the Farm Workers Association in the Schenley Boycott. But there was an uneven response of state and city AFL-CIO groups. There is a high degree of autonomy in the labor movement.

There is an increasing awareness among union leaders of the working poor. Neighborhood and community grievance centers should be set up. These would be oriented toward the problems of the neighborhood, but could also be used to find unorganized shops. From this new organizing could come a new layer of leadership in both labor unions and community: from the poor. Labor needs to relate to other sectors of society to solve its own problems of automation, white collar, etc.

PANEL DISCUSSION:
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council:

The labor movement is not monolithic. Locals can disagree with the national union or with general AFL-CIO policy. Union members basically accept constitutional democracy and the mixed economy. The entrance of a union into the decision-making of a plant or community is a radical challenge to the existing system.

Jim Williams, International Union of Electrical Workers:

Students must go back to their roots and begin to work there. Labor union members understand that "An injury to one is an injury to all". Unions

tend to the credit problems and other problems of their members. In Fort Wayne, Indiana the unions initiated support for refugee camps In South Viet Nam. There is real Participatory Democracy in the unions.

Emanuel Coutlakis, Local 525, Amalgamated Meatcutters:

When the workers find out that they have a say in Bread and Butter issues, then they find out that they have a say on broader issues.

Open Discussion:

Foreign policy decisions are made by top AFL-CIO people, not members. The AFL-CIO has taken the strongest stand against cuts in poverty money because of the war in Viet Nam. It takes time for a re-evaluation of foreign policy in labor unions. United States labor unions react when a labor union leader in Viet Nam was arrested.
War contracts give a more pro-war sentiment to labor union rank and file, so pro- war. Not just top leadership countermanding the desires of the rank and file. Some unions take an independent position on foreign policy. There is no revelant foreign policy debate in this country. Academics don't make their criticism revelant to the rest of the country.
Julian Bond hasn't convinced all the folk in his district about the war in Viet Nam.
It is important that people who aren't workers and aren't poor sharpen their understanding of what the lives of the workers are like. This would allow you to understand why the unions have an irrational structure.

THE UPPER SOUTH, CIVIL RIGHTS, AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT
Robb Burlage, Institute for Policy Studies:
The problems of the South are also national problems. The three styles of Southern political response are: Resistance; Moderate; and Democratic. The new industries such as the service industry and distribution are moving into North Carolina. The political polential for white liberals in the South is promarily Negro: 600 Unitarians and the rest Negroes. This raises severe problems.
North Carolina has decreased in its amount of unization and in wage level ratio with the reat of the country since 1953. new, more sophisticated forces of moderation, the national corporations, are coming into North Carolina. These are the future enemy. We must work in the short run to oppose the Resistance of the Old South without getting taken over by Moderate corporation elements. Populism, which was once related to the rural areas, now has to face the urban corporate economy. The new industrial managerial elite has the same basic noblesse oblige ideology as the plantation owners.

Jim Pierce, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

The labor movement has gotten rid of some crooks, old men, and movie stars in high offices lately. The Hodcarriers have been revitalized. They want to organize the South. There are 8, 000,000 non-agricultural, unorganized workers in the South. Their salaries are $1.00-1.50 per hour below the national average. North Carolina has 1,250,000 unorganized, non-agricultural workers. Only 6.7% are organized in N.C. The lowest wages are paid in N.C. There are poor roads, schools and teacher salaries there. Three years ago the IUD set up a program concentrated in North and South Carolina. Since then 45 plant recognition elections have been won and 23 lost. 13,000 workers have been brought into the labor movement. We have won 66% of the elections and 75% of the people. But we aren't keeping pace with the in-

dustrialization in the South. The average hourly wage in N.C.in 1953 was $1.23 per hour. In 1964 it was $1.78. The distance behind the national average is increasing.
In Florida migrant workerscontractors have invited labor to organize the migrants. There are 1,000,000 migrants. Labor is not just out to collect dues from migrants. This will be a"social revolution" for the migrants.

Wilbur Hobby, Area Director, COPE, AFL-CIOO

We must change the political climate of the South. There are 12 central labor unions in N.C.cities. There should be a political coalition of Labor, Negroes, and Liberal, including REA people, educators, National Farmer's Union people and students. The Atlanta Constitution and Journal and the Raleigh News and Observer are about the only papers in the South consistently favorable to labor. COPE has to operate with volunteer help. As an example of the political problems faced in the South, a coalition of Labor, Negroes and Liberals took over the Democratic Party in Durham in 1948, but were ousted in 1958 by downtown businessmen and lawyers operating with White Citizens Council support. Unfortunately, some trade uniou people supported the racists. There are several political contests in the South where the Labor-Negro-Liberal coalition can be tested next primary.
Some labor union leadership in the South needs to be replaced to clear the way for greatly increased activity. People from rural areas,who are used to a 14 hour day and low earnings, think factory jobs are easy and well-paying, and as such are not too interested in labor unions. Unionized workers think of themselves as middle-class, with two cars, nice homes and perhaps a boat. Politicians can buy the support of some labor people by making them feel important and appointing then to offices. This is a problem in Alabama where Wallace has bought off some labor people. Klansmen in the unions are disruptive. The stand of labor unions on the racial question makes it hard to win elections in some southern plants, particularly textiles. This year $750,000 will be spent by COPE to register voters among the poor, union people, and Negroes.

Dan Pollitt, Law School, University of North Carolina:

As an example of what a labor union does for its members, let's look at the contracts of the United Auto Workers with General Motors since it was recognized in 1937. The first contract in 1937 just recognized the union and granted amnesty to UAW members, that is, they would not lose their jobs. In return, the UAW agreed to end the sit-down strikes and give the plants back to GM. The next contract in 1937 set wages and hours. Time and a half was granted for Saturday work, and double time for Sunday. In 1939 arbitration and grievance procedures were agreed upon. 1940: plants were being moved to new areas and it was agreed that old employees would follow their job to the new location. 1940: a Fair Employment Practices contract was secured by the UAW, banning discrimination against Negro workers. 1942: Equal pay for equal work for women. During the war there was a no-strike pledge. After the war wages were tied to annual improvements in production, and also, to increases in the cost of living. 1950: pension programs for elderly workers. 1953; Blue Cross for union members and their families.1955: Supplimental Unemployment Benefits. 1961: earlier retirement, sabbatical leaves, shorter work week, and guaranteed annual wage. The UAW set up housing programs through investing Pension funds. The UAW helped finance the March on Washington. When 14(B) was up for repeal, unions were criticized for not being integrated by the most racist southern politicians. The NAACP, testifying for repeal of 14(B), rejected charges that labor was the enemy of the Negro.

Timothy Bazemore, Bertie County Voters Movement:

Bertie County is rural and one of the poorest counties in N.C. There is no industry to speak of. Industry is resisted because it would employ Negroes and pull them from the farms. The Power Structure keeps out industry. The federal government ordered the county to close three inferior Negro schools, but, rather than integrate these students into white schools, the county is spending $100,000 for mobile school units. In 1964 only 1,100 Negroes were registered to vote. Since then, 2;400 more have been registered. Organizing the county by precincts started 1½ years ago, since then there have been weekly meetings in the precincts every Saturday night. We can communicate with all of the people in a few hours. We are trying to pick candidates. There are co-ops now for the Negro farmers, selling supplies such as fertilizer and insecticides. People who buy at the Co-op are intimidated by the white store owners. With the co-op each farmer may save from $100 to $500 per year.

General Discussion to Bertie County Voters Movement, above:

Perhaps Unions couls invest in co-ops.
The UAW has put$1.000.000 into the Citizen's Crusade Against Poverty.
Poverty programs and development programs in rural areas are often controlled by racists.
Mobile libraries are just for the middle-class because poor people don't read.(!)
The names of civil rights supporters are rejected by county commissioners for poverty boards. Integrated programs, such as day care centers, are rejected by local racists in county government.
CCAP is starting a Southern rural action program to pup pressure on the OEO for independent funding when such programs are blocked by racists and also to design special programs to meet the needs of these people. In Bertie County there are 5,500 white voters and 3,400 Negroes, but the county has a 59% Negro population.

UNIONS--A VEHICLE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE?
Al Kehrer, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO:

There is Klan activity in unions in textile, steel and paper. They work against national policy and try to get the locals to dis affiliate from State Labor Boards, etc. At present there are about 50 situations where there is a problem. This is a very small number, considering the number of unions in the South.
14(B) repeal was defeated by the Dirksen filibuster. We could have gotten Dirksen to agree on repeal if we had given in on reapportionment, but we felt we had a duty to society, and so didn't give in.

Peter Brandon, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees:

The mass base of the labor movement is not interested today in structural changes in American society, and as such, neither is the leadership. Labor union organizing stirs up the local situation. A social dynamic is set up for Southern workers. Labor unionsreveals basic power relationships. It clarifies these relationships to white workers and shows them that the boss is the real enemy and not the Negro worker. It shows the Negro workers the necessity of unity. The labor movement does more for this understanding than any other institution. This understanding has to be extended to the local political situation in a community where a labor union is organized. This may or may not happen, depending on a number of factors. If there is a union victory after a hard struggle, it may be easier to bring these understandings in the community. America has a long militant strike tradition.

Not political movements, but labor union movements have been most important to the workers in the American past.

Student Criticisms of the Labor Movement:

Unions don't question the control of industry by the capitalists.
There is no Labor Party in the United States and there should be.
The foreign policy of the labor unions supports the war in Viet Nam, and in the International Federation of Free Trade Unions just acts as an apologist for official American government policy.
The AFL-CIO handeled the Grape Strike in Delano poorly.
The labor unions purged Communists and others critical of official American foreign policy in the 1940's and early 1950's, and by doing so eliminated the most progressive elements in the unions.
The labor unions don't care about the unemployed, migrants and Negroes.
Some unions have apprentice programs which admit only the relatives of people who are already members.

Labor People Answer the Criticisms:

Pierce: There is a willingness on the part of many labor people to make structural changes in American society.
Brandon: The CIO is not revolutionary. There isn't any revolution going on in America. The civil rights movement started out as a movement of middle-class Negro students wanting to become a part of the American Middle Class. The control of the American economy by the ologopolists is not challenged by the labor unions or the civil rights movement. The labor movement of 17,000,000 people is the only organization that speaks for their needs. Students have "astounding brass" to dictate their views to the labor movement. The average worker is not willing to accept radical ideas. The defense industries are the most highly automated, so these workers are becoming more radical as defense facilities are shut down. This can even radicalize building trades people. Automation will force the American labor movement to seek political solutions.
Hobby: The students here are like the right wing because they seek simple answers. There are no simple answers. The belief of the unions in democracy is strong. One can"t be a delegate the the North Carolina AFL-CIO convention, if he is a Communist or a Klansman. This requirement holds for membershipin many unions. These decisions were arrived at democratically. The labor movement has put huge amounts of resources into passage of Medicare. We try to get uniform standards of unemployment compensation. The labor movement is the only group that consistently supports increased unemployment compensation. I have shown "Harvest of Shame", a movie about the migrant workers, at least 50 times to labor groups to get support for the migrants. We help fight for consumer protection legislation. It takes control of the mass media to mold public opinion and labor doesn't control it. Neither do the students. Only rights groups and the labor movement support increased voter registration. There are all kinds of people in the labor movement, Catholics, Jews, and Protestants, black and white.
Pollitt: A Labor Press has been attempted, but it loses money. I tried to get a license for a Labor TV station in the early 1950's, but the Eisenhower appointed FCC wouldn't grant one. Labor Parties have been tried again and again, But they always fail when they operate independently of the Democratic Party.
Steve Max, League for Industrial Democracy: The analogy between labor unions and universities is false. Labor unions can't educate members if they don't want to learn about civil rights or peace. If officers push unpopular programs,

They are not re-elected. Labor union education connot depart too much from the conventional wisdom of churches, lodges, political parties, veteran's groups mass media, etc. Students have been unable to convince other students to end womens hours. So why do students expect labor union people to be omnipotent?

Burlage: Labor is a coalition of all kinds of things. To call it a labor movement is artificial. We have to find the parts of the labor unions which favor change and identify with them. The elimination of racism in the labor unions is potentially revolutionary. This allows class distinctions to be perceived more clearly. Sometime in the future labor demands could create a revolutionary situation, if the economy is unable to meet these demands. That is why radicals should go into the labor movement.

Sara Evans, Duke: To get Democratic Party support on 14(B) it is necessary for labor unions to cut down on internal education critical of the war in Viet Nam or about socialism. "Programs for Progress" has been started by the AFL-CIO in the South. Each member is assesed $1.00 for political education political action, legislative lobbying, and public relations. Only10% to 20% of union members come to meetings. A central file of all union members has been set up in each state, and each month educational material is sent out to each member. One month the material blasted the Klan, and we received many letters back defending it.

Norm Hill: The civil rights movement has led this country to things which have revolutionary implications: for instance, sweeping educational changes are being talked about now. When workers get ready to move in a radical direction it is important to have people in the labor movement to clarify issues to the workers. That is why radical students should go into the labor movement. But in the meantime, we need victories on bread and butter issues to keep the support of the union members.

Al Kehrer: The best movement in which you can put your ideals into practice is the labor movement.

Jim Pierce: Labor is not just a big piece of steel, but it is a lot of little ball bearings: drop an issue on it and it goes in every direction. For twenty years I've been able to say what I want in the labor movement. I worked for school integration in Texas in 1950. The only place you can express yourself and retain your livelihood in the South is the labor movement. Walter Reuther wants these things said.

Jim Williams: Labor came to this conference because it takes these things seriously. There is what I call the "plague of little magazines" here. The smaller the magazine's audience, the more it is assumed that it has the truth. These students have a smug, pious, holier-than-thou- attitude towards labor.

Hobby: In two weeks in N.C. there will be the Democratic Party precinct meetings. Students should observe these meetings. They can see politics in action, and perhaps see some railroad jobs.

Brandon: We need a program to involve students. This conference isn't sufficient. IUD needs to make up their minds to allocate resources to get students as allies.

Pierce: If we make it known that we're willing, the students should make up their minds whether or not they want to work with labor.

Brandon: The Labor Unions are a structured series of organizations that are distant from the lives of students.

Pierce: The IUD has a one year internship for students.

Hill: There are unions which ask for young people to participate, but maybe it would be best to get a local situation where there is a tie-in of students and labor. The IUD should give resources where such a situation develops.

Pierce: I came into the labor movement in 1945, after the war, and went to work for the CIO in Texas. Every organizer was a member of the NAACP and worked with the Urban League. But we couldn't do the work for the civil rights movement. When the Negroes were ready it happened. Not Before.

Max: Students who attend Amalgamated Clothing and ILGWU summer schools helped with the YMCA strike in New York. But many students scab when we organize cafeterias and bookstores on campus.
Pierce: Labor, Negroes and Students have engaged in voter registration programs in the South. At Bob Jones University students who signed union cards were kicked out.
Hobby: The Communications Workers of America has a top notch Community Relations program. Labor unions want to send representatives to speak to student groups. You should invite labor people onto your campus.
Hank Elkins, campus minister, North Carolina College: A summer internship for st students is needed in the labor unions. Students would come back to campus radicalized.
Pierce: We could get something organized. It would be good for a Law Student's legal training. Perhaps something with migrants when they come through N.C., or J.P.Stevens or Haines could be arranged. We don't have our first dues paying member in Stevens, but we have spent $2,000,000 on it. Amalgamated Clothing, ILGWU, and maybe the Textile Workers Union would take students. I've never seen anything that we've tried to get, that we really wanted, that we didn't get money for.
Brandon: We need to get students to sit in on union training programs and educationals.
Hobby: The AFL-CIO Educational Department can supply films, pamphlets, and staff for programs. They have some terrific programs for state educationals. About 150 union people attend these. The state organization could pick up the tab for hotel rooms and for one of two students for these. North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia have a Tri-State Labor School at Black Mt., May 15-19. The Southern Labor School has a really good staff and 2 or 3 students could come. The Voter Registration programs in Virginia with the Junior Chamber of Commerce registered 5,000 people in one city in one week.
Brandon: Student movements are like quicksilver; they're there and then they're not. You have to have a full-time person there to hold the students together. We need funds to put more people like Gene Guerrero in the field.
Ralph Desmarais, instructor, A&T College, Greensboro, N.C.: We're dreaming if we think that students are really interested in working with labor unions. What the unions should do is to give scholarships to working class kids to go to school to become organizers.

This was the end of the discussion on Saturday night. Unfortunately I was not able to attend Sunday's session.

Brian Peterson

Sunday's meeting began with a discussion of the church and labor led by Rev. Charles Webster, Baptist Student Union Director at North Carolina State University. Rev. Webster outlined what he thought to be changes occuring in the church and possibilities for churches assisting the efforts of labor. Jim Pierce and the other labor representatives pointed out that organizers are under instructions not to talk to churchmen in local drives because of the opposition of many churchmen. Others pointed out that in the 30's and 40's there were persons working with churches for the labor movement.

The rest of Sunday morning's discussion focused on the feasability of a summer project to involve students working with labor organizers. All persons present agreed that it was both desirable and feasable and that it should be attempted. Also discussed were ways to continue exploring student-labor relationships in the fall, such as regional seminars and conferences. SSOC said that it is willing and able to provide a staff member to work on labor programs through the fall and that it will act as a clearinghouse for relevant information.

Gene Guerrero

Agenda - Students and Labor Conference - Education Bldg., N.C.C.

Friday, April 22 - 1966

6:00 PM - Conference Registration
7:00 PM - "What is the Labor Movement", Norman Hill, IUD, AFL-CIO
8:00 PM - Panel Discussion:
Emory Via, Southern Regional Council
John Russell, Amalgamated Meatcutters
Jim Williams, International Union of Electrical Workers
10:30 PM - Film: "The Inheritance"

Saturday, April 23

10:00 AM - "The Upper South, Civil Rights, and the Labor Movement", Robb Burlage, Institute for Policy Studies, and Wilbur Hobby, Region III COPE.
11:00 AM - General Discussion:
Wilbur Hobby, COPE
Dan Pollitt, UNC Law School
Paul Swaity, United Textile Workers
Representative of Bertie County Voters League
Noon - Lunch
2:00 PM - "Unions - A Vehicle for Social Change ?"
Peter Brandon, State, County, and Municipal Employees
Al Kehrer, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
Myles Horton, Highlander Center
Jim Pierce, IUD, AFL-CIO
4:00 PM - Small Workshops
6:00 PM - Supper
7:30 PM - Small Workshops
9:30 PM - Films: "People of the Cumberlands", "Union and Freedom"

Sunday, April 24

9:30 AM - Informal Worship led by Rev. Charles Webster, BSU, NC State
10:30 AM - Workshops including:
a) Campus union organizing
b) organizing the poor
c) union education and political action
d) unions in an urban strategy for change
2:00 PM - Closing session

The agenda for the conference is designed to be a somewhat unified whole with interrelated parts. Therefore all are urged to attend all sessions if possible.

Did you give me a transportation schedule to Durham? And what was the starting & closing time for the SSOC conference?

AIR RESERVATIONS TO RALEIGH-DURHAM AND RETURN

Al K. is going on this

Eastern # 538, leave Atlanta 12:05 noon, arrive Raleigh-Durham 1:15, lunch served (only first class available on this). Friday, April 22.

Eastern # 329, leave R-D 6:10pm, arrive Atlanta 7:10 pm, dinner. Sunday, April 24. Tom T

Raleigh-Durham airport is 12 miles from Durham, 55 minutes by limousene.

Who —
from Worker family —
Union family
Worked at manual labor more than 4 months
dependent upon that income

There is a communication gap — gap of understanding
I would propose: Impathy precede Criticism

A difference between gut understanding of worker
and intellectual understanding or criticism

Unions <u>may</u> be distrustfull of "intellectuals"
Staging Power — Suffering — Understanding
& as to suit what <u>can</u> be offered in Union framework

Union militancy likely comes from <u>Self interest</u>
cf. Civil rights

Need to understand Unions as going concerns
visible, pragmatic institutions

Still a source of practical info & idealism
also at points a part of status quo

At risk of appearing as apologist — I will stress good
attempt to keep attention on what "is" while
contemplating what should be.

A personal note — for your understanding

Why Ed & Unions → Adult Ed (broadly)

Org. groups — Mass of people

Importance of Mass to democracy

who believes in what

e.g. Cf. Labor movement &

police brutality & then reverse

what will happen to Civ. Rts.

militancy
"radicalism" [redistribute income
Challenge Com. Power]
Idealism of bread & butter

Wages — Variety
Worksite
Power base

Overwhelmingly not organized

Takes Money —

N.C —
Textiles —
Textile — Furniture
(Piedmont, new industrial base)

New Unions less racist
2nd - 3rd generation Workers

Bldg Trades — affiliated

Civ Rts
Reapport.
Urbanization
Industrialization

1 [South needs a Nat'l Press re Unions
But know very little about Unions 1st hand
Tending to over generalize

The Most interested

2 [Coll. Barg interest

going concern — internal political life
fulfills a function

Made up of folks — all sorts.
Not monolithic
Student criticism re corpts — Should take strong Nat'l action
Viet Nam — Should not make nat'l policy so strong.

*5 [Student need for understanding — empathy — toward life of work as it is (now) and will be

Variety of locals
Variety of ind. rels. Patterns —
Variety of community & Nat'l social pattern

3 [Working within established frame work
Unions dating back to 1800 approx —
Col. Barg. as pub policy since 1935 (Wagner) — 1926 (Ry)
accept, generally, constitutional democracy —
accept, generally, mixed economy

Representative of wage-earner interests —

Idealism, military, "radicalism"
on local level what is more challenging (radical)
4) than saying — a) we want more by having you divide your pot so that we have a larger share
b) we not only will tell you how to divide the pot, but a number of things about what you can & can't do relative to employees —
c) we will use our new relation in the plant — our organized strength — to say to mgt. & community that we want a share in the way the community is run —

Hill

Voice in farmers at work place —
may start democratizing relations with employers —
Unions have responded to civ rts to a degree
especially providing a base of econ secure Negroes (esp. North)
or had already made some changes in who held pol. offices
so could get a favorable response —

Unions role in reapport — & protecting these gains —
Unions reflect the difficulties shared by all Americans —

Merger —
Legislature —

Student-Union coop. re Org. Poor —
Coop — "new" development — could lead to new leadership in
Unions & in Communities —

Williams

Ill effects —
walk-off due to Unfairness to one
injury to one is injury to all
Credit unfairness by local merchant —
Can have a Union town
run the politics, community relations, etc } EV — of course still leaves the question "for what"

Source of Idealism — practical Wisdom

Difficulty in Separating: Accomadation — Innovation

"Community Services" vs. Broad scale change
Pat. health plans vs. nat'l health ins.

A history of struggle — defamation — discrimination
which still continues in part —

1) Autonomy — or no — For Policy (yes) a general issue — McNeil Lehrer Corp — Berlin Crisis

(4) Relevant — foreign policy debate —
Not from academics, peace movement, students —
Senate hearings (mostly in day time)

2) AFL-CIO Resolutions — Broad range (yes) — Array —

3) Foreign Aid
Even free trade in labor schools —

Immediacy of issues —

Structural
Rels with Com.

Norm Hill
of CORE Prog Dir
33 yrs old — (April 22, 1966)

Ann Johnston
AFSC - Miami
Ramsey - AFSC
Steve Machlis (?)
LZD

November 30, 1971

Mr. Vine Deloria, Jr.
Executive Director
S.I.C.
1458 Pennsylvania Street
Denver, Colorado 80203

Dear Mr. Deloria:

We are pleased to have further word from S.I.C. Although we are not in a position to offer your organization further financial assistance, we certainly wish to cooperate in any way we can, especially in Texas which is the one state in which our region overlaps.

I will check our mailing list to make sure our materials are coming to you in Denver. Please continue to keep us informed of your own activities and we wish you every success in your efforts.

Sincerely,

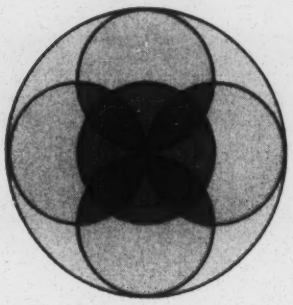
Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

P.S. Please note the change of address.

SOUTHWEST INTERGROUP COUNCIL

1458 PENNSYLVANIA STREET / DENVER, COLORADO 80203 / 303- 825-6809



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ROY M. MERSKY
Legal Counsel
Texas

NOV 29 1971

Dear Friend:

You are being contacted to assist with a survey of the southwestern region of the United States by the SOUTHWEST INTERGROUP COUNCIL. The S.I.C. was organized in 1969 to work for justice and equality in the southwest which is comprised of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California.

The S.I.C. is composed of some 200 Anglos, Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, and American Indians living in the 8 states. We have come together to find ways of developing a cooperative effort by people of the five distinctive ethnic groups in this area. Thus far it has been an uphill struggle. We have found that people in this region simply don't know or understand the nature of the society that confronts them and which, in many instances, controls their lives. This condition is both good and bad. If you don't know something bad you don't worry about it. On the other hand, many things that you may be planning may not turn out exactly the way you figured.

Conversely, if you are missing something good, you regret it only if you later find out about it and it was something you really needed. The southwest is something like that. At least we think it is.

The point is, we don't know enough about the southwest to make adequate judgements about what is going on. And chances are we know a lot more than any single individual about the southwest since we encompass every ethnic group, cities and towns, affluent and poverty, educated and uneducated.

We have either had or will have some contact with you or your organization. By the end of the year there is not a single part of the southwest that we will not know very well, the successes and failures, the good organizations and the poorly organized ones.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: VINE DELORIA JR.

Contributions to S.I.C. are tax deductable

We are asking you to assist us with this survey. We need information on the groups that regularly work in the field of human rights in your area. We are not a right-wing, left-wing, center or whatever group. We are simply gathering information without value judgements except as to whether a group is doing what it claims it is doing. -Which may be something in itself.

In addition to purely informational data, we would like to have you make a contribution to our program. Our program is unlike any found anyplace. We are not dedicated to the perpetuation of our organization. We are making the survey of the southwest for a very good reason. We are also trying to find out which organizations are similar to ours- covering an 8 state area and interested in meaningful social developments. We are proposing that all the organizations doing this kind of work get to know each other, discuss ideas, share publications, go over philosophies- AND begin to talk meaningfully about merging the various groups into fewer groups that can do better jobs in selected areas of interest.

In other words, we want to do two things:

1) Find out what is happening in the southwest
2) Discover what should be done and who should do it- AND DO IT

We are therefore asking you to make a contribution to our work for the coming year. Our organization is tax-deductable so that you will receive credit on your income tax for supporting our survey with contributions as well as with information. We are projecting a survey of each state of the southwest. To gather information, opinions, contacts, data. To report that data to all of our contributors and members and to people and organizations assisting us. To then plan what kind of organization should be developed to best carry out services to people with problems in the region.

We are not going to appeal to your conscience, to your conception of needy orphans, to your sense of social justice, only to your awareness that you are a resident of this region and that you should help other residents find out what is going on in our region.

We believe that responsible rational people can develop a source of information which will benefit everyone. That problems can be approached on an intelligent basis by people of some degree of sophistication. Please make a contribution to our project today by filling out the enclosed forms.

We need you this year because if we are ever to get something done in this southwest of ours, some of us will have to take the lead and find out what there is to do and who should do it. We cannot afford to wait for someone else to do our work for us.

Thank you very much

~~Vine Deloria Jr.~~ Ed Seibert

~~Vine Deloria, Jr.~~

Executive Director

Enclosed please find a check for $_____ made out to the SOUTHWEST INTERGROUP COUNCIL of Denver, Colorado. It is a contribution to the survey of the southwest to be undertaken during the coming year.

Name_____

Address_____

_____

Zip Code _____

I would like a copy of your survey as each part is finished _____

The organizations (non-profit, corporation, churches, etc) I feel are most relevant to the needs of my city and state are:

_____

_____

_____

_____

The organizations LEAST relevant to the needs of my city and state are:

_____

_____

_____

_____

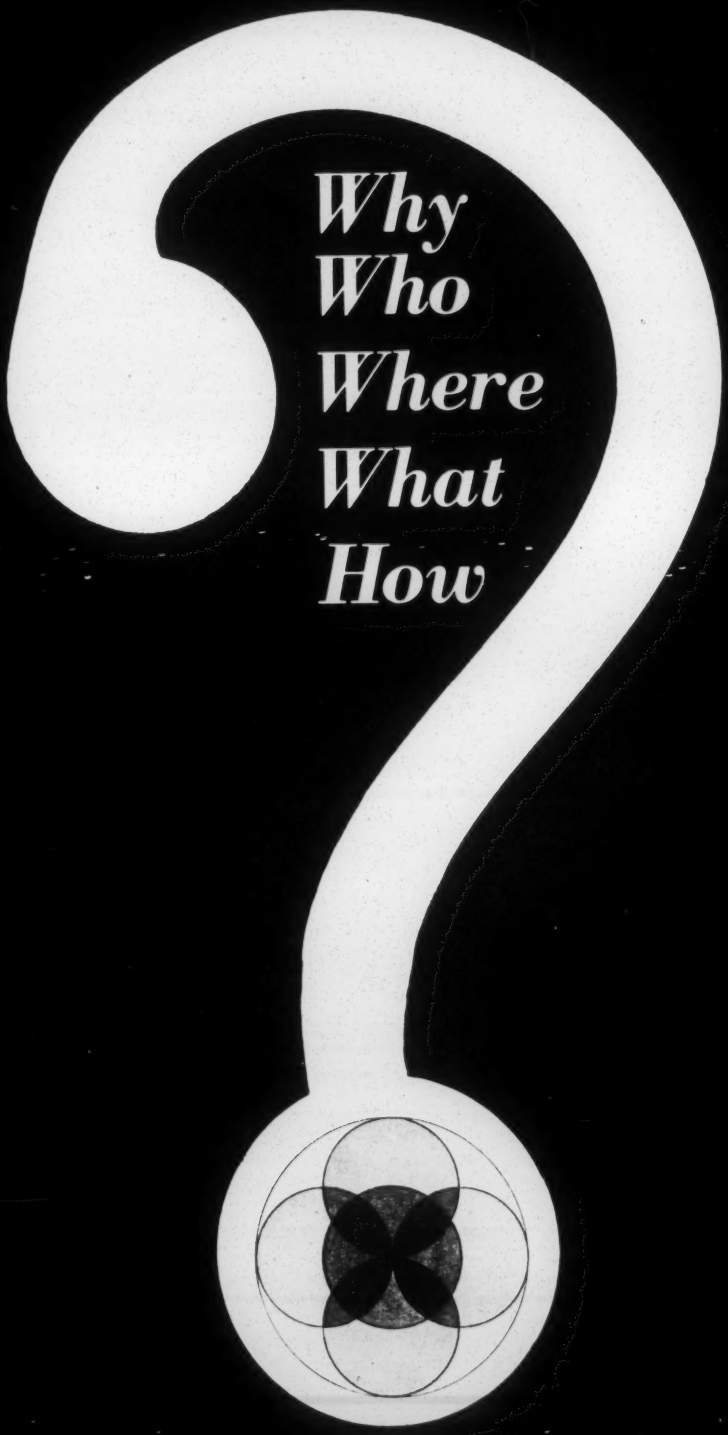
I belong to:

_____

_____

_____

_____



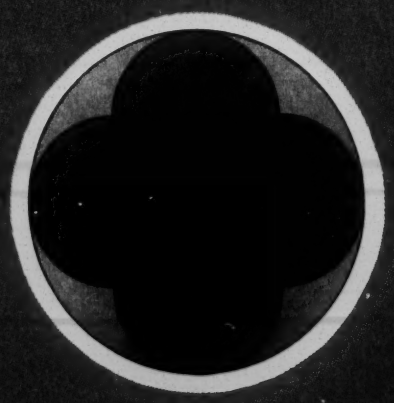
SOUTHWEST
INTERGROUP
RELATIONS
COUNCIL, INC.

WITH ALL DUE RESPECT

Thoughts on Diversity and Community in the Southwest

by

Willie L. Brown, Jr.
Jorge Lara-Braud
Vine Deloria, Jr.
Theodore Freedman
Mildred Dickeman



SOUTHWEST INTERGROUP RELATIONS CONFERENCE